CARL VAN VECHTEN
101 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK CITY 23

TELEPHONE: ENDICOTT 2-8748

22-11-34

Dear Dr Du Bois, Ive just had the following letter from John Hope Franklin:

"In my forthcoming book, The American Negro: a History, which Alfred Knopf is publishing later in the year, I am desirous of including a number of significent pictures and other illustrative materials. It strikes me that it would be extremely interesting to include a picture or two from your collection, not only because of their photographic excellence, but also because of your own interest through the years in Negro Life and Culture.

"I am wondering if you would be kind enough to permit me to use the photograph of Dr Du Bois. I saw the picture at Howard University two weeks ago, and thought of how I could mention your interest in a descriptive note about the picture. I would appreciate it greatly if you will permit me to use the picture, and if you will provide me with a copy of the same."

I sent Mr Franklin a copy of the picture he wants. What he saw at Howard was a very recent gift of mine: "The Rose McClendon Memorial Collection of Photographs of Celebrated Negroes by Carl Van Vechten." This will be on exhibition at Howard during February.

This past week I have been organizing the manuscripts you sent me and boxes were ordered to contain them. When these are ready I'll invite you to see them before they go to Yale. In the meantime I hope you will send me more material.

sincerely,

Carl Van Vechten

January 31, 1947

CARL VAN VECHTEN
101 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK CITY 23

TELEPHONE: ENDICOTT 2-8748

22-11-34

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Carl Van Vechten

January 31, 1947

CARL VAN VECHTEN
101 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK CITY 23

TELEPHONE: ENDICOTT 2-8748

Dear Dr Du Bois, I do want you to see the handsome boxes in which your manuscripts repose before they go to Yale. Can you come in tomorrow (Thursday May 29) evening at 8.30? I shall also be showing a few color pictures then: Carol Brice and Virgil Thomson's new opera, The Mother of Us all. I hope you can come. I have also written Shirley Graham, but I havent heard from her.

sincerely,

Carl Van Vechten

May 28, 1947

22-11-35

CARL VAN VECHTEN
101 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK CITY 23

TELEPHONE: ENDICOTT 2-8748

22-9-135

Dear Doctor DuBois,Last night,the night after you were here, I read The World and Africa and the pamphlet,Behold the Land,with the satisfaction and inspiration that a sympathetic reader derives from idealistic and even poetic writing which is based on fact. Have you by any chance looked into Theodore G Bilbo's Take Your Choice:Separation or Mongrelization. .?The senator concedes that you are the most profound and distinguished of the Negro writers:he has something there!

My wife,too,speaks of you with great enthusiasm and we hope to see you again soon.

You are,I believe,the only Negro writer to wax dithyrambic about the race,so successfully,indeed,that the reader believes you,and sees with your eyes.

with much admiration,

June 1,1947

Carl Van Vechten

23 September 1947

My dear Mr. Van Vechten:

I am still on the trail of the manuscript of my book Black Reconstruction, which is the most important of the manuscripts which I have. I am unable to find it. The librarian of Atlanta University has searched for it but does not find it, and it is not in the Schomburg Collection. However I remember that I promised, some years ago, Yale University a manuscript and I am wondering if I sent it there and if it is there now somewhere outside the James Weldon Johnson Collection. I am writing the librarian to ask. Perhaps you might take the matter up with him sometime.

I trust this will find you in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Carl Van Vechten
101 Central Park West
New York 23, New York

10 January 1947

My dear Mr. Huebsch:

I am writing regarding the sale of my book. As I am sure you know the American Negroes are forming an increasing market for the purchase of articles of all sorts, and they are especially interested in literature about the Negro. There must, however, be some special effort made to get at this market. First, of course, there are the Negro newspapers: there are several large and powerful papers with circulations running from 100,000 to 400,000 copies a week. The chief of these periodicals, roughly in order of circulation, are: Pittsburgh-Courier, Chicago Defender, Norfolk Journal and Guide, the Amsterdam News, the People's Voice. They ought to have review copies, accompanied by special letter.

The Negro churches and fraternities and educational institutions are agencies through which many sales of books and other things are made. A list of these can be found in Florence Murray's "Negro Year Book". The latest edition of this book is due this month. There are a number of book stores dealing especially in Negro literature. Two large ones are located in New York as follows: National Memorial Book Store, 2107 Seventh Avenue, March on Washington Movement, 2084 Seventh Avenue. There are arising here and there agencies for exploiting the Negro market. The best and oldest is the W. B. Graham Associates, 55 West 42nd Street. I strongly recommend that you get in touch with Mr. Graham. If he has the time to give to the sale of my book, he can reach a large body audience; but he is pretty busy and you will have to pin him down to specific performance if you can get hold of him. I hope these notes may be of some value to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. B.W. Huebsch
Viking Press
18 East 48th Street
New York, New York

PUBLISHERS · THE VIKING PRESS INC · NEW YORK 17 NY

Cable address · Vikpress 18 EAST 48TH STREET *Telephone · PLaza 5-4330*

January 13, 1947

22-25-06

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I am referring your letter of the 10th with its excellent suggestions to our advertising and promotion departments for their consideration and comment, and I hope shortly to be able to forward to you their response as to those proposals which they consider practicable and as to their publicity plans in general.

By this time you will have received copies of the book. I find it attractive and readable in form and I hope that you like it too. We all look forward with curiosity and interest to publication day and the notices that the book will evoke.

Sincerely yours,

B W Huebsch

BWH/rw

PUBLISHERS · THE VIKING PRESS INC · NEW YORK 17 NY

Cable address · Vikpress 18 EAST 48TH STREET *Telephone · PLaza 5-4330*

January 15, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

22-25-05

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Following is the information which I secured in response to the suggestions contained in your letter of the 10th:

Review copies have already been sent to all the papers that you named as well as to other Negro magazines, including Ebony, Negro Digest, Crisis, Negro College Quarterly. Copies have also been sent to periodicals specializing in comment on foreign affairs and, of course, to the press generally.

Our promotion manager for book stores states that one of our salesmen has called on the Harlem dealers, including the two whom you mentioned. He is grateful for the suggestion about the Negro Year Book and will use it to augment our list of dealers who are especially interested in Negro literature. These, and various organizations, will be informed of the book by letter. An announcement will be sent to the N.A.A.C.P. list. The same announcement will be sent to any list which you may supply for the purpose.

Our advertising schedule is in the making; your book will be announced in the conventional book advertising periodicals and space will be used in the Crisis.

The proposal to employ the Graham Associates is being considered and the decision will be on the basis of its practicability in the light of the intensive promotion planned from this office.

Sincerely yours,

BWH/rw

THE VIKING PRESS INC · PUBLISHERS
18 EAST 48TH STREET · NEW YORK 17 · NY
Cable: Vikpress *Telephone: PL 5-4330*

January 15, 1947

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

22-11-96

On the biographical folder which you kindly filled out for us some time ago, you said you would send us a list of your personal friends and acquaintances who should receive an announcement of your new book. Is that list now ready?

Sincerely,

Eleanor Bolster

The Viking Press

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

15 January 1947

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me as soon as you get them in stock twelve copies of my book "The World and Africa." Please charge to my account.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Viking Press
18 East 48th Street
New York, N. Y.

22 January 1947

22-11-57

My dear Miss Bolster:

Enclosed are some addresses of some personal friends and acquaintances who should receive announcements of my new book.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Eleanor Bolster
Viking Press
18 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

"World and Africa" - list to send. Victory Press Enclose

Mr. Raymond Pace Alexander
1900 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Virginia M. Alexander
1708 Jefferson Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. W. G. Alexander
48 Webster Place
Orange, New Jersey

Mr. James Egert Allen
2272 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Marian Anderson
Hurok Musical Bureau
30 Rockefellow Plaza
New York City

Mr. W. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dr. E. Beaseley
3507 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Walter N. Beekman
746 Fulton Street
Brooklyn, New York

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune
National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Mr. Horace M. Bond
Lincoln University
Lincoln University, Pa.

Mr. Arna Bontemps
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Principal Maudelle B. Bousfield
W Phillips High School
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. M. V. Boutte
2301 Seventh Avenue
New York City

Rev. Henry A. Boyd
National Baptist Publishing Board
523 Second Avenue North
Nashville, Tennessee

St. Elmo Brady
Department of Chemistry
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. G. D. Branche
Veterans' Administration Facility
Tuskegee, Alabama

President C. Hawkins Brown
The Palmer Memorial Institute
Sedalia, North Carolina

John Alexander Brown
444 Quincy Street
Brooklyn, New York

Mr. John S. Brown, Jr.
1370 Dean Street
Brooklyn, New York

Mr. Matthew W. Bullock
294 Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Mr. Ralph J. Bunche
Dept. of Trusteeship
Lake Success, New York

Mr. Ambrose Caliver
Department of the Interior
Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Richard M. Carey
147 West 116th Street
New York City

Rev. Archibald Carey
57 East 46th Street
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Elmer A. Carter
State Commission Against Discriminatio
124 East 28th Street
New York City

Dr. Frederick D. Carter
187 West 135th Street
New York City

Dean James T. Cater
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dr. Allan Knight
211 West 56th Street
New York City

22-5-24

Mr. Felton G. Clark
Southern University
Scotlandville, Louisiana

Mr. James A. Cobb
Cobb, Howard & Hayes
613 F Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dr. W. Montague Cobb
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Mercer Cook
127 W. Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dr. and Mrs. Rushton Coulborn
3617 Haybue Avenue
Dallas, Texas

Harlem Young Men's Christian Association
135th Street
New York City

22-5-25

Attorney George W. Crawford
42 Church Street
New Haven, Connecticut

Dr. Otelia Cromwell
Miner Teachers College
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Helen Curtis
554 Washington Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mrs. Mabel Byrd
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Dr. Ulyeses Grant Dailey
4748 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

President Robert P. Daniel
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Walter G. Daniel
University Library
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Shelby Davidson
1333 R Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Attorney and Mrs. Harry E. Davis
202-206 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

Mr. Jackson Davis
General Education Board
49 W. 49yh St.
New York City

President John W. Davis
West Virginia State College
Institue, West Virginia

Mr. William N. DeBerry
643 Union Street
Springfield, Mass.

Mr. F. E. DeFrantz
Executive Secretary
Young Men's Christian Association
Senate Avenue at Michigan Street
Indianapolis, Indiana

Judge Hubert Delaney
135 E. 22nd St.
New York City

Attorney Earl B. Dickerson
3501 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Fannie Howard Douglas
1806 Eleventh Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Cedric Dover
16 Mulberry Walk
London, S. W. 3
England

Miss Rose Drake
23 Grove Street # 1-B
New York City

Mrs. Catherine J. Duncan
Ft. Valley State College
Ft. Valley, Ga.

Mr. Robert Elzy
428 Lewis Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Miss Ernestine Lipscomb
Box 354
175 W. 137th St.
New York City

Miss Ruth Anna Fisher
654 Girard Street Northwest # 409
Washington, D. C.

Foreign Affairs
45 E. 65th St.
New York City

PUBLISHERS · THE VIKING PRESS INC · NEW YORK 17 NY

Cable address · Vikpress 18 EAST 48TH STREET *Telephone · PLaza 5-4330*

284-5

February 5, 1947

To the book review editor:

We would be happy if during Negro History Week, February 9th to 16th, you would find it possible to call the attention of your readers to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois's THE WORLD AND AFRICA, an inquiry into the part which Africa has played in world history, which we published January 27th.

Dr. DuBois's book is the latest in a long line of books we have published which are of particular Negro interest; those still in print we list below:

13 AGAINST THE ODDS, by Edwin R. Embree
BROWN AMERICANS, by Edwin R. Embree
ALONG THIS WAY, by James Weldon Johnson
GOD'S TROMBONES, by James Weldon Johnson
THE BOOKS OF AMERICAN NEGRO SPIRITUALS, by James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamond
12 MILLION BLACK VOICES, by Richard Wright
THE SPRINGFIELD PLAN, by Alexander Alland and James W. Wise

Junior Books:

MY DOG RINTY, by Ellen Tarry and Marie Hall Ets
HEZEKIAH HORTON, by Ellen Tarry
JASPER THE DRUMMIN' BOY, by Margaret Taylor (to be published in April)

4 April 1947

Gentlemen:

Bernard Jackson is President of the Youth Council of the Boston National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They are giving me a luncheon May 17, and I am speaking for them on the 18. Mr. Jackson wants copies of my book THE WORLD AND AFRICA, for sale. I do not know him personally but I think undoubtedly he would be a reliable young man. I have told him to write you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Viking Press
18 East 48th Street
New York City

30 April 1947

Gentlemen:

I am forwarding you a letter received from the University of Wisconsin, School for Workers.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Viking Press
18 East 48th Street
New York City

21 August 1947

Gentlemen:

I do not quite understand your royalty statement for the period ending April 30th. On the enclosed bill, I am presumably indebted to W. G. Caffney for $68.00. Will you kindly tell me why?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Viking Press Inc.
18 East 48th Street
New York, New York

27 August 1947

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly send me ten copies of "The World and Africa," and charge to my account?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Viking Press Inc.
18 East 48th Street
New York, New York

The VIKING PRESS, Inc.
18 East 48th Street, New York 17

22a-5

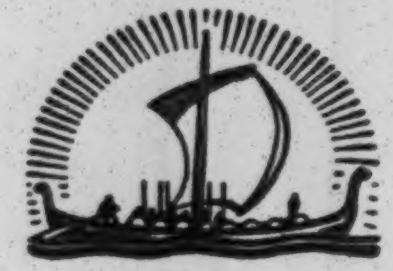
2725

QUANTITY	DELIVERY MEMORANDUM		LIST PRICE	DISCOUNT %	EXTENSION	
10	WORLD & AFRICA	3 00	30 00	40	18	00
				S.TAX		36
					18	36

All claims for shortages and damaged books must be made immediately after books are received.

THE VIKING PRESS INC

18 E 48TH ST



NEW YORK 17

to

222-5

Postmaster { Return postage guaranteed if not delivered.
This parcel may be opened for postal inspection.

CONTENTS; BOOKS; 4th CLASS MATTER

T.	DATE	WHEN WRITING MENTION THIS NUMBER
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PUBLISHERS · THE VIKING PRESS INC · NEW YORK 17 · NY

18 EAST 48TH STREET

SOLD TO

W.E. B. DU BOIS
C/O NAT'L ASSOC. FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 W. 40TH ST.
NEW YORK 18, N.Y.

SHIP TO

328-5

INVOICE NO. 2725

WHEN WRITING MENTION THIS NUMBER

VIA		YOUR ORDER NO. AND DEPT.	SALESMAN	DATE	TERMS:
				9/2/47 ED	2%-10 DAYS, NET 15TH OF 2ND MONTH FOLLOWING. F. O. B. NEW YORK

SYMBOLS

O. P. — OUT OF PRINT, ORDER CANCELLED

O. S. WITH DATE — OUT OF STOCK DATE OF EXPECTED SHIPPING

O. S. R. — REPRINTING, WILL SHIP WHEN READY

O. S. I. — OUT OF STOCK INDEFINITELY HOLDING ORDER

N. Y. P. — NOT YET PUBLISHED, WILL SHIP WHEN READY

N. O. P. — NOT OUR PUBLICATION

REP. — OUT OF PRINT IN OUR EDITION AVAILABLE IN

10	WORLD & AFRICA	3 00	30 00	40	18	00
				S.TAX		36
					18	36

Customers are requested to favor us with suggestions for improving our service.

November 3, 1947

22-25-03

Mr. B. W. Huebsch
The Viking Press
18 East 48th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Huebsch:

I do not know whether The World and Africa has gone well enough to justify further adventure. If not, you will say so.

If you are still receptive, I may go to the West Indies this winter. I should like to write a book on the new labor movement in the Caribbean which is forcing democracy and autonomy on the Spanish Main.

What do you think of this?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:hs

PUBLISHERS · THE VIKING PRESS INC · NEW YORK 17 NY

Cable address · Vikpress 18 EAST 48TH STREET *Telephone · PLaza 5-4330*

November 5, 1947

22-25-04

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

We were well satisfied to have published "The World and Africa;" we expected no spectacular sale but felt that we wanted to be associated with you in presenting your important work to the public.

Our feeling about the subject proposed in yours of the 3rd is different. The labor movement in the Caribbean is significant as a manifestation of what is going on everywhere and doubtless should be made known widely, yet in a sense it is a regional affair and without that degree of general interest for the miscellaneous American reading public which we serve necessary to make the project one that is commercially hopeful, and so I think it better for us to desist.

Thanking you for the proposal and regretting that it is inexpedient for us to associate ourselves with it, I am

Sincerely yours,

BWH/rw

World v Africa

THE VIKING PRESS INC · PUBLISHERS
18 EAST 48TH STREET · NEW YORK 17 · NY
Cable: Vikpress *Telephone: PL 5-4330*

December 4, 1947

22-26-11

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We thought you would be interested in the enclosed letter we received from the American Nobel Anniversary Committee about the selection of THE WORLD AND AFRICA for their book exhibit at their annual dinner at the Hotel Astor.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Brown

Ruth Brown

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York, New York

[Encl.]

Pub

The American

NOBEL ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE

740 West End Avenue
New York 25, N. Y.
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NOV 28 1947

November 26, 1947

SIR NORMAN ANGELL
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Assistant Treasurer

22-26-12

Viking Press, Inc.
18 East 48th Street
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I am very glad to advise you that the following book published by you has been selected for the Book Exhibit in connection with the annual American Nobel Anniversary Dinner at the Hotel Astor, on Wednesday evening, December 10th. Miss Beatrix Hess of Brentano's will be in charge of the exhibit, and the book will be listed with the following citation:

"DuBOIS, W. E. Burghardt: THE WORLD AND AFRICA - Valuable as a reminder of Africa's contributions to world civilization."

The American Nobel Anniversary Committee is proud of the opportunity to present this exhibit as a tribute to the publishing industry in its endeavors to give to the American public as impartial information as possible on the important world issues and the problems of peace and international understanding.

With many thanks for your cooperation, we remain

Sincerely yours,

Jacques F. Ferrand

Jacques F. Ferrand

P.S. Enclosed please find our dinner announcement. Should you wish to attend the dinner - and the reception preceding it for speakers and guests of honor - we would appreciate your sending us your reservation at an early date.

JFF/vh

December 5, 1947

Miss Ruth Brown
The Viking Press Inc.
18 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Brown:

22-26

Thank you for your letter of December 4 in reference to the selection of THE WORLD AND AFRICA, by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois for exhibition by The American Nobel Anniversary Committee.

Dr. Du Bois is out of the city on a lecture tour of the Middle West and will not return to his desk until the middle of the month. However, I shall bring your communication to his attention immediately upon his return, and I know he will be pleased to know of this.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

Oswald Garrison Villard
No. 20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N.Y.

November 6, 1947

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have been meaning for some time to tell you how impressed I was by your presentation to the U.N. of the case against the U.S. I am sure you must have been impressed, too, by the way the newspapers handled it.

Sincerely yours,

Oswald Garrison Villard

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,

22-5-20

December 18, 1947

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

I appreciate very much your letter of November 6, on our petition to the United Nations. I have just been talking to various colleges, the University of Syracuse, the University of Michigan, an organization fostered by the University of Chicago, and wonder ofwonders, Princeton University.

With every good wish.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

LUTHER H. FOSTER
PRESIDENT

WILLIAM A. ROGERS
SECRETARY

JAMES B. CEPHAS
TREASURER-BUSINESS MANAGER

October 28, 1947

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Care of N. A. A. C. P.
20 W 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

22-11-74

I am writing on behalf of the committee which has the job of arranging our College assemblies to inquire if it would be possible for us to secure your services as speaker for our Friday, December 19, assembly. This is our final assembly for the (calandar) year and we thought it timely to have this assembly point up some of the significant developments of the past year. We therefore have thought to ask if you would use as a subject: 1947 in Retrospect and review for us the significant developments in tha areas which have claimed your attention.

The College provides an honorarium for services to the assembly. My committee, however, would be pleased if you will advise us of your usual fee for such services.

Very truly yours,

Percy H. Baker

Percy H. Baker, Chairman
Assembly Program Committee

P. S. I forget to mention that our assemblies meet from 1:00 to 2:00 in the afternoon.

P. H. B.

$150

October 31, 1947

Mr. Percy E. Baker
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

22-11-75

Answering your letter of October 28, I could speak for you Friday December 19, 1947. However as I have no other engagements in that vicinity at the time I shall have to charge you $150.00 out of which I would pay my own travel expense. I am afraid that perhaps that is more than you can afford.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

LUTHER H. FOSTER
PRESIDENT

WILLIAM A. ROGERS
SECRETARY

JAMES B. CEPHAS
TREASURER-BUSINESS MANAGER

November 5, 1947

22-11-76

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

President Foster will be pleased to supplement the usual Assembly Program budget so that our students may have the honor of meeting and hearing you. We shall look forward, therefore, with much pleasure to your visit on December 19th.

If you will inform me later of your route and time of arrival, I will have someone meet you at the station. President and Mrs. Foster expect you to be their house guest during your visit to the campus.

Very truly yours,

Percy H. Baker

P. H. Baker, Chairman
Assembly Program Committee

PHB:ear

Subject: The American Negro before the U. N.

(N2C)

November 7, 1947

Mr. Percy H. Baker
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Baker: I am replying to your letter of November 5, to Dr. DuBois, confirming his appearance at Virginia State on December 19. The subject of his speech will be: THE AMERICAN NEGRO BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS.

Please convey to President and Mrs. Foster the kind thanks of Dr. DuBois for their invitation to him to be their house guest during his stay on the campus.

Doctor will inform you in due time of the date and hour of his arrival and appreciates your thoughtfulness in preparing to have someone meet him.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

[Virginia State College]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Lecture September 1957

December 15, 1957

AIR MAIL SPECIAL

Foster

Dr. Percy Baker
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Baker: I am writing for Dr. DuBois, who is to address your students on December 19. Doctor will arrive by plane in Richmond, Virginia, at 4:00 P.M., Thursday, December 18. He would appreciate it very much if you would be good enough to arrange for someone to meet him there Thursday afternoon when his plane gets in.

Thanking you for your courtesy and cooperation, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

22a-11

2 January 1947

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois will lecture in the East and South during January and February, 1947. He will speak on "The United Nations and the Negro", "Present Africa", and "Russia". His terms are $100 for a single lecture out of which he pays his own expenses.

He could speak at Virginia Union University February 4-7. These same dates have been offered other institutions.

President
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

19 September 1947

22-5-17

My dear Mr. Ellison:

May I trouble you or your registrar for any information you could give me concerning Clarice Johnson? She is supposed to have been a student at your college sometime during the last two or three years. I wish you would tell me, if you can, what work she did there, what her age was, and anything else of importance about her. She was, I believe from Richmond.

I trust this will find you and Mrs. Ellison in good health.

With best regards,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. John Ellison, President
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Forschungsinstitut für Menschenkunde
an der
Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz
Direktor: Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. E. Frh. von Eickstedt

Mainz, den 30. 5. 49

62-8-22

Sehr verehrter Herr Kollege!

Ich habe ein Buch mit Negerliedern vor mir. Eines ist von Langston Hughes: "An W. E. B. Du Bois." Das müssen Sie sein.

Die ganze Erinnerung kehrt zurück: wie Sie damals vor einem Jahrzehnt mich in Breslau besuchten. Dort ist jetzt Wroclaw und ein Trümmerhaufen und alles was Sie sahen ist verbrannt und vernichtet. Auch die Institute, alles Material, wie ich Ihnen ja vor kurzem in einem Brief schrieb. Aber Ihr Bild, das ich damals aufnahm, ist erhalten: weil es in meinem Lehrbuch erschienen ist.

Ist die Neger-Encyclopädie nun erschienen? Sie wissen: ich wegte

damals nicht, die Arbeit auszuführen, um die Sie mich angingen. Man war scharf hinter mir her. Nur mein Name im Ausland und die brasilianische Staatsangehörigkeit meiner Frau schützten mich – so lange ich sehr vorsichtig war.

Inzwischen habe ich mancherlei über Afrika geschrieben. Meine große Sahara-Arbeit werden Sie nicht kennen. Auch eine kleine komponierte Anthropologie von Afrika – mit 30 S., ist noch unveröffentlicht. Jetzt baue ich hier mein Institut auf. Aber Material ist klein und kümmerlich. Viele amerikanische Kollegen möchten mich hierher haben, aber Lehrstühle sind auch dort rar. Ich selbst möchte am liebsten wieder in die Urwälder: mein verlorenes Material wiedergewinnen, ehe es endgültig zu spät ist.

Wissen Sie diese Merkwürdigkeit: daß von allen Bantustämmen die Neger am beliebtesten sind.[2]

Wie es Ihnen gehen mag –. Alles Gute wünscht Ihnen Ihr ergebener

L. Frobenius

9 July 1947

My dear Professor von Eickstedt:

I have received your two letters of May 19th and May 30th with great joy and sorrow. They were directed to me at Atlanta University; but I was retired from my work in Atlanta in 1944 and am now here in New York doing writing and research with the organization which I helped found in 1910. I am in good health and spirits and remember, and have often related your gracious hospitality when I was in Breslau in 1936. I shall never forget you and Frau von Eickstedt.

It is almost inconceivable that so much has happened in the world since then. We could not possibly have foreseen. I am particularly distressed at the loss of your books and manuscripts and it is hard to know of the hardships through which your family and your friends have passed during the last few years.

I hope you will not think it presumptious of me if I send you a little package of materials which may be of service to Frau von Eickstedt. I do not know just what will be in the package, as it is sent under government auspices; but I hope there will be something that you can use.

As for myself I have published since my visit to you Black Folk; Then and Now, 1939; Dusk of Dawn in 1940; Color and Democracy, 1945. The World and Africa, early this year. I was unable to get the large amount of money needed for the Encyclopedia of the Negro, but we did put out a small preliminary volume and bibliography. I am venturing to send you this small volume ~~bibliography~~ and my other latest books, I hope they will reach you safely.

I am interested in what you say about material for a publication on the anthropology of Africa. If you would like to entrust me with a copy of the manuscript, I would see if there was any way possible to get it translated and printed here.

I hope this will find you better off than when I heard from you, and I should like very much to hear from you again.

With the best of memories and highest

hopes I am,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

Herr Dr. Frihen von Eickstedt
Forschungsinstitut fur Menschenkunde
Universitat Mainz
Mainz
Germany

Forschungsinstitut für Menschenkunde
an der
Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz
Direktor: Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. E. Frh. von Eickstedt

(1897)

Mainz, den 8.12.47.

GERMANY

Dear Sir,

22-13-3

Some time ago a care parcel arrived for me, for which your name was given as the very kind sender. No doubt that you are perfectly aware of the great joy you made by your present as the alimentary situation here is a plain catastrophes. Therefore I want to express you my sincerest thanks. And I wonder who of my friends in America (the home country of my grandfather and my wife) may have the reason for your kind offer.

I am teaching here at a quite new university which holds very fine buildings in a very old but now as good as entirely destroyed city and there can only be observed a very slow progress of reconstruction both in the university and in the town. No material, no food, no economic safety! Everybody hopes for better time for month to month but the political situation rather talks of the contrary.

Let me send you my best wishes and sincerest thanks with which I remain

Yours sincerely

Egon von Eickstedt.

29 September 1947

My dear Walton:

This is really getting serious. Somebody seems to be hiding from somebody and I am sure it isn't me! But I have got to see you now because I want to talk about this new Liberian development. I admit that the treat is on me, if you are willing to take a home-grown meal on the morning of October first, second or third, let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Lester A. Walton
2588 Seventh Avenue
New York City, New York

LESTER A. WALTON
2588 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

December 18, 1947

22-23-22

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Maybe you have seen the enclosed. However, I want to make sure.

Your views expressed in "The World And Africa" and those of speaker under reference appear to be at variance.

I wish to take this opportunity to wish for you A Merry Christmas, and that you will be on the firing line and "going strong" in 1948.

If convenient, let us dine together as my guest during the Christmas holidays.

Sincerely yours,

Lester Walton

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

MAY-47

Make check payable to
John Wanamaker New York
784 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

	CHARGES	CREDITS	Date	FINAL AMOUNT IS BALANCE DUE
Balance shown on last bill rendered				5.45
CASH		5.45	8	.00
3 BOOKS	9.50		12	9.50

22 a-19

Paid
10 June 1947
Check # 686

IF CREDIT HAS BEEN OMITTED, KINDLY ENCLOSE RECEIPT FOR MERCHANDISE RETURNED
WITH CHECK FOR THE DIFFERENCE

[Wanamaker]

29 September 1947

Dear Sir:

These tissues are for Mr. and Not for Mrs. I do not care a rap what color the boxes are and whether they are in boxes or in bags, all I want is some good usable tissues.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. J. N. Patrich
John Wanamaker New York
Wanamaker Place
Ninth Street at Broadway
New York 3, New York

[Laura Wheeler Waring]

756 N. 43rd Street
Philadelphia

Dear Dr. Dubois,

Just last week Walter & I were saying that some broadcasting company should "draft" you to talk regularly about the state of the world, causes for it and remedies.

Just now I have finished hearing you on W.O.R. & am writing to the station to say so — Best wishes always

Laura Waring

P.S. Your voice came over fine.

Have you read "The Other Room" by Worth Tuttle Hedden — a gripping & mine a Southern w. woman and

22-23-24

22-23-12

4 August 1947

My dear Laura:

Thank you very much for your kind letter about my broadcast. I am glad to have your commendation. My regards to you and your husband.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Laura Waring
756 North 43rd Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Make Folder [West]

The Don West Defense Committee

Post Office Box 1178
ATLANTA, GA.

CO-CHAIRMEN
Rev. Archer Torrey
Episcopal Minister
Darien, Ga.

Rev. I. J. Domas
Unitarian-Universalist Church
Atlanta, Ga.

18

SECRETARY-TREASURER
S. T. Capps, Teacher
Atlanta School System

28a-4

Dear Friend:

You may be shocked by this letter. What is happening to a progressive Georgia poet and teacher is not a pleasant story.

Don West, a native Georgian, is professor of English and Southern Folk Lore at Oglethorpe University. His book of poems, Clods of Southern Earth, bares the heart of the South and raises the banner of resistance to the hate peddlers as no other American poet has done. Even before publication the publishers had orders for more than 13 thousand copies! It continues to sell in great numbers.

Don West is known not only as a poet, folk lorist, ballad singer, public school administrator and professor, but as a progressive and fearless leader of the southern people. He is both hated and feared by the hate-peddlers themselves - the TalmadgesRankins, Ku Kluxers, etc. He is feared because he speaks clearly and boldly, voicing the hopes and aspirations of the masses of southern people.

This is why a little bunch of evil men are hounding him, seeking to club him into silence and inactivity. Threats had no results. So they trumped up a ridiculous ten thousand dollar libel suit against his book.

One poem dealing with Harlan, Kentucky used a name - "Charlie Lewallen" purely fictitious and with a Kentucky setting. Now a man in Georgia bearing the same name but unknown to Don West when the poem was written, is being used to sue him. The fight has dragged on for more than a year now - a drain on his financial resources and mental energy. (If you have the book the poem in question is on page 122).

Fantastic, you say? Such a case hasn't the slightest chance to win!

But remember, the power of the Klan, the Talmadge-Bilbo biggots, are behind it. It is part of a deliberate plan to destroy all progressive thought now struggling to be born in the new South. From here it may spread to other places. Tomorrow every poet, artist, teacher, preacher who dares speak in words not approved by the biggots may be silenced. Every democratic voice in America is threatened!

We ask you to help in this fight - our fight, your fight -. Don West has already been put to much expense which he has bron personally. More is still to come. Such a poet and fighter should not be left to battle alone. Can you make a contribution, small or great? We don't ask charity. This is part of the very life blood of our democratic culture. Why not take it up in your club or group, or ask a friend to help also?

(CLODS OF SOUTHERN EARTH may be had from us to aid the defense -$1.00 and $2.50)

Sincerely,

S. T. Capps

S. T. Capps, Secretary-Treasurer

[WEST VIRGINIA...]

20 January 1947

My dear Mr. Davis:

I am planning to arrive at Virginia State College on January 31. I shall speak Sunday evening February 2nd at 7 o'clock on the "United Nations and the Negro". I am enclosing some plans for charts which will allow the audience to follow my lecture. I have arranged these lectures through the South and West at the rate of one a week or not more than two, so that in the intervening time I can do some writing on a novel. If I will not be in the way therefore I will stay at the Institute until Wednesday February 5th and then take a train for Durham, North Carolina. Could you arrange passage with Pullman? I shall be much obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. John M. Davis
Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

INSTITUTE. W. VA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

25 January 1947

JOHN W. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

22-11-128

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mrs. Davis and I will expect you on January 31st. Let me know the time you expect to arrive in Charleston, West Virginia.

We will be glad to have you remain here during the period mentioned in your communication. You will not be in the way of anyone here. You will be able to write to your heart's content in our home, as Mrs. Davis and I will be away much of the time you will be here. I assume that your writing will occupy your time.

I believe that you will be able to get along all right in the house with the persons who will be left there to look after your needs.

I am indicating below a comment* concerning your travel from Institute, West Virginia to Durham, North Carolina.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

* not yet received —
JJ

Lecture 1947

January 29, 1947

My dear Mr. Davis;

I shall arrive in Institute at 10:20 A.M. Saturday morning, February 1, 1947. I shall not have had breakfast and will be ready to eat.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. John W. Davis
President, West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

Lecture 1947

January 29, 1947

Dear Mr. Davis;

Please have this chart made for use in my lecture. It should be large enough for the students to see.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. John W. Davis
President, West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

INSTITUTE. W. VA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

30 January 1947

JOHN W. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

Lecture

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have been able to secure for you lower eight in Car 20 to Charlottesville, Virginia on the night of February 5th. Your train will leave Charleston, West Virginia at 10:40 P.M.

It is rather difficult to get to Durham, North Carolina. It seems that you will have to go from Charlottesville to Greensboro, and then take a train or bus from there to Durham. In addition, it seems to me to be most unfortunate that you will have to get up so early in the morning at Charlottesville. I tried every way to avoid this.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

22-11-129

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Local

Ticket office —
800 Kanawha Blvd.
N.E. Corner Capitol + Kanawha
Charleston, W. Va.

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

INSTITUTE, W. VA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

21 March 1947

JOHN W. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

21-11-17

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Upon my return to the college, I am rushing to send you information as requested in your letter of recent date. The same is as follows:

1. West Virginia State College has spent for buildings 1935 to date $658,066.00 .

2. Our current appropriations for buildings amounts to $450,000.00 + 30000.00

3. Our current appropriations for salaries, current expense, equipment and repairs and alterations and library amount to $291,000.00 .

4. We are paying students this year in labor and in cash $ 40,534.25 .

I hope that the information indicated above will be of value to you.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York City (18)

P. S. The appropriations, just approved, by our State Legislature which adjourned on Saturday, March 8, 1947 for the biennium, which will begin July 1, 1947, are as follows:

[ENC.]

21-11-18

APPROPRIATIONS OF WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

FOR BIENNIUM BEGINNING JULY 1, 1947

	1947-48	1948-49
Personal Services, including Salary of President	$ 280,000	$ 280,000
Current Expenses	66,000	66,000
Repairs and Alterations	40,000	20,000
Equipment	25,000	15,000
Extension Service	19,500	19,500
Total	$ 430,500	$ 400,500
From Collections	$ 60,000	$ 60,000

West Virginia State College 4-H Camp

Personal Services	$ 7,500	$ 7,500
Current Expenses	3,750	3,750
Repairs and Alterations	1,500	1,500
Equipment	2,000	2,000
Total	$ 14,750	$ 14,750

From Item 19 of The Budget Bill

West Virginia State College for such building or buildings as may be designated by the Board of Public Works	$ 200,000

From Section 20 of The Budget Bill

The date of expiration of the unencumbered or unexpended parts of any appropriations made by Section 3-a, title two, chapter eleven, (Budget Bills) Acts of the Legislature, 1945, as amended by Senate Enrolled Bill No. 4, Special Session of the Legislature, 1946, is hereby extended to June 30, 1949, and such unencumbered or unexpended parts are hereby reappropriated from the date of expiration to June 30, 1949, for the purposes for which they were originally appropriated, subject to the limitations hereinafter provided	$ 450,000
Another item under this Section 20	50,000.
Total	$ 1,560,500.00

19 September 1947

22-5-19

My dear Mr. Davis:

May I trouble you or your registrar for any information you could give me concerning Clarice Johnson? She is supposed to have been a student at your college sometime during the last two or three years. I wish you would tell me, if you can, what work she did there, what her age was, and anything else of importance about her. She was, I believe, from Richmond.

I trust this will find you and Mrs. Davis and the family in good health.

With best regards,

W. E. B. Du Bois

President John Davis
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

October 23, 1947

President John Davis
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

My dear President Davis:

On September 19, I wrote you requesting information about a Miss Clarice Johnson. She is supposed to have been a student of West Virginia State College. Todate Wehave had no reply to my query. I would appreciate it if you would let me hear from you in regard to this matter at your earliest convenience.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBDlm

Enclosure.

Lecture

West Virginia University
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
MORGANTOWN

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND PUBLIC WELFARE

October 19, 1947.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director of Research,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

22-12-30

Would you be kind enough to send me a copy of the report you just presented to the United Nations Organization exposing the various forms of racial discrimination practiced by the United States? I should appreciate it very much as I want to use it with my students in my course in American Minority Peoples.

I hesitate to make the following request of you but I trust you will forgive me for it is our need for enlightenment that prompts me. Many of us on the campus and the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P., are anxious to have you come and deliver an address at West Virginia University. There are nearly 7000 students in this largest institution of higher learning in the state and although the state university it admits only a few negro students otherwise practicing a rigid racial segregation which is part of the law of the state. We need to have your message delivered in this center from which emanate whatever ideas the University can disseminate through the thousands of the young men and women whom it sends out.

We are only five hours by excellent train service from Washington, D. C., and less than two hours from Pittsburgh. I can assure you of a large and appreciative audience consisting of faculty, students, and townspeople.

Under the best of circumstances, we could not recompense you adequately for the service you would render but our financial condition being what it is, I fear that the honorarium will hardly do more than cover expenses. However, I can assure you that we shall do all in our power to make your stay most pleasant.

It is our urgent need that makes us ask so much of you in time and effort. Please do come.

Yours very sincerely,

J. Saposnekow

lecture

October 28, 1947

Mr. J. Saposnekow
West Virginia University
Department of Sociology and
Public Welfare
West Virginia University
Institute, West Virginia

22-12-29

My dear Sir:

I have your letter of October 19. I regret to say that the petition to the United Nations is only in mimeographed form at present, and we have only a few copies for general distribution. We hope at a very early date to have it in print.

I shall be very glad indeed to talk to the students of West Virginia University; but I regret to say that I would have to charge a fee to include my expenses. In this case it would be $100.00.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

METROPOLITAN DIVISION

NEW YORK

W.H.Watts
Act. DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT

December 8, 1947.

On 409

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Ave.,
New York 32, N.Y.

22-22 DP

Dear Sir:

Investigation showed that the telegram you filed over your telephone at 9:06 A.M. November 20, addressed to Mrs. Norma H. Kane, Lincoln Heights Community Rooms, Building 5, Schenectady, N.Y., was promptly sent to Schenectady and routed out for delivery. The messenger returned and reported that the addressee was not there personally but that the telegram had been accepted by her representative, who assured him that she would give it to Mrs. Kane immediately upon her return.

Our Schenectady manager has learned that the messenger delivered the telegram without making proper inquiries. There are several buildings grouped together as a small settlement and the messenger delivered this telegram to the second building to the entrance marked #5 whereas he should have counted the buildings and delivered the telegram to the fifth building in the row, where Mrs. Kane has her office.

Mrs. Kane was seen by our representative and she was good enough to say that the set-up at the community has caused confusion in mail and other deliveries, and she has requested officials of the group of buildings to change the set-up, and is also having her stationery changed to eliminate errors on deliveries of mail and telegrams in the future. While she said she felt the messenger should not be held responsible, due to the misleading address, we consider that he did not use due diligence and we have arranged to deduct the charges from your telephone bill. I hope that you will accept this adjustment with my apologies for the annoyance and inconvenience caused.

Yours very truly,

W H Watts

Acting District Superintendent

N 2943

THE OFFICE OF
WHO'S WHO

4·5 & 6·SOHO SQUARE·LONDON·W1

14th May 1947

W.E.B. Dubois, Esq.,
2302 Montebello Terrace,
Baltimore 14, Md., U.S.A.

22-22

Dear Sir,

Your name has been selected for inclusion in Who's Who, the original biographical reference book, now in its ninety-ninth year of annual issue.

We shall appreciate the early return of the enclosed form duly completed, and we would emphasise the desirability of filling in this form rather than sending us a copy of an entry in any other work of reference.

Who's Who has a world-wide circulation. Inclusion is not confined to British subjects, but extends to the eminent of many countries and particularly to those of America.

Yours very truly,

A. & C. BLACK, LTD.

A·& C·BLACK LTD·PUBLISHERS (ESTAB·1807)
TELEPHONE: GERRARD 5788 TELEGRAMS: BIBLOS·RATH·LONDON

Authors and Writers Who's Who

Effingham Publishing Company, Inc., Amer. Distr.

2 East 45th Street, New York 22, N. Y.

22-22

Biographical data sent in

September 19, 1947

for W. E. B. DuBois

22-22-10

10 July 1947

Gentlemen:

Your blank number M 2403 just came to me and I am returning it. I am no longer in the field of education as I was retired from Atlanta university in 1944, and am now engaged in literary work.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Who's Who In American Education, Inc.
110 Seventh Avenue, North
Nashville 1, Tennessee

Wilberforce 2

[Wilberforce]

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS

MAINTAINED BY THE STATE OF OHIO

BOARD OF TRUSTEES
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BUREAU OF PUBLICITY

WILBERFORCE, OHIO

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 25, 1947

22-2-22

Dr. E. B. DuBois
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We find that a number of interested persons are misinformed about the real issues at stake in the Wilberforce situation.

To assist those who are interested and friends of the institution in arriving at an intelligent understanding of the basic issues involved, we have prepared a pamphlet and assembled other material to clarify the problem. Enclosed you will find the following information;

1. A pamphlet "The Truth About Wilberforce".
2. The first Court decision.
3. The second Court decision.
4. Reprint of a news story by Reverend J. P. Q. Wallace, originally run in the Christian Recorder. Mr. Wallace is an outstanding minister of the A M E Church of Indianapolis, Ind. and also a member of the Wilberforce University Corporation Board of Trustees.
5. Miscellaneous news releases.

We trust that this material will provide you with sufficient information to assist you in arriving at a better understanding of the current developments at Wilberforce.

Respectfully,

A. D. Gaither,
Director of Bureau Publicity

ADG/ac
Enclosurers

[Enclosure]

FROM: WILBERFORCE STATE COLLEGE PUBLICITY BUREAU

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

COURT DECISION NO. I

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, GREENE COUNTY, OHIO.

No. 24,960

John Andrew Gregg, et al,

Plaintiffs,

-vs-

Charles H. Wesley,

Defendant.

Johnson, J.

Rendered on the fifth day of August, 1947.

The above matter was set down for hearing on the oral arguments of counsel on the demurrer to the petition, but before this started a Mr. Robinson, saying he represented Bishop R. C. Ransom, asked to have the case dismissed without prejudice. However, one of the plaintiffs, Ray Hughes, representing the State Board, objected to the matter's being dismissed without prejudice. The Court feels that it is for the best interest of all parties concerned to have the matter adjudicated at this time. Therefore, the motion to dismiss without prejudice is over-ruled.

The Court then comes to consider the matter upon the demurrer to the petition. A memorandum was filed in support of the demurrer, and it says that "The action which the plaintiffs complain of is Wesley's intention of operating a school to be named the college of education and industrial arts of Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio." It further says that "The relief asked is that Wesley be enjoined from acting as president of

Wilberforce University. If this language be taken literally, it shows no grounds for relief in these plaintiffs because Wesley is not alleged to be threatening to act as president of the University, but only as president of the college created by Legislature." The memorandum further says that "If the prayer is taken as asking that Wesley be restrained from acting as president of the college, it states no cause of action**."

The above is not a correct statement of what is contained in the petition. The petition specifically and directly says that after being discharged Dr. Wesley, "The defendant herein has attempted, and will attempt, unlawfully to perform the duties of the president of Wilberforce University against the wishes and desires of the plaintiffs herein." In the prayer of the petition plaintiffs pray that Wesley be restrained "from setting himself up as President of Wilberforce University."

The demurrer admits these allegations to be true and, therefore, the Court will have to, on the record of the case as it now stands, overrule the demurrer.

If what the defendants' attorneys say in the memorandum in support of the demurrer is true, those allegations should be set up in an answer to the petition, and if the plaintiffs want to file a demurrer that answer the Court can pass upon the real issue in the case and that is whether or not Dr. Wesley can act as president of the college of education and industrial arts at Wilberforce University. As the record now stands that is not even before the Court and in the opinion of the Court that should be incorporated in an answer so as to get the real issue before the Court, and the defendants are given ten days to file an answer

setting forth their defense and claim as against the petition. In the meantime, however, the Court dissolves the temporary restraining order in so far as it would prevent Dr. Wesley from acting as president of the college of education and industrial arts at Wilberforce University.

- - - - - - - - - - -

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
FROM WILBERFORCE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS PUBLICITY BUREAU
SEPTEMBER 10, 1947

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, GREENE COUNTY, OHIO.

No. 24,960

John Andrew Gregg, et al, etc., Plaintiffs, - vs - Charles H. Wesley, Defendant.	D E C I S I O N

Johnson, J.

Rendered on the ninth day of September, 1947.

- - - - - - - - - - - -

This matter came on to be heard before the Court upon the petition, the answer, and the evidence. The plaintiffs prayed in substance that the defendant, Charles H. Wesley, be enjoined from setting himself up or acting as President of Wilberforce University, receiving or expending any funds of said University, receiving or expending any property of any kind of said University, or supplies of any kind, or the operation of any kind of a school within the jurisdiction of this Court that is not connected or uses the name of Wilberforce University, and for such other and further relief as may be just and proper.

It appeared from the evidence that Dr. Wesley had acted as President of Wilberforce University from June, 1942, to June, 1947, and that on June 12, 1947, the Board of Trustees of Wilberforce University discharged him as President of Wilberforce University. Thereafter, the Trustees of the College of Education and Industrial Arts, which is separate and apart from Wilberforce University and

is controlled and operated by the State, set Dr. Wesley up as President of the College of Education and Industrial Arts. There was very little, if any, evidence in the record that Dr. Wesley ever attempted, after his discharge, to act as President of Wilberforce University. It is true that there were invitations sent out by the senior class of the College of Education and Industrial Arts in which it was stated that it was the University that was holding the graduation. However, Dr. Wesley testified that he knew nothing about it. The Court thinks it is generally recognized that the graduating class of a school sends out the invitations and the officers of the school or college have nothing to do with that at all. Also, an advertisement appeared in the Pittsburgh Courier of a football game, but Dr. Wesley testified that he had nothing to do with placing that ad and knew nothing about it.

Heretofore, The College of Education and Industrial Arts at Wilberforce University operated in conjunction with Wilberforce University, and the degrees were conferred upon the graduates of the College of Education and Industrial Arts by Wilberforce University. They had some kind of an arrangement whereby the teachers in the College of Liberal Arts taught some of the subjects that were required of students in the College of Education and Industrial Arts and the State paid for it, and this was known as the "Clock-Hour" Fund. In addition to that, the State over a period of years spent large sums of money in improving the College of Education and Industrial Arts, all of which went to the benefit of Wilberforce University. Wilberforce University accepted State

Aid over a period of fifty years or more and was glad to receive it. It seems it is too late now for them to complain that the State cannot operate the College of Education and Industrial Arts after the State has spent thousands of dollars on buildings and equipment and support for the school. In the opinion of the Court the State had a perfect right to do this and now has a perfect right to operate the College of Education and Industrial Arts at Wilberforce, Ohio.

Some comment was made that the State was now going to teach some subjects that had previously been taught only in the College of Liberal Arts. The explanation for that was that it was necessary to do that because they could not now interchange with Wilberforce University and in order for the students in the College of Education and Industrial Arts, who heretofore had been taught those subjects at Wilberforce University under the "Clock-Hour" arrangement, to get proper credits it would be necessary for the College of Education and Industrial Arts to teach those subjects. The Court thinks that is perfectly right and proper.

When the Legislature passed the acts and various amendments establishing the College of Education and Industrial Arts at Wilberforce, there was harmony between the two institutions, and, therefore, the Legislature had a perfect right to use the words, "College of Education and Industrial Arts at Wilberforce University, Greene County, Ohio." In view of the fact, however, that there has been a complete split between Wilberforce University and the State-owned College of Education and Industrial Arts, it is the opinion of the Court that the College of Education and Industrial

Arts should drop the words, "at Wilberforce University," and only use the title, "College of Education and Industrial Arts at Wilberforce, Greene County, Ohio," and it will be so ordered. The State should not use any of the property of the Church in the operation of the College of Education and Industrial Arts, and Wilberforce University should not use any of the property of the State, unless they can mutually agree upon an interchange of use of properties which they had been doing over a long period of years and which it seems to the Court that they could now do.

An entry may be drawn accordingly.

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FROM: WILBERFORCE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION PUBLICITY BUREAU

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CHARGE A.M.E. BISHOPS LACKING IN SPIRITUALITY AND MORALITY

By J.P.Q. WALLACE

Wilberforce, Ohio, Sept.___--The ability of the Negro for self-government is undergoing a crucial test today, both in state and Church.

The A.M.E. Church has been the one organization that we could point to with pride as proof of our capabilities for self-government. Do present conditions of our church justify this pride?

I have been preaching for over 50 years. I have served under 13 bishops. Bishop Payne being my first. I am of the opinion that our present bench of bishops is not measuring up to the record of the fathers in self-government. The present bench is superior in culture and intelligence, but they are lacking in spirituality and morality. They seem to be possessed with the common traits which are the basis of destruction to self-government-big jealousy, greed for power, honor, and money. The type of Christianity that Jesus taught and practiced is woefully lacking.

The older bishops had the confidence and respect of the members and masses of people, but today it is not so. The bishops as a whole are looked upon as a group of greedy, selfish, grafting, power-abusing set.

Today, they are the greatest hindrance to the progress of the Church. The pastor's popularity with his people is the motivating influence that prompts the members to pay conference claims.

MORE

This condition is not the result of the Sims' case alone, but it is the harvest of the seed we have been sowing for the past 25 years. Jealousy, the abuse of power, and the unscrupulous use of money are the causes of our present confusion.

Democracy is a stranger in most of our church organizations. There is little respect for law. The law of a conference is the will of the bishop. There exists much more guilt than has been exposed. Where law violation is practiced, if one should protest, it means ministerial death. Our trouble at Wilberforce is the result of jealousy and revenge. All law and signed agreements were completely disregarded. There was no valid reason for all of this separation except "I AM BOSS." Yes, jealousy, greed for power, honor, and money are the forces that are gnawing at the very vitals of our Church government. Who is responsible for the disregard for law as it refers to the number of delegates from an annual conference to the General Conference?

The new set-up of the Woman's Missionary Society is based on honor and not merit. Why should a bishop's wife be the Episcopal Supervisor of his District? Yes, it is a desire for power and honor, not merit or fitness. If these little satraps are not abolished, our self-government will soon turn into our disgrace and shame.

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FROM: WILBERFORCE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION PUBLICITY BUREAU

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

12 Sept 47

WILBERFORCE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION BREAKS GROUND FOR NEW MEN'S DORMITORY

Wilberforce, O. Sept _____ Ground was broken this week for the new men's dormitory on the campus of Wilberforce College of Education and Industrial Arts.

The new building is three stories high, 163 ft. long and 86 ft. wide, and will provide housing facilities for 100 men. Architects for the building are Sims, Cornelius, and Schooley of Columbus, Ohio. Total construction cost is $288,000.00. The building is located on the south side of the campus adjacent to highway 42.

The new dormitory is a part of the post-war development program for the physical plant and Dr. Charles H. Wesley, President, stated that other buildings would be under construction in the immediate future.

-30-

FROM: WILBERFORCE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION PUBLICITY BUREAU

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

12 Sept 1947

WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY'S PRESIDENT ORDERS SEIZURE OF STATE DORMITORY

Wilberforce, O. - Sept_____ Dr. Charles Leander Hill, Acting President, Wilberforce University, Tuesday, September 9, ordered Vice President F. A. McGinnis, to seize and occupy O'Neill Hall. The seizure was attempted under cover of darkness and in the absence of Wilberforce College of Education officials.

Dr. McGinnis when questioned as to the legal basis for his attempt to secure control of O'Neill admitted that he had no legal grounds for the seizure and that he was acting upon written orders from Acting President Hill. When it became evident that only a court order would permit him to enter O'Neill Hall, Dr. McGinnis dispatched a messenger to summon Dr. Hill. The messenger returned stating that Dr. Hill was ill. Later Mr. Frank Reid, Jr., son of Bishop Frank Madison Reid, came on the scene and ordered Dr. McGinnis to remove the furniture which had been placed in several rooms and he also ordered the football team, that had moved in, back to Emery Hall, the Wilberforce University's regular dormitory for men.

Young women have occupied O'Neill Hall for a number of years and several were in the building at the time of the invasion. The women were momentarily terrified by the unusual spectacle of fifteen men taking possession of rooms in a girls' dormitory.

O'Neill Hall was erected by the State of Ohio in 1890 and has been used to house state students continuously. Dr. Charles H. Wesley, President of the Wilberforce College of Education was not available for comment.

-30-

FROM: WILBERFORCE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION PUBLICITY BUREAU

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

12 Sept 47

DR. WESLEY TO SPEAK AT WORLD METHODIST CONFERENCE

Wilberforce, O. Sept ____ Dr. Charles H. Wesley, President of Wilberforce College of Education and Industrial Arts, Wilberforce, Ohio, will speak to the Ecumenical Methodist Conference, Western Section, which meets at Springfield, Massachusetts, September 20 to October 2, 1947.

The Methodist Ecumenical Conference meets every ten years. The last meeting was in Atlanta, Georgia, in October 1931, and Dr. Wesley was one of the speakers. The meeting which was scheduled for Oxford, England, in 1941, was postponed because of the war.

The Ecumenical Conference is one of the world-wide Christian assemblies which will meet during 1947-1948. Its concern is to deal with the complex problems now forced upon the attention of the world-wide Church of Christ.

Dr. Wesley will address the conference the evening of September 27, from the subject "The Methodist Tradition". Dr. Wesley is a part of the Methodist Tradition. His father was an outstanding layman and member of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Louisville, Kentucky. His grandfather, Reverend Douglas Harris, was a prominent minister of the AME Church of Louisville, Kentucky.

-30-

FROM: WILBERFORCE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION PUBLICITY BUREAU

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 16, 1947

STATE ARMORY AND RECREATION BUILDING
(NEW TEMPORARY LIBRARY BUILDING) CATCHES FIRE

Wilberforce, Ohio, Sept. ___--Fire of mysterious origin partially gutted a new Temporary Library building on Wilberforce College of Education campus Monday night, Sept. 15.

The new building is being constructed by Federal Works Agency, Bureau of Community facilities, and is seventy-five percent complete. Fortunately the governmental agency had provided the project with fire fighting equipment which prevented the total destruction of the building. The Project Engineer ordered the employment of two night guards as a further protection.

The fire originated on the second floor. The afternoon inspection showed no inflammable equipment or rubbish that could be ignited. A tentative investigation revealed that electricity had not been connected; a fire had not been built in or around the building. The fire burned through a hardwood floor with a sub-floor beneath and new two by twelve joists.

Estimated cost of building is $190,000 when completed and equipped.

Speculation is rife in the Wilberforce Community as to the possible cause of the fire and many are of the opinion that it may have been of an incendiary nature.

--30--

23 September 1947

My dear Mr. Wilcox:

I was greatly pleased to have your letter of April 5th 1946 and how it got misplaced and unanswered I do not know. May I thank you now for the article by John H. Sherman which you kindly sent me and also for your good words concerning my book, Color and Democracy. A later book published in 1947, The World and Africa, will not I am afraid go so far in meeting your approval; nevertheless I think it is worth glancing at. If you are in town at any time I hope you will let me know so that I can call and see you.

I am quite well indeed and trust this will find you also in your usual health.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Walter F. Wilcox
3 South Avenue
Ithaca, New York.

13 January 1947

Dear Du Bois:

I am glad to know that you reached Northfield safely. Please write me and send me the railway coupon for redemption or anything that you got from the conductor for this purpose. I know you will not have much time to write since you are preparing for the final exams. It was nice to get a glimpse of you.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Du Bois Williams
West Gould
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Mass.

31 January 1947

22-2-3d

Dear Du Bois:

Enclosed is a check for $15, made out to the treasurer of the school. Deposit it with her. It is for your spending money for February, March and April. If there is anything due for books, let your mother know, and she will send a check.

Goodbye and good luck. Enclosed is a list of my addresses. You might write me at one place or another, and I will write to you.

With love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

Miss Du Bois Williams
West Gould
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Mass.

18 April 1947

22-8-38

My dear Du Bois:

Enclosed is a check for ten dollars for your spending money during May and June. Your mother gave you money I understand for April.

I want to talk to you about your music. You must remember that you have one notable gift and that is a good ear and memory for music, so that you can play tunes that you have heard. This is a great advantage but it will amount to nothing unless it is supplemented by the scientific basis of knowing and being able to accurately to rpproduce the notes. You have just got to spend time learning musical notation. The question is are you willing to do this and have you time to do it. I wish youwwould talk to your music teacher about this and send me her name so that I can write to her. In another way this applies to your clarinet playing. If you continue the clarinet you will next year have to have a new instrument which is going to cost a great deal of money. If you are really going to know music and read notes, I shall be willing to try to buy this, but I am not willing if you are simply using the clarinet as a pastime and are not learning music. Think this over and write me about it.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Du Bois Williams
West Gould
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Massachusetts

6 May 1947

Dear Du Bois:

My plan is to come to Northfield the week-end of May 24th if that is not too late in the year. Will you kindly send me immediately the name of the best hotel in the town and also let me know what days it is best for me to be there. Should I come Thursday or Friday and stay over Sunday and go back Monday or how? Let me know this as soon as possible.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Du Bois Williams
West Gould
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Mass.

13 May 1947

22-8-32

Dear Du Bois:

I have just been down to Baltimore and found grandmother and mother getting on very well. Grandmother is slowly improving. The azalias are magnificent. I never saw them so beautiful.

Your mother and I talked about your coming to New York and decided this: the cost of living is, as you know, very high and your clothes for spring are costing twice as much as they use to. Therefore, we think that on the week-end of the 23rd you can choose one of two things: if you wish, you may come down to New York; or if your prefer, I will come up to East Northfield; but we cannot afford to do both. Therefore, let me know which you prefer. If you wish me to come to East Northfield, I will take the 9 o'clock train, Thursday morning May 22nd.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Du Bois Williams
West Gould
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Mass.

[1947?]

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

31-5-41

Dear Grandpa,

I hope my letter didn't worry you. Our little misunderstanding is cleared up now. I am making use of your suggestions. I practice my piano 1 hour everyday. I read about 3 books a week and do a lot of the

housework. I don't want to go away during any of the summers in the future because it will only mean more trouble money and unhappiness because I'm away all winter and I think I should try to get along with mamie and not run away from it.

I'm having a pretty good time now. I'll write you soon and inform about everything. Keep well,

Very cheerfully
Du Bois

[1947]

W. E. B. DUBOIS
409 EDGECOMBE AVENUE
NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK

31-5-45

Dear Grandpa,

I trust that you had a nice trip home and arrived safely. I would appreciate it if you would gather up all my music books which are on the piano, have them rapped (Mrs. Mathews) and sent to Yorkfield without delay. I am sorry to cause you so much trouble but in packing at the last minute I forgot them. They are extremely important !!! Have a good time and "Thank You" for the beautiful medal and check! I will write soon!

Your loving and appreciative
Granddaughter, DuBois

October 3, 1947

22-2-7

My dear Du Bois:

With regard to that November 15th week-end, you must consult your mother and get her consent and let her ask for it. I am writing her about it. Thank you for the card and I hope you are having a pleasant semester. How about the clarinet?

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Du Bois Wil iams
West Gould Hall
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Massachusetts

DuBois Williams

October 19, 1947

Dear Grandpa,

Enclosed is the form for my permission. Please ~~fill it out~~ copy over and return as soon as possible. I hope that Mother can come that week-end. My roommate is coming down the same week-end so I will have company on the train. This not my typewriter as my roommate is using mine.

Dear Mrs. Bennett,

I give my permission to my granddaughter to come to New York for the week-end of Nov. 14. On the train leaving Northfield at 4:57 P.M. and arriving in New York at 10:05. She will be staying at my residence:

409 Edgecombe Avenue (Apt. 13-H)
New York City (32)

She will arrive back at northfield on the train leaving New York at 12:30 and arriving in Northfield at 5:34 Sunday evening.

22-8-41

You do not have to write the exact words written here but you should include all the information . As for the money I willneed (about)$10.50 for train fare, .90 cents for my domestic work , .35 cents for my cab fare to the station here, 1.00 dollar for food on the train, and when you send the check could you possibly include something extra so I canpay my bills of different kinds. (1.35 + 4, only 5) Mother sent me $8.00 for my birthday but I thought it would be nice to send her a present so I spent half of it for that. I realize that with the expense of food, clothes and our house that it must be an awful strain on your income, because of this I am trying to save as much as possible but it seems at the ~~begi~~ beginning of the year everybody wants money for this thing or that and it's gone long before you can say, boo. By the way , you sent me another copy of "The World and Africa" which I appreciated but I don't think you realized that I already had a copy. I had a wonderful birthday party and the kids enjoyed it alot. I got very nice presents too. Uncle Fred and Aunt Alice sent me, a very ~~lov~~ lovely book cover made out of leather.

I am having quite a bit of trouble with my French. Miss Daboll, Ass. principal, thinks it is because my piano lessons detract seriously from my study periods and since I seem to be getting a good mark in piano she thinks it might be best that I drop it for a while. Miss Daboll understands however that my troubles are not in getting the grammar but in comprehending the teacher's method of teaching Mme. Gethman is a very severe and technical person and it seems that everyone not just me, has had trouble with her some time or another. You just have to get used to her. Also unlike most people in tests my first impressions are very often wrong therefore when I don't have time to look over my test after she has finished dictating I know that I have made mistakes but she won't allow you to go back and correct them. Well, I'm now waiting to see what my mark is on one of the big tests I took Friday.

All the old girls that were here last year want to know if you are coming back this year and so I think that when you have the time and the money we would all enjoy a visit from you. I guess that this will be all because this typewriter is beginning to act up.

All my love,

Yolande

P.S. I'm going to call Mommie tonight.

October 27, 1947

Miss DuBois Williams
Northfield School
West Gould Hall
East Northfield, Massachusetts

22-8-39

My dear DuBois:

I am sending the letter asking permission for your weekend to Mrs. Bennett and, also, writing to your mother so she will be here to entertain you.

I do not understand about the money, this "$13.00, $14.00 of $15.00"---does that include your fare, or is it a matter of debts outside your fare? If it includes your fare allright, and I will send it to you; but if you have debts to that amount outside your fare I shall want an understanding as to why you are in debt to that amount.

I hope you are going to be able to do your French without interrupting your piano lessons, but of course you must take your teachers advice. You have not said anything about the clarinet. I do not now see that it is going to be possible for me to get to Northfield this coming year, but I thank you for the invitation.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Ethel Maxwell Williams]

22-17-24

January 23, 1947

My dear Mrs. Williams:

I was glad to get your kind letter Christmas 1946, but I noted with interest that you gave me no address. Perhaps you hope to save yourself from an answer. I trust this will get to you sometime and somehow. I remember with you very pleasantly the days at Atlanta. By the way another book of mine is being published January 27, 1947. Best regards to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

29 January 1947

Dear Yolande:

Here is Woodson's check. Please see that he gets it.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

1 April 1947

22-2-21

Dear Yolande:

We arrive at the Mount Royal Station at 5:16 p. m., Saturday, April fifth. Du Bois arrived at eleven. Irene met her in Grand Central Station and had lunch with her and her room mate.

Yours with love,

Mr. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

April I, I947

Yolande has paid out:

nurse, Apr. I,		$35.00
Du Bois		
R.R.	$30.00	
cash	5.00	
clothes	I28.00	I63.00
Basement		I5.75
Mice	I0.00	
commode	I5.00	
heater	9.00	
Y's nurse	25.00	
loss of salary March	90.00	
		149.00
total	~~$362.75~~	$362.75
cash	~~60.00~~	60.00
Balance due		302.75
tax bill	~~x$33xx95x~~	$231.95
Balance due		$70.80

Paid by check Apr.9.

Checks due

for nurse $35, April I5, 22, 29, total $I05.00 Paid

maid $20, April ~~5~~, I2, I9, 26, total $60.00 Paid

Send Du Bois $I0 spending money for May & June

Pay Baltimore taxes June or July, $23I.95

25 April 1947

22-2-14

My dear Yolande:

I have just arrived this morning from Ann Arbor, Michigan where I spoke at the University of Michigan. Since I have seen you I have been to Chicago, and Cleveland. It is rather a nuisance not to be able to call you on the phone. Please let me know how things are going and how your mother is getting on. Impress it upon Dr. Higgins that I want to keep the nurse just as long as possible. Mrs. Du Bois likes her very much and seems to be quite satisfied with the way things are going on. Let me hear from you as to the cost of carrying on the house. I know how prices are rising and I hope you are keeping careful account so that we can make adjustments accordingly. Also, please give your health your first attention. Remember as I have said so many times after forty a person is either a fool or a physician. As a physician you should become an expert on your physical condition. The chief thing that you have got to learn is to eat according to your needs. You must simply eat more green vegetables, and less starch and fewer sweets. If you gradually adjust your diet to your real needs you will find that you will be healthy and happy; on the other hand, if you do not do this, you are going to have continued troubles.

Please write to me immediately and let me know how things are. I am quite well.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

1 May 1947

Dear Yolande:

Enclosed is a check for $365 for the following items:

for the house	$125
for the maid May 3, 10, 17, 24, 31 @ $20	100
for the nurse May 6, 13, 20, 27 @ $35	140

I have not heard from you concerning house expenses on which I asked you to keep careful account so that I might contribute my share. Let me know about this as soon as possible.

Tell Mother that I have not forgotten the books but have just finished my lectures and got a chance to breathe. Also Irene has looked shopped in any number of stores but has been unable to find a terry cloth robe in any color except white and a pale grey.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

2 June 1947

Daar Yolande:

Enclosed is a check for $345 for the following items:

maid - June 7, 14, 27, 28 @ $20	$80.
nurse - June 3, 10, 17, 24 @ $35	140.
house	125

Also a check to Major Oil Company to settle their bill. Ask them for a receipt and then finish up that insurance.

I gave Du Bois money for travel from Northfield to Baltimore when she comes down June ninth.

Yours with love,

Mrs. Y. Du Bois Williams
Baltimore

[YOLANDE WILLIAMS]

7 July 1947

Dear Yolande,

Dr. Du Bois tells me your Mother wishes some night gowns. I am sending two under separate cover. I did not know what she wanted but I rather thought she would want something with sleeves. It is very difficult to find gowns with anything but straps. Besides this style there is a white voile with built-up shoulders and a little cap. These were $3.98 each. They do not come in colors and they only have a few in stock. I kept the tickets so they may be returned in case they are not satisfactory.

I had a lovely weekend in Hartford, Springfield and Waterbury. Much love to you, Mrs. Du Bois and Du Bois. By the way when are you coming this way?

As ever sincerely,

18 September 1947

My dear Yolande:

Here is a spoon which I appropiated when I was at home and which I am returning. I am glad you had a good time. Enclosed is the check for $65.00. The $11.00 for glasses, and also $2.00, which I paid for laundry, $1.80 for papers, and Elsa Market $13.65-this will make a total of $28.45, which I will take off when you send me the next accounting in October.

Du Bois wrote me to send her music and I sent it special delivery.

I am worried about Mrs. Du Bois at night; she really ought to have someone sleeping in the room with her. You cannot afford to be disturbed by getting up through the night. Talk to Mrs. Matthews and see if we can arrange that some way and at what cost? I think anything would be cheaper and wiser than a nurses home. Those homes involve so much neglect, and I should be very uneasy. Could one of your school girls sleep on a cot in her room nights?

By the time of your October accounting you willprobably have notice of your new salary. Send me facts as to the year's salary, the amount deducted for income tax and pension; and then let me suggest the amount of saving. I think without doubt you ought to save a thousand dollars a year. Get Du Bois' bicycle ready and send it to her as quickly as possible; remember that they are liable to have snow up there in October or November and she will need to use it before that.

With love to you and Mother,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

[mid-September 1947?]

Wednesday

Dear Pops –

Another time I said I'd say that the letter and check is still missing !! I have received neither one so thought I'd let ya know in case I had not made it emphatic

31-5-40

shaved it have been
bragging a man's
impression became
last night a early
thus ma she
called plenty. Her
control gets less &
less & gets
increasingly difficult
& care for her
with the accessories

enough in the belly
so yesterday. Hope
I get a answer
tomorrow!

Please check with
Dr. Collen's office for
me (Hoping - a 7th one
I think!) We have
received our glasses
Perhaps I

& - proud home. Of course
my main difficulty is
the strain on my back
in the lifting & the
interrupted sleep. Queenie
is a wellbeing soul but
quite unthrowed & not
the help I'd hoped for.

I do hope ye found
traces of the check
Love for everyone —

Yolande

29 September 1947

Dear Yolande:

The letter and check for $65.00 were sent September 17th. The check was either marked with an X or serial number 752. If you have received neither letter nor check, let me know immediately so I can take the matter up with the Post Office department.

With love to you and mother,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 12, Maryland

October 3, 1947

22-2-10

My dear Yolande:

I am making this a separate letter, because I want you to answer it separately. Du Bois has asked twice to come to New York for the week-end of November 15th. I am telling her that permission for that must come from you. Moreover, if she comes I would prefer that you come up and take charge of her while I go down to Baltimore and carry on. I shall be glad to pay your railway travel and of course hers.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 12, Maryland

WEBD:lm

[YOLANDE WILLIAMS, Oct. 1, 1947]

Wednesday

Dearest Papa -

Just kind o let
ya all's Well down
this way. I have
just mailed D. Bars
her birthday cake &
a box of cookies &
ya Rus she'll be
14 on Friday.
I think Dr. Ferebee
& I have got most

22-2-22

of the things they need for their use except a clock. Do you know where such a thing could be found? Alan does not electric

Mama is doing nicely & Miss Matilda is still with. Dorothy sends love - Mama also

Lots of love,

Yolande.

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
[redacted] 20 W. 40TH ST.
N[redacted] NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

October 10, 1947

22-10-25

My dear Yolande:

I am enclosing two letters which I have sent to two undertakers and one to the Trustees of the cemetery in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. I know that this is a rather unpleasant subject, but after all its very foolish to leave things like this to the last moment. What I have planned is this: If I should die here in New York, to have the ceremonies here, to have my body cremated and the ashes sent to Great Barrington for burial. If I should die in Baltimore, to have the body cremated and sent to Great Barrington.

When Mrs. Du Bois dies, I proposed to have a simple ceremony in Baltimore, and then have the body sent to an undertaker in New York where it can be cremated, and her ashes carried to Great Barrington.

If, of course, eventually you want to change the details in any respect, you have perfect right to do so; but usually in case of death, everything is so upset and uncertain that nothing rational can be accomplished.

Also, when I was down last time I had Mrs. Du Bois make a will with three witnesses, leaving, in the event of her death, her property to me, and in the event of my death, to you. Mr. Spingarn advised this because if I should die before Mrs. Du Bois, it might made some complications. I suggest also that you ought to make a will. Usually people wait until after death to attend to matters of that sort.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

WEBD:lm

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
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BRA290 NL PD=BALTIMORE MD 19 1947 OCT 19 PM 11 08

DR W E B DUBOIS KY

=APT 13H 409 EDGECOMB AVE NYK=

PLEASE CALL DR COLLINS AND FIND WHY HOENIG HAS NOT SENT DUBOIS HER GLASSES SHE TELEPHONED SHE HAS HEADACHES FROM OLD GLASSES=

YOLANDE. D Williams

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Enclosure

October 27, 1947

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Dear Yolande:

I wish you would tell me definitely as to whether or not you are coming up to be with DuBois November 15. You could take the train Friday afternoon and meet her when she proposes to arrive at 10.05 P. M. Friday night, November 14. She would leave at noon on Sunday and you could leave Sunday night. Now if you are going to do this, please plan it carefully and let me know and not wait until the last moment. She has written and asked me to send the notice to Mrs. Bennett about her coming, and, of course, as she would be coming to New York and not to Baltimore, perhaps it would be allright to send it in my name, if you have already consented.

I am going to send money for her expenses, but she also asked for "something extra, so I can pay my bills of different kinds" and put down what I suppose is "$13.00, $14.00 or $15.00." I don't know whether that represents the total, or whether she has extra bills. If she has, why should she have that amount of bills? I hope you will take that up with her.

I wonder if you would like me to order for you a smoked turkey for Christmas? These turkeys are smoked, and shipped and are ready to eat. It would save buying and cooking a turkey. On the other hand, they are rather costly and have to be ordered ahead. If you want me to order, I will be glad to do so, but there again, you must let me know.

I enclose copies of answers to the letters which I wrote to the two undertakers. Will you put them among your papers where you can refer to them when you wish.

If you do come up to be with DuBois, of course I will come down Friday and stay until Sunday. Do let me hear from you. My love to your mother and yourself.

Very sincerely yours,

[October, 1947]

Du Bois Cottage
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore

31-5-42

Dearest Popo —

Of course as the
by the time I get that
financial letter written
it will be time for
the hon. report. Again
I'm scribbling a note
to let you know one
or two items of news.
Trust you all - Mrs

Dr Bois' glasses? I did not
hear anything of it
Warned about her eyes
Also how about
the renewal of the
Defender"? Mame
asks J. D.
Otherwise the
news is fine. Mame
is doing about the
same and sends

Sheppard (the elder) died Wednesday afternoon very suddenly.

Secondly Irene's mother was a stroke accident. She's in the hospital with a heart condition but since she's better Irene decided to come home

Did you get my telegram & see about

love

Write ago soon

Lots of love,

Yolande.

November 5, 1947

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

My dear Yolande:

Enclosed are documents and receipts in regard to taxation of the house, which ought to go in your papers. They have all been attended to.

I sent you a check for $400.00 the other day, which I hope you received. I was sorry to have to send it without the regular accounting which you ought to give me. You can realize how di difficult it is to keep out of bankruptcy unless you keep regular records. You ought not to leave your accounts until the end of the month. You should enter them each day, or at most each week.

You have not yet let me know whether or not you are going to meet DuBois on the fifteenth, or when; as I said before, I would have to know beforehand.

I saw Irene when she was up here, she did not say whether or not she was staying at the house during November, and you have said nothing, so that I do not know whether there is any room for me there or not.

When you see DuBois do not be too harsh; try appeal and persuasion. She has been hit pretty hard but deserves it. I have written the Chicago Defender; it ought to come regularly; it is not a subscription but a free copy. Is there anything that your Mother is lacking for? I wonder if she would like to have a phonograph with records? Perhaps she gets tired of the radio.

I do wish you would write regularly with some leisure instead of hurriedly at the last moment when you can say so little.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

November 29, 1947

Mrs. Yolande DuBois-Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Dear Yolande:

I am delighted to hear about the housekweper, and hope you will be able to keep her. Do not worry about my rest - I am taking three weeks for five lectures with leisure and a few movies between. I have sent cards and a letter to DuBois.

My best regards to Irene and Mrs. Mathews.

Love to you and mother,

Yours,

[1947?]

Monday

Dearest Pop.-

Your special came - promptly - time - for which I was very thankful. Also ~~the~~ ~~folder~~ ~~filled~~ ~~the~~ documents. I'll put them away & see I shall get my ~~off~~

3-13-57

go back to South Carolina. There we are without help again. I do some work we cannot do at home and move to town where we could get some help to stay & I would be scared to face the winter. It obvious that no matter how much we pay

accepted for a more
detailed. However I did
attempt it as much as
I did for October. Right
now I'm struggling to
clear off this cold that
hangs on and on. She
told I'm managing to write
this & let ya know that
Queano is leaving
Saturday. She's

we can't get anyone to
work that hill. They
all quit after a while
Of course under
the circumstances I
won't be able to go
up and see D. Bess
However I hope to be
able to do it eventually
I'll let ya know
how we progress.

Love Yolanda

December 17, 1947

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

My dear Yolande:

What I propose is: to go to Richmond for a speech at Virginia State College, Thursday, the 18th. I shall return to Wilmington, Delaware the 20th, and come down to Baltimore either the 23rd or 24th and stay until the 26th. I know this is going to crowd the house, but it will be all right for me to sleep in the parlor and not disturb the rest of you.

If you wish to come to New York during the Christmas vacation, I shall be very glad to come down to Baltimore and let you and Du Bois use the apartment.

With best love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

file W
ensp.

Washington, D.C
April 20, 1947

My dear Dr. DuBois,

I read your book on the challenge of Africa with great interest and admiration for your labor of love. I thought perhaps, that my little piece on Juba, which is also an effort to dispel certain myths of past, which have become "racial stereotypes", might interest you.

I am taking the liberty of forwarding a copy and hope that your very full schedule will allow you time to read it.

22-23-8

Very truly yours,

Marian Hannah Winter

Marian Hannah Winter
Dance Index
130 West 56th Street
N.Y.C. 19

30 April 1947

My dear Miss Winter:

Let me thank you so much for sending me the article on Negro Minstrels and Negro Music. I think it is a very commendable effort.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Marian Hannah Winter
Dance Index
130 West 56th Street
New York 19, N. Y.

THE WOMEN'S CITY CLUB
OF CLEVELAND

MISS VIRDA L. STEWART, PRESIDENT
MRS. STERLING NEWELL, 1ST VICE PRESIDENT
MISS MARGARET JOHNSON, 2ND VICE PRESIDENT
MRS. N. R. HOWARD, 3RD VICE PRESIDENT
MRS. KARL JASTER, SECRETARY
MISS EDITH FULLER, TREASURER
MRS. L. A. DEERING, ASSISTANT TREASURER

February 17, 1947.

Apr 21
$100

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 5th Avenue
New York City.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

The members of the Women's City Club of Cleveland are very much interested in the question of race relations and would like to have you address one of their meetings. We heard of a speech you gave "Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace" and the title intrigued us. Our audiences are interested and well-informed and average about 100. Our meetings are held at noon, any day of the week with the exception of Friday.

Would you be able to come to Cleveland some time in April or May and what would your remuneration be?

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Very cordially yours,

Edith W. Seery, Ch. program committee

Mrs. Albert D. Seery
13610 Shaker Blvd.
Cleveland 20
Ohio.

22-11-124

THE WOMEN'S CITY CLUB
OF CLEVELAND

Miss Virda L. Stewart ..... President
Mrs. N. R. Howard ..... 1st Vice-President
Mrs. Henry Friede ..... 2nd Vice-President
Mrs. Lawrence A. Deering ..... 3rd Vice-President
Miss Emelia E. Wefel ..... Secretary
Mrs. Ralph S. Joseph ..... Treasurer
Miss Olive S. Peck ..... Assistant Treasurer
Miss Polly Prescott ..... Executive Secretary

Luncheon

February 26, 1947

Mr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

22-12-22

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Mrs. Albert Levy has asked me to reply to your letter of February 23 regarding a lecture at the Women's City Club.

We are extremely interested in having you speak at the Club, but find that April 21 would not be a convenient time for the meeting. We are wondering if you are making plans for next fall and if it could be arranged for you to speak in October or November. We would be particularly interested in having you speak on, "Color and Democracy, Colonies and Peace," and hope that you would also touch on the United Nations and what they are doing in regard to race problems.

NOTE

Our fall program is quite open and we would be glad to fit the time to suit your convenience for a luncheon meeting on a Monday, Tuesday, Thursday or Saturday. Wednesdays and Fridays are devoted to special Club activities.

We shall look forward to hearing from you and hope that a date can be arranged for our fall program.

Sincerely yours,

Polly Prescott

Polly Prescott
Executive Secretary

October 14, 1947

22-12-23

My dear Madam:

Following our correspondance from last Feburary, may I say that I could speak for your club early in December, perhaps the second week. My charge would be $150.00.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Polly Prescott, Executive Secretary
The Women's City Club
Cleveland, Ohio

WEBD:lm

THE WOMEN'S CITY CLUB
OF CLEVELAND

MRS. HENRY FRIEDE, PRESIDENT
MRS. LAWRENCE A. DEERING, 1ST VICE PRESIDENT
MRS. RALPH M. COE, 2ND VICE PRESIDENT
MISS VIRDA L. STEWART, 3RD VICE PRESIDENT
MRS. HOMER TIELKE, SECRETARY
MRS. RALPH S. JOSEPH, TREASURER
MISS ALLETTE WENNERSTROM, ASSISTANT TREASURER
MISS POLLY PRESCOTT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 17, 1947

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
National Assoc. for the Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

22-12-24

My dear Mr. Du Bois:

Your letter of October 14 has been handed to me as the new program chairman for 1947-1948.

It is very kind of you to write us and I will be glad to refer your letter to the new committee in charge of program for this year. This committee has already obligaged itself to Dr. Eduard Lindeman and to Dr. Charles S. Johnson, if they can come, but I am sure they will like to know of your letter. Should they wish to reply in the affirmative, you will hear from me within the next ten days.

Thanking you again for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Clara H. Bellamy

Mrs. George A. Bellamy
Program, Chairman

CHB:pp

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 12 RUE DU VIEUX COLLÈGE, GENEVA
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, U. S. SECTION, 532 - 17TH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON D. C.
TELEPHONE METROPOLITAN 3807

a Social menu 1937

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
DOROTHY DETZER

NATIONAL PRESIDENT
HANNAH CLOTHIER HULL

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION SECRETARY
MILDRED SCOTT OLMSTED

NATIONAL TREASURER
HELEN TAFT MANNING

4/19/37

April 10, 1937

NATIONAL SECTIONS
AUSTRALIA
AUSTRIA
BELGIUM
BULGARIA
CANADA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
DENMARK
FINLAND
FRANCE
GREAT BRITAIN
GREECE
HOLLAND
HUNGARY
IRELAND
JAPAN
MEXICO
NEW ZEALAND
NORWAY
POLAND
SWEDEN
SWITZERLAND
UNITED STATES
YUGOSLAVIA

LOCAL GROUPS OR
CORRESPONDING MEMBERS
CHINA
COLOMBIA
CUBA
ECUADOR
EGYPT
ESTHONIA
HONDURAS
INDIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
LUXEMBOURG
PALESTINE
PARAGUAY
PERU
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
ROUMANIA
SOUTH AFRICA
SPAIN
SYRIA
TUNIS
TURKEY
UKRAINE

Mr. William E. B. DuBois
226 West 150th Street
New York City

My dear Mr. DuBois:

I am writing to extend to you a special invitation to attend our dinner during our Annual Meeting, on Saturday May 1st, at the Hotel Washington, at which the Honorable Frank Murphy, Governor of Michigan, will speak.

It is always an honor to have with us members of our Advisory Council, and your acceptance to be present on this occasion would give us great pleasure.

Very sincerely yours,

Hannah Clothier Hull

Hannah Clothier Hull
National President

HCH:HWR
STB&AU
11773

WOR

1440 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 18
PENNSYLVANIA 6-8600

July 24, 1947.

1
22-22-23

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I'm so pleased that you are going to be a guest on my Martha Deane program Thursday, July 31, 1947.

As you know, my program is ad lib so far as the guests are concerned. But that does not mean that we go on the air totally unprepared. My usual procedure is to meet my guest at 9:45 a.m. That gives us a half hour together before the program to line up the interview. (The program is from 10:15 to 11 a.m., and the guest interview runs from 12 to 15 minutes.)

Again let me tell you how pleased I am that you are able to come, and I'll look forward to meeting you July 31,1947. If you will come to the reception desk on the 24th floor at 9.45, I'll meet you there.

With best personal wishes.

Cordially,

Marian Young

Marian Young
(MARTHA DEANE)

Dr. W.E.Burghardt Du Bois
National Association for Advancement
of Colored People,
20 West 40th St.
New York,N.Y.

MY:aj

P. S. Enjoyed your book so much, Dr. Du Bois — M.Y.

WOR

1440 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 18
PENNSYLVANIA 6-8600

August 7,1947

Dear Dr.DuBois:

22-23-10

Thank you ever so much for making a guest appearance on my Martha Deane program. I know that my listeners enjoyed hearing from you--many of them have written in to say so. And, needless to say, I enjoyed having you as a guest.

With best personal wishes and thanks again for coming.

Cordially,

Marian Young

Marian Young
(MARTHA DEANE)

Dr.W.E.Burghardt Du Bois
Natl.Assoc. for Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th St.,New York City

[WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY]

20 May 1947

Dear Rachel:

I am sending my contribution of twenty-five dollars to your work. I am sorry to say that I am pretty sure that I will not be able to get to the meeting Wednesday night. If I can, I will come. But I do not see how I can make it: I have just returned from Boston, and day after tomorrow I have got to go to the Northfield School and the next week to Arkansas. So that it leaves me a thousand and one things to do while I am in the office. I am sorry and wish you good luck. If you want me to write out a statement concerning the relation of your work to the university, I will be glad to do it this week or next and send it to you; and then your committee can consider it along with their ideas.

22-8-13

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Rachel Davis Du Bois
204 East 18th Street
New York City

June 23rd, 1947

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY
204 East 18th Street
New York City 3

SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT

Major Field Project P.S. 165
Situated on 108th and 109th Streets, between Broadway and Amsterdam Avenue and made up of 40% Puerto Ricans, 20% Jewish and the rest Irish Catholics and Americans of other mixed backgrounds.

Aims

1. To experiment with effective and practical ways of providing face-to-face intergroup experiences which will (1) motivate "grass roots" citizens to work together as neighbors on their common problems of living together,(2) provide similar intercultural experiences for parents and childen so that the home and school will pull together for a common goal,(3) aid in overcoming various kinds of intergroup prejudices and tensions in an indirect and positive way, (4) to move forward in the implementation of the goals involved in our concept of Cultural Democracy, (5) to find more effective ways to train local leaders "on the job" so that they can assume a more intelligent role in overcoming prejudices and in developing understanding attitudes among themselves and their neighbors. This part of our program is done under the auspices of THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH.

The Main Steps of the P.S.165 Project

1. (Spring of 1946) Local mothers and three teachers quickly trained as leaders in the Workshop's unique method of group conversation used their homes for groups meetings for six weeks. This culminated in a large parent meeting in the school. Results: 15 leaders and 450 adults, 200 of these being Puerto Ricans never before reached by the school. A hard working intercultural committee of seven parents was formed,(Irish, Puerto Rican, Chinese, Jewish, Negro and old stock Protestant white Americans.)

2. October, 1946 to June, 1947
Fourteen parent-teacher-child class parties of grades 4 - 7 during the school year of 1946-47. Participants: 28 teachers, 720 children, 240 parents.

3. (Spring, 1947) During the Spring term, Dr. DuBois and three Teachers College graduate students met weekly with twelve mothers. These people are leaders and co-leaders of the inter-home visits. They consist of Catholic, protestant and Jew, Negro, white Puerto Rican and old line American.

4. Follow-up mother's meeting. After each class party mothers decide the next step for them. For many it means working on the regular committees of the Parent's Association. Where none was before, there are now two Puerto Rican mothers on the Executive Committee of the Parents Association.

5. Parrandas: From the Puerto Rican mothers came this idea of adapting their progressive party or Parranda to stimulate interhome visits. (One of our concepts of Cultural Democracy is that if social recognition is given to valuable culture patterns of a minority group, it helps to integrate that group into our American life as well as to enrich our common culture. Puerto Ricans have fun together as family units by this custom of a "Parranda.") From two to four homes of various backgrounds are visited in an afternoon by groups (not more than 30) mothers and children. The topic for group conversation, led by mothers trained by the Workshop is "How American Families of Various Backgrounds Work, Play, Love and Worship Together." The conclusion reached is "American families do the same things together but they do them differently."

   The mothers have become so interested that they formed their own continuation committee. A.D.A.R. is co-chairman with a Jewish American mother. The Principal now excuses children from school for the three hour period and each child reports back to his weekly Homeroom discussion period. The teachers are now very keen where at first they were only coolly cooperative and the children can scarcely wait their turn to attend a Parranda. The word is now common usage in this school-community. Fifteen homes have been visited. 102 children and 65 parents have participated in them.

6. Classroom Follow-up. The teachers are given pertinent factual material on the various cultural groups for use in homeroom and classroom follow-up discussions. Children selected for home visits report to their home room, as stated above.

7. Cooperation of Teachers College Home Economics Department
   Seven graduate students of Dr. Drummond's Family Life Class had attended class Festivals and Parrandas and helped in follow-up parent discussion periods and visited parents in their homes for interviews on parent reactions. These will be objectively analyzed by Dr. Lillian Kay. As a result of this contact, Rachel DuBois was asked to direct the Intercultural Workshop during the summer session at Drexel Institute, Philadelphia.

8. Focusing Attention on One Culture Group
   We have made one experimental attempt to focus attention at a particular meeting on the socially valuable customs of one group. Thirty pupils some of whom had gone on Parrandas, met in the home of Peggy Tucker, an Irish American who tells stories over the radio. A point stressed was that some of our American legends such as those about Paul Bunyan have been inspired by the Irish ability to tell stories and to carry on good conversation and that our American life would be richer if others of us were also to learn that art, realizing too that story telling is a universal culture pattern.

   Another year if we can push our experiment further in the direction of playing up the strength of particular groups we might find it a valuable method in relieving tensions and aiding in group adjustments.

9. Objective Analysis
A sociometric test has been given the 7th grade children, tested interviews have been made of some of their parents, anecdotal records of pupils and parents are being collected in the Home-Rooms. We have stenographic reports of two creative discussion groups and role playing session. This data will be used for evaluation of the project in our final report.

10. Some Results
A hardworking Intercultural Committee of the Parents Association continues to increase its numbers as they work for the cause of good neighborliness in their community. Mothers pass on to their children the thought and spirit of respect and understanding, and the children, wisely taught, pass it back to their elders. In the comparatively short time since the inception of this project, friendly chats between individuals of various groups as they meet on the streets of this community have been so outstanding as to cause much comment.

The development of three Puerto Rican mothers as leaders who before "would not open their mouths in a meeting."

A larger number of Puerto Ricans attending and participating in the regular Parent Teachers Association meetings and committees.

Some comments of pupils

"We see that all people do the same things, but in a different way and the differences are nice."

"I think it is important that we learn from other people and that they learn from us."

"I don't think it would be good to make every one alike."

Some comments of parents

"I was glad to learn the poems, songs and dances of other groups. It made my own life richer."

"It is the first time I've seen or heard people talk about religious differences in this way. No one got angry . It seems to bring about a better understanding of religious differences."

"If this could be done city-wide, state-wide and then all over our country there would be no more wars."

11. Suggested Next Steps
Now that the local mothers have their own functioning Intercultural Committee to continue our program as mapped out this year, they should require only the part time help of Mrs. Scott and thus release Rachel DuBois for other phases of our work.

a. More intensive work with the classroom teacher and the preparation with her of our curriculum materials on home customs for use in New York City's ~~lecture~~ Social Studies course which begins by focusing attention on the homes of the school's neighborhood and goes in widening circles to the study of peoples and their ways of living in our state, nation and finally the world.

b. More house visits to Negro homes in order to increase the number of mothers participating in the project so that the percentage of the group in the Parent's Association will equal their percentage in the school population.

c. Experimentation with methods of developing, by releasing the creativity of the people, large Civic Festivals around basic American holidays such as Thanksgiving, New Years, National Heroes' Birthdays, Freedom Festivals, etc. These neighborhood gatherings would be under the auspices of the Public School created by people who had felt their unity in the smaller face-to-face gatherings and now come together as a mass, using the arts of music, and drama to aid in feeling this unity in a larger group and to dedicate their lives to our common American ideals.

Such meetings now are held periodically under the auspices of the Parents Association, but could be made more valuable and effective. Some social observers feel that Fascist forces will use for their own ends this need of people "for a feeling of belonging" if our democratic institutions do not. This need could also be expressed as the need for holding our social worlds together by releasing what might be termed "spiritual cement." We feel that the mild group therapy which is so much a part of the method of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy* does help to release this spiritual cement.

Rachel Davis DuBois) for the
Charlotte A. Scott) Program Committee

*We have felt the need for having on our staff a person trained in psychiatry who, because we sometimes find in our groups a few parents and children with prejudices too deep seated to be much affected by our group conversation, would help us to work out small group therepeutic methods. The Carl Rogers method of non directive therapy seems to have implications which would be of help.

Experimental Work with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union

Within a period of twelve months, the Workshop for Cultural Democracy has experimented with its use of the Neighborhood-Home Festival, or group conversation, as a method of helping to relieve tensions among workers in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Some 550 men and women have been brought together in the following places:

1. At week-end Institutes in the country such as Hudson Shore and Eidswold.
2. I. L. G. Headquarters, 1710 Broadway, N. Y. C.
3. At the Workshop for Cultural Democracy
4. In the shops on a special holiday
5. At headquarters of local unions after work hours.

These experiences have been received with enthusiasm by both workers and their educational directors , as well as managers. In one case where the meeting was held in a factory, the employer expressed keen interest. Mark Starr says, "It works." The doors are open for further work, in shops and Union Halls, as well as in homes. Our present staff however cannot continue to answer these requests or extend the work in other unions.

We have asked the International Ladies Garment Workers Union for a subvention of $7,000 in order to add to our staff a person fitted to develop this phase of our work. Dr. Harry Carmen and Mr. Harry Starr recently interviewed Mr. Dubinsky, the president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. We have not as yet received a definite answer from this request.

PROJECTS OUTSIDE NEW YORK CITY

a. Lancaster, Pa.
Under the leadership of Dr. and Mrs. Henry Williams who were a part of our 1945 leadership training course in Princeton, N. J., who now live in Lancaster, a Festival group has been holding monthly gatherings during the year. Rachel DuBois has made two trips during the year to give demonstrations and further guidance. In February the local Womens Club gave Rachel DuBois a citation for her work in Intercultural Education. We have been sending the leaders in Lancaster our periodic suggestions for leaders.

b. Princeton and Metuchen, N. J and Coatesville, Pa. are the other communities where we have made periodic visits and send our suggestions for leaders. Almost every mail brings requests from various parts of the country for guidance and a few teachers use our library for reference.

c. Labor Temple, New York City, under the very able leadership of Elizabeth Gillilan, continues to use our methods in some of its activities.

d. Need for Newsletter

We look forward to the issuing of a regular Newsletter for local leaders. A subcommittee met in the home of Mrs. Louis Broido and has started plans. Marguerite Harris and Russell Snyder, both with editorial experience, have volunteered to prepare the Newsletter and funds for two issues have been pledged.

OUTSIDE LECTURES, SINGLE FESTIVALS, ARTICLES

We do not seek outside lectures, first because of lack of time and secondly because we believe that merely talking about brotherhood is not effective. However, we do accept urgent invitations when they come from groups wanting leadership methods or if we are allowed to lead the group in a Festival, which at least gives an experience of brotherhood. This year our Festival team * Rachel DuBois, Charlotte Scott and Sara Segal, has developed a way of giving a demonstration in front of an audience.

Among these demonstrations have been the following:

The Womens Club, White Plains, N. Y.	250	people
Volunteers of America, Trenton, N. J. (two Festivals with elderly people aged 60-93)	150	"
The Lighthouse, NYC. Christmas and Easter parties for the blind	250	"
The Pa. Home Economics Convention in Philadelphia before an audience of	400	"
Wellesley Institute Reunion	40	"
Y. W. C.A, Ridgewood, N. J.	50	"
Our single Festivals have included three New York City Libraries	115	

(Four of the above paid from $25 to $ 50 in fees)

ADDRESSES OR PANEL DISCUSSIONS

F. O. R. Panel on World Cultural Democracy
Three Parents Associations in New York
Two Inservice Courses
New York State Folk Lore Society Conference
Yeshiva University
Mrs. Scott addressed the Girl Scouts Regional Conference of L. I. and is scheduled to address a meeting of the Friends in Flushing.

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*There are at least 12 others who, as interested volunteers, lead Festivals from time to time.

ARTICLES WRITTEN OR PUBLISHED

In March your director recorded a script for the Office of Cultural Affairs entitled "Intercultural Education on a World Scale" which was broadcast by the State Department on its University of the Air Program. In June her paper, "Some Experiences in Cultural Cross Fertilization" was published by Harpers in the book, APPROACHES TO GROUP UNDERSTANDING, edited by Drs. Bryson, Finkelstein and MacIver.

Continuous requests come in from nationally read magazines for articles about our work. We answer such requests as time permits, but this is a definite contribution that some of our Board members could make in order to help spread our method and point of view.

THE WORKSHOP'S OPEN HOUSE *

For the sixth consecutive year, our Workshop has held bi-weekly open house for a mixed group of young people of various racial, cultural and religious backgrounds. Get-togethers were usually attended by 30 to 40 people, and during the year approximately 400 different young people from all over the United States and some foreign countries have participated. The open house has provided a relaxed social setting for youth of these various backgrounds where intellectual and social needs could be met.

The programs have been informal and varied. Often a cultural informant would lead a discussion of problems in his particular background. Some evenings we would draw entirely on the rich variety of experiences that some of the guests would bring to the group. In this way we have been able to explore cultures and problems of people from China, Puerto Rico, Germany, Palestine, Ireland and other areas of the world.

A most interesting part of each evening has been the time when newcomers and old-timers introduce themselves and tell about their interests. We were able to draw on this for the program of each evening -- games, singers, artists, folk dancers, and story tellers. The final hour is spent in folk dancing led by guests or by Sara Segal, a part-time member of our staff.

The primary focus of the open house has been on fun and friendliness. Many of the guests have expressed themselves as being thrilled to find a group such as this in existence, unique because of the genuine warmth of feeling and ready acceptance of all people from whatever background.

Avel Goldsmith, Leader

The Festival Fellowship

The Festival Fellowship is composed of a group of about 50 people who having known the warm friendliness of a Festival and having discovered the value and need for such a program, have organized to hold four seasonal Festivals a year. Another aim is to suuport the Wroskhop in services and money. This year the contributions have been 10.00 monthly. Two of our Festivals were a part of the program of the Institue of Presbyterian ministers who gather at Labor Temple from various parts of the United States.

Miriam O. Osler, Chairman

Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois,
Director

Charlotte A. Scott,
Executive Secretary

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman,
Chairman

George Corwin,
Vice-Chairman

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Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher

22-8-14

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

Founded in 1934 as the Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations

Leadership Training
School and Community Programs
Consultant Services
Publications

204 East 18th Street
New York City 3, N. Y.
ORchard 4-3193

June 26, 1947

Rachel Davis DuBois

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

At our Board Meeting on the Twenty-Third it was decided to set up a special committee to study the possibilities and the problems involved in leadership training as one of the major functions of our Workshop for Cultural Democracy. I understand that you have done some thinking along this line and hence in my capacity as Chairman am asking you to serve on such a committee. The others are:

Miss Miriam Ephraim
Jewish Welfare Board
145 East 32nd Street
New York, New York

Dr. Ira Eisenstein
124 West 93rd Street
New York, New York

Dr. Margaret Mead
Museum of Natural History
New York, New York

Will you serve as chairman?

The next meeting of the Board will be in the last of September.

Cordially,

Eduard C. Lindeman

Eduard C. Lindeman
Chairman

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE (IN FORMATION)

Dr. David Baumgardt
Washington, D. C.

Clement M. Biddle
Bronxville, N. Y.

Grace Brosius Biddle
Bronxville, N. Y.

Dr. Edward W. Blakeman
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Miss Mabel Carney
Marseilles, Illinois

Miss Fannia M. Cohn
New York City

Miss Babette Deutsch
New York City

Miss Mildred Dougherty
Austin, Texas

Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Arlington, Vermont

Miss Helen D. Green
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dr. Jacob Greenberg
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mrs. Marjorie Barstow Greenbie
Washington, D. C.

George Graff
Buffalo, N. Y.

Dr. Maurice Hammond
Boonville, N. Y.

Dr. Frank Hart
Berkeley, Calif.

S. I. Hayakawa
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Howard Hintz
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
Cheney, Pa.

Rev. Lawrence Hosie
Syracuse, N. Y.

Robert C. Jones
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Louis O. Kattsoff
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Rev. Charles Keenan, S.J.
New York City

Judge Anna Kross
New York City

Harold Lett
Newark, N. J.

Mrs. Lionello Perera
New York City

Clarence E. Pickett
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. David de Sola Pool
New York City

Dr. Daniel A. Prescott
Chicago, Illinois

Rev. Sean S. Reid
New York City

Mrs. George Scott
New York City

Rev. H. Norman Sibley
New York City

Miss Lillian Smith
Clayton, Georgia

Miss Edna Studebaker
Cleveland, Ohio

Ninon Tallon
New York City

Dr. G. E. von Grünebaum
Chicago, Illinois

Carl Voss
Rutland, Vermont

Truda Weil
New York City

Dr. Regina Westcott Wieman
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Henry Williams
Lancaster, Pa.

Mrs. Mayme E. Williams
Miami, Florida

Incorporated under the laws of N. Y.

[Workshop for Cultural Democracy]

10 July 1947

22-8-15

My dear Mr. Lindeman:

Answering your letter of June twenty-sixth, may I say that I would be glad to serve as chairman of the committee mentioned.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Eduard C. Lindeman
Workshop For Cultural Democracy
204 East 18th Street
New York City 3, New York

[Workshop for Cultural Democracy]

29 September 1947

22-8-12

My dear Rachel:

I found that I could not get away Sunday so I am sending you this memorandum it can be revised and critized. I may be able to see you next week.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Rachel Davis Du Bois
204 East 18th Street
New York City, New York

File Rachel Davis DuBois [Workshop for Cultural Democracy]

MINUTES OF ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE "WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY"

Meeting of the board was held on 10/14/47 at 7:00 p.m. at the offices of the Workshop, 204 E. 18 Street, N.Y.C. Mr. George Corwin acted as chairman in the absence of Dr. Lindeman, and the following board members were present:

Dr. R.D.DuBois	Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
Mrs. G. Ayer	Miss B. Elizabeth Gillilan
Dean Harry Carman	Mrs. Hjordis Swenson
Dr. Ira Eisenstein	Mr. Harry Starr
Mr. George Graff (newly elected)	

On behalf of the Nominating Committee, Miss Gillilan presented the following names for officers of the Workshop for the current year, and they were unanimously elected:

Chariman	Dr. Eduard C.Lindeman
Vice-Chairman	Dr. Ira Eisenstein
Secretary	Mrs. Gertrude E. Ayer
Treasurer	Mr. L. Hollingsworth Wood
Director	Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois
Executive Secy.	Mrs. Charlotte A. Scott

Necessary revisions of the membership of the Board were then discussed. The terms of membership of Norman Corwin and Mrs. Perlman have expired and they are automatically dropped from the Board. The chairman pointed out that the number of members on the Board is limited by law to 39, but as this limit has not been reached

nominations for eight additional members were made. These are:

George Graff, a member of the National Advisory Committee who is now in New York City.

Gordon Nugent of the National YMCA,

Eugene Exman of Harper's,

Murray Galves, business man,

Charles Richter, former banker who worked with the Russell Committee and is interested in our work,

Prof. Robert M. MacIver of Columbia University,

Dorothy Norman, Newspaper columnist.

A motion was passed unanimously to invite these to join the Board. Dr. Whalen will invite Mr. Richter, and Dr. DuBois will invite the others. A motion was then made to reelect all members of the Board except Norman Corwin and Mrs. Perlman, and this was passed unanimously. Dr. DuBois will list the members of the Board and the date of expiration of term of office, and board members can call up for this information.

An executive committee was then elected. This will

consist of the officers and the chairmen of the Finance and Program Committees.

Dr. Rachel DuBois, the director, submitted a report of the current activities and plans of the Workshop.

(1) The Newsletter -- 2000 copies have been printed and are ready for mailing, and another 1000 copies have been ordered. Publication of the issue was made possible in large part by the volunteer help of Russell Snyder and Marguerite Harris. The cost of the first issue has been undertaken by Mrs. Lucy Kaufman Broido, and Mr. John Chambers will meet the costs of the next issue. The contents of the Newsletter were reviewed by the Board members and compliments were extended on its attractive format.

(2) Dr. DuBois described the workshop on home customs that she conducted this summer for home economics students at Drexel Institute. She was assisted in this by informants from four cultural areas -- Jewish, Italian, Negro, and Quaker. In discussions focused around food and home life, the group of students came to realize that families need not follow the same customs to attain healthy, adequate

personality development in the children, and at the same time they could see the universality of experiences in homes from different cultural backgrounds.

(3) P.S. 165 Project -- this pilot project has been the most important activity of the Workshop during the past year. It is an experiment in applying the techniques of sharing experiences to the ordinary run of mothers in an area of tension. The main emphasis here has been in training local leaders, and the success of this is evidenced in a "Bread Festival" for 100 kindergarten mothers conducted last week by one of the local leaders. At present, a permanent group of 12 mothers is meeting weekly, and a new group is being started. Dr. DuBois is writing a report of this activity for a national home economics magazine.

(4) Publications -- Articles based on the program of the Workshop are to appear in the January issue of the "Woman's Home Companion," in the "Friends Intelligencer," and in a home economics magazine. Articles have appeared in foreign countries, including India, recommending use of our group conversation method. Also, publication of the Newsletter seems assured for the next four issues,

each issue costing $105 for printing.

Mr. Corwin commented on the encouraging nature of the report, in that work seems to be extending to other leaders instead of being limited to Dr. DuBois alone. He also suggested that the subscription appeal in the Newsletter be made more conspicuous and attractive. He suggested that a contact be made with the National Conference on Family Life who may be interested in the program.

Dr. Eisenstein suggested the possibility of reprints of published articles in original form or as offsets. Miss Gillilan agreed to this but pointed out that such reprints and distribution should be geared to some specific purpose, such as a fund drive. The Board agreed that such reprints have great value, and recommended that the executive committee follow up on this suggestion.

Mrs. Ayer felt that an effort should be made to get the reactions of people who receive the Newsletter, possibly by offering free printed material to those who write in their comments.

Mrs. Ayer then reported for the Program Committee. Mr. Turner of the Board of Education has asked for help in training ten teachers now on his staff for [illegible] kind of activity. [illegible]

ten teachers now on his staff for our kind of activity. Dr. Whalen reported that Mr, Richter had gathered a sum of $2000 for the Russell Committee, to be used for training teachers. Since Dr. Jansen became the new Superintendent of Schools, that committee has not been active. Dr. Whalen thought that the $2000 could be used at the New School for Social Research for training of teachers, and the Workshop for Cultural Democracy should be an integral part of this picture. Mr. Graff and Dr. Whalen are to follow through on this and report to the executive committee.

Mr. Graff's suggestion for a study to evaluate the lasting effect of the work being done in the schools was favorably received. A group of graduate students at Teachers College may be interested in doing this, and contact with them will have to be made. This was referred to the executive committee.

Regarding the project at P.S. 165, two training sessions with parents, bi-weekly meetings with 7th grade teachers, and continuance of the "parrandas" is planned. It is hoped that Mrs. Scott can do community work there if she can be released from some of her secretarial duties. The need for additional projects like the one at P.S. 165 has been indicated by the community but Dr. DuBois felt this could not

be undertaken unless money can be provided for an assistant to carry on at P.S. 165, in which case she could go on to other schools.

At this point, the chairman clarified the need for several committees, but it was left to the executive committee to work out the exact differentiation and duties. The chairman of the executive committee is to appoint the members of the committee.

The financial report for the past year was submitted as follows:

Income	$5267.88
Expenditures	4546.81
Bank Balance	721.07
Outstanding	176.00
NET BALANCE	545.07

The Board then discussed the general problems of raising funds to carry on the work of the Workshop. Dean Carman expects a contribution from John Burke, and will contact Ira Hirshman of the Board of Education regarding another contribution. Efforts to obtain a contribution from the ILGWU are still fruitless, but Mrs. Ayer suggested that Frank Crosswaithe be contacted about this, and Dean Carman and Harry Starr will see Mr. Dubinsky early this fall.

Mrs. Ayer pointed out that professional money raisers,

contacted last year had stated that small organizations in general find difficulty in raising funds. The best plan is to find people who are interested in the work and have means, and then press them hard for help by personal contact. Mr. Corwin described the interest of Gordon Nugent in the problem of how small organizations finance themselves. Mr.Nugent, who is in the office of public relations for the national and international YMCA, has given some thought to our specific problem, and prepared a memo on this which Mr.Corwin read. This advocates a broad base constituency, both for finances and educational purposes, who could be contacted through a mail campaign. Though this is not practical at this stage, some planning in this direction should be made and the Newsletter is a step in this direction. More immediately, the following actions could be taken: (1) Contact contributors of small sums from some years back. (2) The Workshop Director should make personal visits to possible large contributors. (3) Make contacts to interest ethnic groups and associations. He also submitted a draft of a popular, human interest letter for direct mail solicitation.

Mr. Corwin emphasized that the Board always reaches the same point regarding finances and does not seem able to get past this

actually to raise the necessary money. He stressed that leads should be carefully and systematically followed up. Dr. Thornex, chairman of the finance committee, will be back from Alaska in November, and his committ should get together with Mr. Nugent for some thorough planning.

Dr. R.DuBois pointed out that we are reasonably sure of e enough money to enable the Workshop to meet their present $500 a month budget through next spring, but there will be no funds to expand. However, this will give the finance committee time to organize a well-planned program for raising funds.

The Encyclopedia Committee, headed by Dr. W.E.B.DuBois, reported on the plans to date for preparing for final publication the mass of factual material on the various culture groups which the Workshop has in mimeographed form. An interested person in Philadelphia is ready to approach Lessing Rosenwald for funds as soon as a prospectus is prepared. Mr. Graff is to work this out with Mr. Mirrick of the Curriculum Service Bureau and present it to the Encyclopedia Committee as soon as possible.

Reports of all committees were accepted by common consent. The Board expressed their appreciation and gratitude to Dr.Rachel DuBois and Mrs. Scott for their unselfish and untiring efforts against great

obstacles during the past year and at the present time.

Submitted by Avel O. Goldsmith,
Recorder

(Approved) Gertrude E. Ayer,
Secretary

22-8

Rachel DuBois

[Workshop for Cultural Democracy]

AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ~~the~~ Civilization ~~Life~~ of THE UNITED STATES

The Workshop for Cultural Democracy has long felt in its activities the need ~~of~~ for a factual and scientific book of reference to fix and make available the truths concerning the sources of our culture and the history and processes of intercultural amalgamation. There is need for such a work for scholars so as to make the ~~meaning and~~ definition of terms and methods clear and consistant; there is a demand ~~for such information~~ for students in high schools and ~~junior~~ colleges; wide use of such data could be found among general readers, ~~study clubs~~ and social workers.

Some general material along this line was collected by the Workshop in preparing the "Americans All-- Immigrants All " program, which is still available. But the time seems ripe today for a more comprehensive and scholarly effort.

The Workshop for Cultural Democracy therefor proposes to set up ~~the~~ an independent and autonomous committee to prepare and publish "An Encyclopaedia of Cultural Contributions to ~~Civilization in the Life of~~ the United States," with or some analogous title to be decided upon later.

The Workshop suggests procedure for this committee along these lines:

A. The committee should by discussion and consultation with experts, proceed to lay down the plan and scope of the proposed work and seek to define for the purposes thus outlined, the terms:

Culture
Culture Patterns
Intercultural Relations
Contributions of one Culture to others
The Main Cultural Contributions to the Culture of the United States

B. The Committee might then select two or three sample groups, whose cultural contribution to the United States is unquestioned and capable of immediate study and evaluation; or the Committee might at the same time or later, select a number of subjects like Art, Science, Government, ~~Ecology~~, Family life, or Labor technique, to which Cultural Contribution had been made by various groups

C. The Committee, selecting two or three subjects of this sort, could then ~~select~~ choose an editor for each and proceed with ~~the preparation of~~ planning an objective, complete statement on this subject, setting forth the contribution of this group or the contribution of various groups to the selected subject. ~~Such strikeman studies should undergo careful criticism at the hands of the Committee and consulting scholars~~

D. ~~It~~ Meantime the Committee should ~~then be~~ decide whether to publish these ~~and further~~ studies as booklets or as one work ~~in one or two large volumes~~. If the plan of booklet publication seemed ~~feasable~~ preferable, negotiations might be entered upon with the Curriculum Service Bureau for International Studies for aid in office space, editorial and clerical assistance,

and help in publication of one or more booklets

E. ~~eventually~~ The aim should be eventually to publish either from a (combination and possible) re-writing of the booklets ~~or combining them into~~ a complete encyclopaedia one or more volumes, (or as one large work from the beginning) ~~an encyclopaedia on the lines outlined above.~~

E - The aim should be eventually to publish either from a combination and possible re-writing of the booklets, or as one large work from the beginning - a complete encyclopedia in one or more volumes.

22-8-17

[Workshop for Cultural Democracy]

AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CIVILIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The Workshop for Cultural Democracy has long felt in its activities the need of a factual and scientific book of reference to fix and make available the truths concerning the sources of our culture and he history and processes of intercultural amalgamation. There is need for such a work for scholars so as to make the definition of terms and methods clear and consistant; there is a demand for students in high schools and colleges; wide use of such data could be found among general readers, and social workers.

Some general material along this line was collected by the workshop in preparation of "Americans All--Immigrants All" program, which is still available. But the time seems ripe today for a more comprehensive and scholarly effort.

The Workshop for Cultural Democracy therefore proposes to set up an independent and autonomous committee to prepare and publish "An Encyclopaedia of Cultural Contributions to Civilization in the United States," or with some analogous title to be decided upon later.

The Workshop suggests procedure for this committee along these lines:

A. The committee should by discussion and consultation with experts, proceed to lay down the plan and scope of the proposed work and seek to define for the purposes thus outlined, the terms:

Culture	Contributions of one Culture to others
Culture Patterns	The Main Cultural Contributions to the
Interculture Relations	Culture of the United States

B. The Committee might then select two or three sample groups, whose cultural contribution to the United States is unquestioned and capable of immediate study and evaluation; or the Committee might at the same time or later, select a number of subjects like Art, Science, Government, Family life, or Labor technique, to which Culture Contribution had been made by

various groups.

C. The Committee, selecting two or three subjects of this sort, could then choose an editor for each and proceed with planning an objective, complete statement on this subject, setting forth the contribution of this group or the contribution of various groups to the selected subjects.

D. Meantime the Committee should decide whether to publish these studies as booklets or as one complete work. If the plan of booklet publication seemed preferable, negotiations might be entered upon with the Curriculum Service Bureau for International Studies, for aid in office space, editorial and clerical assistance, and help in publication of one or more booklets.

E. The aim should be eventually to publish either from a combination and possible re-writing of the booklets, or as one large work from the beginning--a complete encyclopaedia in one or more volumes.

Workshop for Cultural Democracy
204 E 18th St, New York 3, N.Y.
Rachel Davis DuBois, Dir

[0947]

A READY REFERENCE ON THE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CIVILIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

WHAT IT IS TO BE

This is a plan for a series of booklets, later to be brought together in the form of a ready reference book of one or more volumes, on the cultural contributions to the civilization of the U.S.A.

The Workshop for Cultural Democracy has long felt in its activities the need of a factual and scientific book of reference to fix and make available the truths concerning the sources of our culture and the history and processes of intercultural relationships. There is need for such a work for scholars so as to make the definition of terms and methods clear and consistent; this information is sorely needed by students in high schools and colleges; wide use of such data could be found among general readers, social workers, and various kinds of leaders of public opinion as our country seeks to determine its role in the One World now in the making.

23-27-39

The general aim in the selection and writing will be to induce the appreciation of values of the cultures of the various groups in American life, to the end that through mutual understanding, the stresses and strains in personal and group relationships be reduced and finally eliminated. Such an aim may eventually aid in producing a wholesome and more integrated culture representing all the best aspects of existing cultural groups.

The Need

The role of the immigrant in American life has concerned our social observers from the beginning of our history. Every war has seemed to increase that concern, but until World War I, our westward

movement and then the demand of our growing industries so quickly absorbed the new immigrant that the concern was mainly an academic one.

During World War I, however, a fear overtook the older immigrant- the so-called first families - that these "hordes of foreigners from Europe" would in the crisis of war become disloyal to their new country. A fervor of Americanization programs based on cutting oneself completely from ones cultural as well as political background resulted. But like any mushroom growth, the movement died down in the middle twenties.

Then came the depression with a succession of race riots and our social observers awoke to the fact that we have not only an immediate problem of intergroup adjustment, but a permanent one, that of the integration into our democracy of all our groups. This requires a well thought out philosophy as well as the publishing of facts of an historical and explanatory nature about the role of all groups - not just the recent immigrants or the so called minority groups currently on the receiving end of prejudice.

23-27-40

World War II came and again the concern to have all Americans united toward the one goal of victory resulted in the formation of various organizations preaching democracy and the need for tolerance. But now the incentive of victory is over and instead of citizens working together for their common welfare, we find a steady increase of anti-semitism and other forms of intergroup maladjustment. In fact our recent opinion poll reports that 75 % of Americans hate groups other than their own. Ignorance of the role of each group in the building up of our country is only a part of the causes underlying hatred, but it is an important cause.

Among our educators there are leaders who are eager to work out a plan of action for intercultural cooperation. These leaders are increasingly using the term "intercultural education" a term which has appeared with increasing frequency during the past decade or more in various professional and popular periodicals, in reports of educational conferences, and even on jackets of new books on the subject. Interest is growing steadily in cultural pluralism, race relationships, human relations, intergroup adjustment, to mention but a few of the phrases used to designate the need for intercultural education.

The first organized experiment in cultural democracy was conducted by the Director of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy and her staff in 1935 in fifteen high schools in New York City. Although random experiments are useful in developing guiding principles, the problem, however, requires a positive, intelligible philosophy and the assembling and organizing of scientific data about the role of all groups that have contributed to the greatness of America.

23-27-41

In 1938-39 the United States Office of Education presented over the Columbia Broadcasting Station's nationwide hook-up its prize winning series of twenty-six programs entitled, Americans All--Immigrants All.*

Teachers and group work leaders are now aware of the need to incorporate intercultural education into classroom work or club activities, but easily available facts are beyond their reach. Several recent surveys prove that these facts have not yet been incorporated to any extent in our texts and reference books. Recently, too, when a national organization offered a prize for the best essay on the contri-

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*Rachel Davis DuBois, as Director of the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education, was responsible for the research for these weekly programs.

butions of various racial groups to American life, it was found that the content of even the best essays was woefully meagre because the students had so little reference material. There are available many books on the college level, but most of them focus attention on one cultural group or on one phase of the problem.*

Few libraries and schools have sufficient funds for purchasing even a small fraction of the vast number of specialized publications that have appeared in the past ten years. But every one of them can afford an inexpensive exploratory volume which covers the whole subject of intercultural education.

With this in mind the Workshop has already collected considerable material touching the cultural contributions and intercultural reactions of the English, Irish, Italians, Negroes, Poles, Germans, Chinese and Japanese in American civilization.

23-27-42

We now plan the writing and publishing of broad studies to be called

AMERICANS ALL -- IMMIGRANTS ALL
A Ready Reference Book on Cultural Democracy in the United States

There follows some of the subjects which might be treated in separate booklets. In some of these cases the cultural group is the center of attention, in others the cultural result. Either or both of these approaches might be developed.

English Influences on American Politics
Italian Contributions to our Music and Art
Folk Music in America
Cultural Background of American Science
Cultural Background of Industry and Agriculture in the U. S. A.
Jewish Groups in the Development of American Culture
German Influence on American Life
The Intercultural Relation of Negroes in America

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*J. B. Lippincott is publishing an extensive series of books, edited by Louis Adamic. The title of one, for instance, "They Came From Italy."

Sources of American Home Customs
Asiatic Cultural Influences in the U. S.

Bibliographical reference will be appended at the end of every booklet. A listing of basic materials may also be included in the appendices.

It is also intended to print as a supplement a paper-bound Manual to guide teachers and group-work leaders in methods and techniques of intercultural education and to provide suggestions for organizing the materials in the reference book for use in classroom and other school activities.

23-27-43

Annual Budget for a three year project

To the estimated cost of producing the manuscript must be added the cost of publication.

ESTIMATED COST PER YEAR

Director of Writing and Researsh - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 8,000.00
Assistance of writers, consultants, experts in the field pertinent to the study - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	13,000.00
Secretarial Assistance -	6,000.00
Office equipment, supplies and miscellaneous - - - - - - - - -	3,000.00
	$ 30,000.00

23-27-44

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY
204 East 13th Street
New York City

TU

Pro copy [1947?]

Fall, 1947

A READY REFERENCE BOOK ON THE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CIVILIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

WHAT IT IS TO BE

This is a plan for a series of booklets, later to be brought together in the form of a ready reference book of one or more volumes, on the cultural contributions to the civilization of the U. S. A.

The Workshop for Cultural Democracy has long felt in its activities the need of a factual and scientific book of reference to fix and make available the truths concerning the sources of our culture and the history and processes of intercultural relationships. There is need for such a work for scholars so as to make the definition of terms and methods clear and consistent; this information is sorely needed by students in high school and colleges; wide use of such data could be found among general readers, social workers, and various kinds of leaders of public opinion as our country seeks to determin its role in the One World now in the making.

Some general material along this line was collected by the Workshop in preparation for the "Americans All--Immigrants All" radio program, which is still available. But the time seems ripe today for a more comprehensive and scholarly effort.

The general aim in the selection and writing will be to respect the unique values of the cultures of the various groups in American life, to the end that through mutual understanding, the stresses and strains in personal and group relationships be reduced and finally eliminated. Such an aim may eventually aid in producing a wholesome and more integrated culture representing all the best aspects of existing cultural groups.

A statement concerning the need for an

ENCYCLOPEDIA ON CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN LIFE

For Secondary and Adult Education Use

The Need

The role of the immigrant in American life has concerned our social observers from the beginning of our history. Benjamin Franklin, for instance, was concerned about the isolation of the Pennsylvania Germans and their reluctance to use English. Every war has seemed to increase that concern, but until World War I our westward movement and then the demands of our growing industries so quickly absorbed the new immigrants that the concern was mainly an academic one.

During World War I, however, a fear overtook the older immigrant - the so called first families - that these "hordes" of foreigners from Europe" would in the crisis of war become disloyal to their new country. A fervor of Americanization programs based on cutting oneself completely from one's cultural background, as well as political, resulted. But like any mushroom growth the movement died down in the middle twenties.

Then came the depression with a succession of race riots and our social observers awoke to the fact that we have not only an immediate problem of intergroup adjustment, but a permanent one, that of the integration into our democracy of all our subculture groups. This requires a well thought out philosophy as well as the publishing of facts of an historical and explanatory nature about the role of all groups - not just the recent immigrants or the so called minority groups currently on the receiving end of prejudice.

World War II came and again the concern to have all Americans united toward the one goal of victory resulted in the formation of various organizations preaching democracy and the need for tolerance. But now the incentive of victory is over and instead of citizens working together for their common welfare, we find a steady increase of anti-semitism and other forms of intergroup maladjustment. In fact our recent

opinion poll reports that 75% of Americans hate groups other than their own. Ignorance of the role of each group in the building of our country is only a part of the causes underlying hatred, but it is an important cause.

The first step in building a cathedral is to know the rocks with which we are to build and to know them appreciatively - one might say "lovingly." Our rock have come from every part of the world but it is still only a pile. Before we can begin to build each craftsman - that means every American - must know the work of his own group and of the others - remembering with de Saint Exupery, "A rock pile ceases to be a rock pile the moment a single man contemplates it bearing within him the image of a cathedral. Only love can say what face shall emerge from the clay. He who bears in his heart a cathedral is already victorious."

23-22-75

Among our educators there are leaders who are eager to work out a plan of action for intercultural cooperation. These leaders are increasingly using the term "intercultural education", a term which has appeared with increasing frequency during the past decade or more in various professional and popular periodicals, in reports of educational conferences, and even on jackets of new books on the subject. Interest is growing steadily in cultural pluralism, race relationships, human relations, intergroup adjustment, to mention but a few of the phrases used to designate intercultural education.

The first organized experiment in cultural democracy was conducted by the Director of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy and her staff in 1935 in fifteen high schools in New York City. Although random experiments are useful in developping guiding principles, the problem, however requires a positive, intelligible philosophy and the assembling and organizing of scient fic dat about the role of all groups that have contributed to the greatness of America.

In 1938-39 the United States Office of Education presented over the Columbia Broadcasting Station's nationwide hook-up its prize winning series of twenty-six programs entitled, American All--Immigrants All.*

Teachers and groupwork leaders are now aware of the need to incorporate intercultural education into classroom work or club activities, but easily available facts are beyond their each. Several recent surveys prove that these facts have not yet been incorporated in our texts and reference books. Recently too when a national organization offered a prize for the best essay on the contributions of various racial groups to American life, it was found that the content of even the best essays was woefully meagre because the students had so little reference material. There are available many books on the college level, but most of them focus attention on one cultural group or on one phase of the problem .**

Few libraries and schools have sufficient funds for purchasing even a small fraction of the vast number of specialized publications that have appeared in the past ten years. But every one of them can afford an inexpensive exploratory volume which covers the whole subject of intercultural education.

It should be understood that the real danger in an inadequate coverage of the subject lies in giving our young people a warped, one-sided view as to who were the builders of America. To correct this deficiency and to achieve an unbiased growth of adolescent thinking, there is an urgent need for a central source of information and interpretation of materials concerned with cultural democracy. Hence the necessity for easy reference material which would contain the information required by teachers, community leaders, and students, as well as the general reader. With such reference material as a core of activities educators may expect wider dissemination of truth, improvement in

*Rachel Davis DuBois, as Director of the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education was responsible for the research for these weekly programs. ** J.B.Lippincott is publishing an extensive series of books , edited by Louis Adamic. The title of one, for instance, "They Came From Italy."

intercultural relations in our own country, and growing friendship with the nations of the world.

Material Already Collected:

Indicated below is a sampling of material already assembled under the auspiced of the Workshop. This material, which needs to be revised represents in part the type of material needed.

Italian Contributions to ~~Biology and Medicine~~ Amer. Culture	3 pp
Jewish ~~Participation in Colonial~~ America	10 "
British ~~Contributions in Physics~~ & American Life	6 "
Irish ~~Literature~~ in America	8 "
The Poles in American ~~Agricultural~~ Life	6 "
~~German Influence in American Education~~ Contr.	7 "
~~Carver of Tuskegee~~ Contr.	6 "
Japanese ~~Fashion~~ in Dress and Cooking	7 "
Old Chinese Tea Ceremony	3 "
~~Negro Contribution to~~ Folk Music in America	6 "
~~Armenian~~ Cooking in the United States	11 "

The Plan

AMERICANS ALL - IMMIGRANTS ALL
A Ready Reference Book on Cultural Democracy

Suggested contents for the ready reference to be issued in booklet form:

I Historical overview of Immigration, such as The Coming of Armenians, Jews, Negroes, Pennsylvania Germans, Scotch-Irish, etc.

Sample Unit - Italian Immigration
Italians in Colonial America
Italian Immigration in the 19th Century
The Peak and the Decline of Italian Immigration
Adjustment to American Life

II Contributions toward Our Principles of Freedom-Governemtn
(The following is in no way complete, only suggestive)

The ancient Jews give us the basic freedom of the Old Testament →
The English struggle for religious freedom
The Scandinavians help extent Democracy through Cooperatives →

III Contributions toward Our American Home Customs

Oriental Art in American Homes
Arts and Crafts of the Pennsylvania Germans
Jewish Home Festivals Around the Calendar
Scandinavian Home Customs in American Life

IV Contributions in Science

the foundation of our wealth, our comforts , and our progress in understanding the world we life in.

First Nobel prize in physics given to Albert Michelson, a Jewish immigrant from Germany; the first in medicine to Alexis Carrel, immigrant from France. To the Japanese, Jokichi Takamine we owe the drug adenalin. Harry Steinbock, of Dutch descent, gave the University of Wisconsin his patented process for increasing vitamin D in food.

V Men and Women
(Biographies)
- Diego Rivera
- Lue Gim Gong
- George Washington Carver
- Carl Schurz
- Philippo Mazzei
- Michal Anagno
- Kazanjian
- Nathaniel Bowditch
- John James Audubon

VI Our Working Tools

Some theories, concepts, and definitions of terms inherent in the goal of Cultural Democracy.
Short explanatory description of subject such as the following:

- Americanization and the Melting Pot Theory
- Cultural Pluralism
- Democracy
  - Economic
  - Political
  - Cultural
- Cultural Anthropology - theories re: race
- Intercultural Education
- International Education
- Creative Social Interaction
- Assimilation, Integration, Acculturation
- Minority and Dominant Groups
- Do's and Don'ts when speaking of other people
- Prejudice
- Rationalization
- Tolerance
- Sympathetic Understandin
- Ethnocentrism
- Social Psychology
- Immigration, Naturalization
- Oppression Psychology
- Frustration and Prejudice
- Homogeneity, Heterogeneity
- Second generation
- Cultural Surveys
- Attitudes
- Values
- Conditioning Process

23-27-78

Bibliographical reference will be appended at the end of every article. A listing of basic materials may also be included in the appendices.

It is also intended to print as a supplement a paper-bound Manual to guide teachers and group-work leader in methods and techniques of intercultural education and to provide suggestions for organizing the materials in the reference book for use in classroom and other school activities.

ESTIMATED COST
Annual basis

Director of Writing and Research	$8,000
Assistance of writers, consultans, experts in the field pertinent to the sutdy - - - - - - - -	12,000
Secretarial Assistance	6,000
Travel	500
Publication Costs	500
Office equipment and supplies	1,000
Miscellaneous This might include additional office facilities, a writer might have to live in another part of the country to gather mterial	2,000
	$ 30,000

23-27-79

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY
204 East 18th Street
New York City

L1947?]

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The Workshop for Cultural Democracy has long felt in its activities the need of a factual and scientific book of reference to fix and make available the truths concerning the sources of our culture and the history and processes of intercultural relationships. There is need for such a work for scholars so as to make the definition of terms and methods clear and consistent; this information is sorely needed by students in high school and colleges; wide use of such data could be found among general readers, social workers, and various kinds of leaders of public opinion as our country seeks to determine its role in the One World now in the making.

The general aim in the selection and writing will be to induce the appreciation of values of the cultures of the various groups in American life, to the end that through mutual understanding, the stresses and strains in personal and group relationships be reduced and finally eliminated. Such an aim may eventually aid in producing a wholesome and more integrated culture representing all the best aspects of existing cultural groups.

The Need

The role of the immigrant in American life has concerned our

social observers from the beginning of our history. Every war has seemed to increase that concern, but until World War I, our westward movement and then the demand of our growing industries so quickly absorbed the new immigrant that the concern was mainly an academic one.

During World War I, however, a fear overtook the older immigrant - the so-called first families - that these "hordes of foreigners from Europe" would in the crisis of war become disloyal to their new country. A fervor of Americanization programs based on cutting oneself completely from ones cultural as well as political background resulted. But like any mushroom growth, the movement died down in the middle twenties.

23-27-66

Then came the depression with a succession of race riots and our social observers awoke to the fact that we have not only an immediate problem of intergroup adjustment, but a permanent one, that of the integration into our democracy of all our groups. This requires a well thought out philosophy as well as the publishing of facts of an historical and explanatory nature about the <u>role</u> of <u>all</u> groups - not just the recent immigrants or the so called minority groups currently on the receiving end of prejudice.

World War II came and again the concern to have all Americans united toward the one goal of victory resulted in the formation of various organizations preaching democracy and the need for tolerance. But now the incentive of victory is over and instead of citizens working together for their common welfare, we find a steady increase of anti-semitism and other forms of intergroup maladjustment. In fact

our recent opinion poll reports that 75 % of Americans hate groups other than their own. Ignorance of the role of each group in the building up of our country is only a part of the causes underlying hatred, but it is an important cause.

Among our educators there are leaders who are eager to work out a plan of action for intercultural cooperation. These leaders are increasingly using the term "intercultural education" a term which has appeared with increasing frequency during the past decade or more in various professional and popular periodicals, in reports of educational conferences, and even on jackets of new books on the subject. Interest is growing steadily in cultural pluralism, race relationships, human relations, intergroup adjustment, to mention but a few of the phrases used to designate the need for intercultural education.

The first organized experiment in cultural democracy was conducted by the Director of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy and her staff in 1935 in fifteen high schools in New York City. Although random experiments are useful in developing guiding principles, the problem, however, requires a positive, intelligible philosophy and the assembling and organizing of scientific data about the role of all groups that have contributed to the greatness of America.

In 1938-39 the United States Office of Education presented over the Columbia Broadcasting Station's nationwide hook- up its prize winning series of twenty-six programs entitled, Americans-All-- Immigrants All. *

---

* Rachel Davis DuBois, as Director of the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education was responsible for the research for these weekly programs.

Teachers and group work leaders are now aware of the need to incorporate intercultural education into classroom work or club activities, but easily available facts are beyond their reach. Several recent surverys prove that these facts have not yet been incorporated to any extent in our texts and reference books. Recently too when a national organization offered a prize for the best essay on the contributions of various racial groups to American life, it was found that the content of even the best essays was woefully meagre because the students had so little reference material. There are available many books on the college level, but most of them focus attention on one cultural group or on one phase of the problem.*

Few libraries and schools have sufficient funds for purchasing even a small fraction of the vast number of specialized publications that have appeared in the past ten years. But every one of them can afford an inexpensive exploratory volume which covers the whole subject of intercultural education.

With this in mind the Workshop has already collected considerable material touching the cultural contributions and intercultural reations of the English, Irish, Italians, Negroes, Poles, Germans, Chinese and Japanese in American civilization.

We now plan the writing and publishing of broad studies to be called

AMERICANS ALL -- IMMIGRANTS ALL
A Ready Reference Book on Cultural Democracy in the United States

There follows some of the subjects which might be treated in separate booklets. In some of these cases the cultural group is the center of attention, in others the cultural result. Either or both of these approaches might be developed.

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*J. B. Lippincott is publishing an extensive series of books, edited by Louis Adamic. The title of one, for instance, "They Came From Italy."

23-27-48

English Influences on American Politics
Italian Contributions to our Music and Art
Folk Music in America
Cultural Background of American Science
Cultural Background of Industry and Agriculture in the U. S. A.
Jewish Groups in the Development of American Culture
German Influence on American Life
The Intercultural Reation of Negroes in America
Sources of American Home Customs
Asiatic Cultural Influences in the U. S.

Bibliographical reference will be appended at the end of every booklet. A listing of basic materials may also be included in the appendices.

It is also intended to print as a supplement a paper-bound Manual to guide teachers and group-work leaders in methods and techniques of intercultural education and to provide suggestions for organizing the materials in the reference book for use in classroom and other school activities.

23-27-69

Annual Budget for a three year project

To the estimated cost of producing the manuscript must be added the cost of publication.

ESTIMATED COST PER YEAR

Director of Writing and Research - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 8,000.00
Assistance of writers, consultants, experts in the field pertinent to the study - - - - - - - - - - - - -	13,000.00
Secretarial Assistance - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	6,000.00
Office equipment, supplies and miscellaneous - - - - - - -	3,000.00
	$ 30.000.00

23-27-70

[Workshop for Cultural Democracy]

Send MIMEO Material

Rachel Davis DuBois - File

22-8-27

Encyclopaedia Committee

Dr W E B DuBois chairman
Dr Alain Locke, Dir. Child Institute
125 E 65th St Rh 4-8181
N Y C

Dr Francis Wheeler (Asst Supt Schools)
330 E 152nd St MO 9-1750
N Y C

Mr Harry Flowr, Director
Littauer Foundation
235 Fourth ave
N Y C (GR 5-2454)

Mr George Graff
32 Maple Lane
Hyde Pk
Long Island

busy home weeks
ends - just send report, can't
attend Meetings from now on.

Dr Gordon Hirsch, Dir
Curriculum Service Bureau
433 W 123 St - MO 2-2660

Dr Ira Einstein (Ex-Officio)
Society for Advancement / Judaism
15-11-86 / 11
11 7 c

Office 4-7000
Home 2-4125

Dr Nierich is not a member
of our committee - but
he may still help get
funds and give us
office space. Should
he be invited to all
meetings?

THE WORLD TODAY INC.
FILM PRODUCERS

450 WEST 56TH STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
TELEPHONE CIRCLE 5-5067

July 21, 1947

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Nat'l. Association for Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

22-20-13

We have observed with interest and appreciation your activities in the vital field of civic education and intercultural relations. As film producers who have specialized in this area of endeavor we would feel it a privilege to work alongside you in a common program.

With the issue of permanent peace and construction ahead, it may well be that only the quickest and most effective educational means at our disposal will serve our purpose - in time to avoid new conflict.

We are anxious to discuss with you what the film medium can do to reach the millions who are the objects of destructive influences and misinformation, or to convince those in position of responsibility to initiate legislative and community action.

May we have the benefit of a meeting with you in the near future?

Sincerely,

Maynard Gertler
Director of Programs

[World Today]

22-20-14

30 July 1947

My dear Sir:

I am usually in my office at 20 west 40th street during the afternoon. If there is any particular day that you wish to come, will you kindly call up and let my secretary make an appointment?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Maynard Gertler
The World Today Inc.
450 West 56th Street
New York 19, New York

Request for information 1947

[early Jan. 1947?]

256 So. 20½ Street
Columbus Ohio

Dear Mr Du Bois

This letter might be highly irregular, but I would feel more confident if I had your counsel.

You see, Mr Du Bois, I have just completed a novel — a historical story with an interracial angle. And being my first novel I am a novice in the matter of the proper procedure of contacting publishers. The wrong approach might prove fatal.

22-3-30

My one ambition when writing the story was to have you look it over as a critic — as a friend — as an adviser. But I know you are entirely too busy and your time too valuable for that. However I would appreciate just a word of advise from you, as to the most liberal publishers along interracial lines, and my best method of contacting them.

Very Sincerely
(Mrs) Inez Wright

10 January 1947

My dear madam:

Answering your letter without date, may I say that there is no special way by which book manuscripts can be brought to the attention of the publishers. The thing to do is to have a good clear typewritten copy of your manuscript with your name and address and sufficient postage to pay for its return. Then mail the manuscript to a publisher and if he returns it, mail it to another.

There are very few publishers today who would not read with interest and attention any book on the Negro problem. On the other hand, most books which are published do not pay the cost of publication. I might suggest that you try Harper Brothers, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Viking Press, Henry Holt and Company the Macmillan Company, the John Day Company, all of New York. Their exact addresses can be obtained from any bookseller.

There is simply this to remember: get a reputable publisher and remember that if he accepts your book he will assume all costs of publication and pay you a small royalty of 10 or 15 percent on each book sold. Do not be beguiled by any publisher who asks you to share the expenses of publication.

I trust this advice will be of some use.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Inez Wright
256 South 20th Street
Columbus, Ohio

P. S. Always keep a carbon copy in case the original is lost. Register the copy sent and ask for a return receipt.

22-10-30

LOUIS T. WRIGHT, M.D.
218 WEST 139TH STREET
NEW YORK

January 28, 1947.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
N.A.A.C.P.,
20 West 40th Street,
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for the copy of your book "The World and AFRICA". It is a splendid and much needed work, and I am sure that it will do much to orient serious thinkers on present day world problems, in the right direction, if they are sincere or honest.

Sincerely yours,

Louis T. Wright

Louis T. Wright

Dr Louis T. Wright

Doctor and Mrs. Louis Tompkins Wright

announce the marriage of their daughter

Jane Cooke

to

Mr. David Dallas Jones, junior

on Saturday, the twenty-sixth of July

Nineteen hundred and forty-seven

New York City

22-10-27

28 August 1947

My dear Dr. Wright:

I am enclosing the revised and final version of the report to the United Nations on the rights of American Negroes. This is for your library.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. Louis T. Wright
218 West 139th Street
New York, New York

23 September 1947

Dear Sir:

Some years ago I promised to send to the library of Yale University the manuscript of one or more of my books, I am not sure whether I did this or not; but I cannot place the manuscript of my book Black Reconstruction, which I think is very important. I am wondering if by chance I did send that to your library? Would you mind looking it up and seeing if this is true?

Recently Carl Van Vechten has been arranging other manuscripts of mine for your James Weldon Johnson Collection, but the Black Reconstruction manuscript is not included, and I am wondering if it already is in your library in some other place. I shall be glad for any information that you can give me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Librarian
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Yale University Library
New Haven Connecticut

James T. Babb
Librarian

September 24, 1947

22-9-22

W. E. B. Du Bois, Esq.
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

We are delighted to have in the Yale Library the material listed on the enclosed formal acknowledgment, particularly your thesis.

I hope that sometime I shall have the pleasure of meeting you.

Sincerely yours,

James T. Babb

JTB:BTH
Enc.

Yale University Library,
New Haven, Connecticut

September 23, 1947

22-26-09

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the gift mentioned below, and I beg you to accept our sincere thanks.

Faithfully yours,

Librarian

For the James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection of
Negro Arts and Letters:

Manuscripts:
Thesis in Philosophy IV on Scholastic Ethics, 1889.
By W. E. B. Du Bois. (signed also inscribed to the Collection by the author)
Seven Decades: Dusk of Dawn. By W. E. B. Du Bois.
The Negro. By W. E. B. Du Bois.
The Gifts of Black Folk. By W. E. B. Du Bois.
Darkwater. By W. E. B. Du Bois.

To W. E. B. Du Bois, Esq.
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

22-26-10

THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF YALE UNIVERSITY

meeting in New Haven today adopted the following resolution and directed the Secretary to transmit a copy to

W. E. B. Du Bois, Esq.

"Voted, to direct the Secretary to express the gratitude of the President and Fellows to W. E. B. Du Bois for his recent gift to the James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection of Negro Arts and Letters in the Library, of the manuscripts of his Harvard thesis, annotated by William James, and of four of his books."

October 11, 1947.

Secretary

Ltr to DuBois

THE DIXWELL GROUP

University — An Interracial Fellowship — Community

Dwight Hall Yale University

November 4

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
NAACP
20 W. 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

received
NOV. 7 '47

22-15-19

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Would it be possible to have a copy of the petition of formal charges of discrimination against Negroes in the United States, filed on October 23rd with the Asst. Secretary General for Social Affairs of the United Nations? This document will be, I'm certain invaluable in the work of the Dixwell Group as a basis for discussion and study in our anti-discrimination fight in New Haven.

You are, I realize, an extremely busy person, but should you find it convenient to journey to Yale University to speak to our group we, and the student body will be happy to have you. Two of your books "Dusk of Dawn" and "Souls of Black

University

THE DIXWELL GROUP
An Interracial Fellowship
Dwight Hall Yale University

Community

22-15-20

Folk" are widely read in Sociology courses here at Yale. Your address, if it is possible for you to so favor us, may be formal or informal as you desire.

Very truly yours,

Charles L. Fielding
Chairman

(I ought to be able to count on Harvard to charge a Yankee dime of $1.00 and of course the Negro his own nickel.)

[Yale University- the Dixwell Group]

November 7, 1947

Mr. Charles L. Fielding, Chairman
The Dixwell Group
Dwight Hall
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Fielding: I am replying to your letter of November 4, to Dr. DuBois. Dr. DuBois could possibly come to New Haven to appear before your group sometime in January. However, he charges a lecture fee of $100, out of which he pays his own expenses.

Thanking you for your interest, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

xxxxxxxxxxxx

November 7, 1947

Mr. Charles L. Fielding, Chairman
The Dixwell Group
Dwight Hall
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Fielding: This is in reply to your letter of November 4, requesting a copy of the NAACP United Nations petition. I regret to inform you that only a limited number of copies was prepared and these were mainly for the formal ceremony and the press.

However, because of the wide demand for copies, the Association is negotiating for publication of the petition and when it is ready for release we shall inform you of its availability.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

[Ada Young]

29 August 1947

My dear Ada:

Sometime ago you wrote a letter to Mrs. Du Bois which she greatly appreciated and wishes me to answer. You probably have not heard for now the second year she has been very ill. First a year ago last November she fell down stairs and tore the ligaments in her back; that put her in the hospital for several months. She recovered partically and spent a little time resting in New York and then went back to Baltimore and threw herself into house-work, doing certain laundry for the grand-child which she thought the regular laundry could not do. The result was that she had a stroke of paralysis which incapaciated the whole of her left side, we took her to the Montfiore Hospital in New York one of the best, for such complaints. She stayed there nearly six months and made a pretty good recovery, being able to walk and use her left hand a little. She then went back to Baltimore and got on pretty well, until sneezing one night while she was walking, she tore again the ligaments in the back. She had to go to the hospital again for several months, with night and day nurses, and the effect began to be shown in her bowels and bladder.

22-16-08

She finally came home several months ago and now is getting on with a day nurse, but spends nearly all of the time in bed. I'm afraid physically she is gradually losing ground; she cannot walk alone now and can hardly stand up. The use of the left hand is almost entirely lost. She can talk and read and her mind seems clear. On the whole she is fairly comfortable. She was so glad to hear from you and I hope you will write her again. She can write and probably will send you a letter sometime, if she has not already; but I thought I had better write this one in detail.

I come near you once in a while, but I have not stopped, because I did not know how convenient it would be, and of course I knew how unwelcome I would be at Wilberforce. However when I am coming near again, I will let you know, and perhaps I can arrange to call. My best regards to yourself and children and love and regards from Nina, Yolando and from my grand-daughter Du Bois. Du Bois will be 15 next October and is in the Northfield School for Girls in Massachusetts, where she seems to be enjoying the work. She is taller than I or her Mother, which of course is not saying a great deal.

Yours with love,.

W. E. B. Du Bois

[Encl.]

Original Mailed to

Mrs. Nina Hill Bass

22-12-07

November 29, 1947

Mrs. Ada Young
Rural Free Delivery
Wilberforce, Ohio

22-18-06

Dear Ada:

I wrote you a couple of weeks ago about the possibility of stopping over, but I have not heard from you.

I shall be in Chicago in care of Mildred Bryant-Jones, 4809 Indiana Avenue, until December 2. You might wire me there if you have not already written.

I had planned to spend a part of December 4 and 5 with you but, as I said in my other letter, I will drop in later if this date is inconvenient.

Yours with love.

[Pauline Young]

901 French St.
Wil., 30, Del.
4-15-47

22-18-09

My dear Dr W.E.B.:

Thank you very much for the card from Los Angeles. — I'm going out there for keeps in June.

I was in N.Y. last week — Tues, Wed and Thurs and your butler answered the telephone at no hour of the day or night!!

So-o-o — I carried them back here with me i.e. two copies

of your latest for your autograph
One is for me and one is for
Edith Snow, a gal who taught
me bibliography at Columbia
and who has worshipped you
for years. I introduced her to
you back in those days. —
I'm mailing them to you
for said inscriptions. I'll be
in N.Y. again on May 16 + 17.
and I can pick them up
then if you can't get your
office secretaries to mail them
back & advert me. — The
book is beautifully yours and
fills me with much pride.

Love, Pauline

22-18-10

17 April 1947

My dear Pauline:

I have mailed the books autographed to your Wilmington address. I was in town April 8, 9, and 10th but received no telephone call. I am also here May 16, and 17th with the same result. My best regards and thanks.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

Miss Pauline Young
901 French Street
Wilmington 30, Delaware

22-18-11

8 May 1947

My dear Pauline:

You certainly pick the dates of your trips to New York with rare insight. On the fifteenth of May I am attending a banquet to the founder of the Old South Forum in Boston; on the seventeenth I am attending a luncheon and on the eighteenth, speaking, also in Boston. So that from the fifteenth to the eighteenth during your visit to New York I shall not be here. To this you are now getting quite used.

22-18-12

Grace told me that you were thinking of going to Los Angeles. You mentioned it to me in your letter but I thought it was only a visit. I think you ought to go. I think nothing will do you more good than to get out of Wilmington permanently and come back from time to time to visit. You will be surprised at the appreciation you will get by leaving. On the other hand, Los Angeles is a magnificient city in climate, and in its municipal problems. It is trying to break down the color line in public services and you could do a great job there. I hope you will go.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Pauline Young
901 French Street
Wilmington 30, Delaware

[Pauline Young]

3725 Ruthelen St
Los Angeles 7, Cal.
June 26, 1947

Dear Dr. W. E. B.,

I'm here. It's lovely and I hope I can stay.

But the salary is much lower than offered me in April.

So now I want to take a year of study here if it's possible to get a fellowship, a scholarship or, definitely last, a substantial loan from one of the foundations. Will you advise me?

There's a study I started sometime ago which I'd like to complete — "Criticism of Negro Authors". At present it's just an annotated bibliography pointing out of course

22-18-13

that an absolute standard has not been applied to the works of Negro authors. Two years ago I added to it from the resources of the Huntington Library. I think it worth completing and interpreting.

I hope you think one of the foundations will be interested enough to invest in that direction.

Shall I send you what I have?

Hopefully,
Pauline Young

P.S. My typewriter hasn't arrived yet - hence my penmanship.
P.

22-18-14

10 July 1947

A2-18-15

My dear Pauline:

I am glad to hear from you and hope that you are going to be happy in Los Angeles. So far as a fellowship is concerned you would have to get that through some university with which you are connected. There are, of course, some other fellowships like those which are given by the sororities, but I would not know how you would go about securing one of these. It would be of no use to apply to a foundation for help in writing and publishing a thesis, unless again you have connection with some university and university backing. I should think the best thing for you to do in Los Angeles would be to enroll in one of the universities and do your work under its guidance. I hope that you will have all good luck.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Pauline Young
3725 Ruthelen Street
Los Angeles 7, California

[Pauline Young]

3725 Ruthelen St
Los Angeles 7, Cal.
Aug. 9, 1947

22-18-19

My dear Dr. W. E. B.,

It is good to have your letter of last month. I am doing just as you suggested — enrolling at the Univ of Cal. and securing library employment there! They are very cooperative — will have more to tell you about that soon.

It's damn hot here now but the evenings and nights are still perfect.

Eve Curie should have given column from last week's Defender. I heard her in Wilmington talk in the same strain and she added even that France had never recovered from World War I, that their farm machinery etc had been antiquated and inefficient for an entire generation. Squeamish days, there.

Have you seen Grace? I've not heard from here. Nor Virginia.

Love, Pauline (Young)

[Pauline Young]

3725 Ruthelen St.
Los Angeles 7, Cal.
Nov. 13, 1947

22-18-16

My dear Dr Du Bois -

This one-sided correspondence continues! How are you? I hope you enjoy your trip to Wilmington - the first time I was int there to worship!

To compensate — is it at all possible for me to receive from you, properly autographed, a copy of the grand recommendations and civil protests to the U N I know you authored?

So far I am studying some English here at the University (S.C.) and working as a reviser in the graduate library school. The

public library is not "behaving" yet. First, they lowered the salary, then they raised them (others like me must all have declined $190 a month) and now — and I am # 3 on the list — they are trying to give me a run-around. I've got the politicians on the job so it'll come out okeh. Meanwhile I am liking it all much!

Love,

Pauline Yours

22-18-17

December 17, 1947

Miss Pauline Young
3725 Ruthelen Street
Los Angeles 7, California

22-18-18

My dear Pauline:

I was glad to have your letter of November 13, and to know that you are adjusting yourself and getting on well. I hope you are satisfied with the change.

I went down and spoke to the white YMCA in Wilmington not long ago.

Yours with love.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[YMCA - Detroit]

January 29, 1947

Dear Mr. Hauser;

Please have this chart made for use in my lecture. It should be large enough for the students to see.

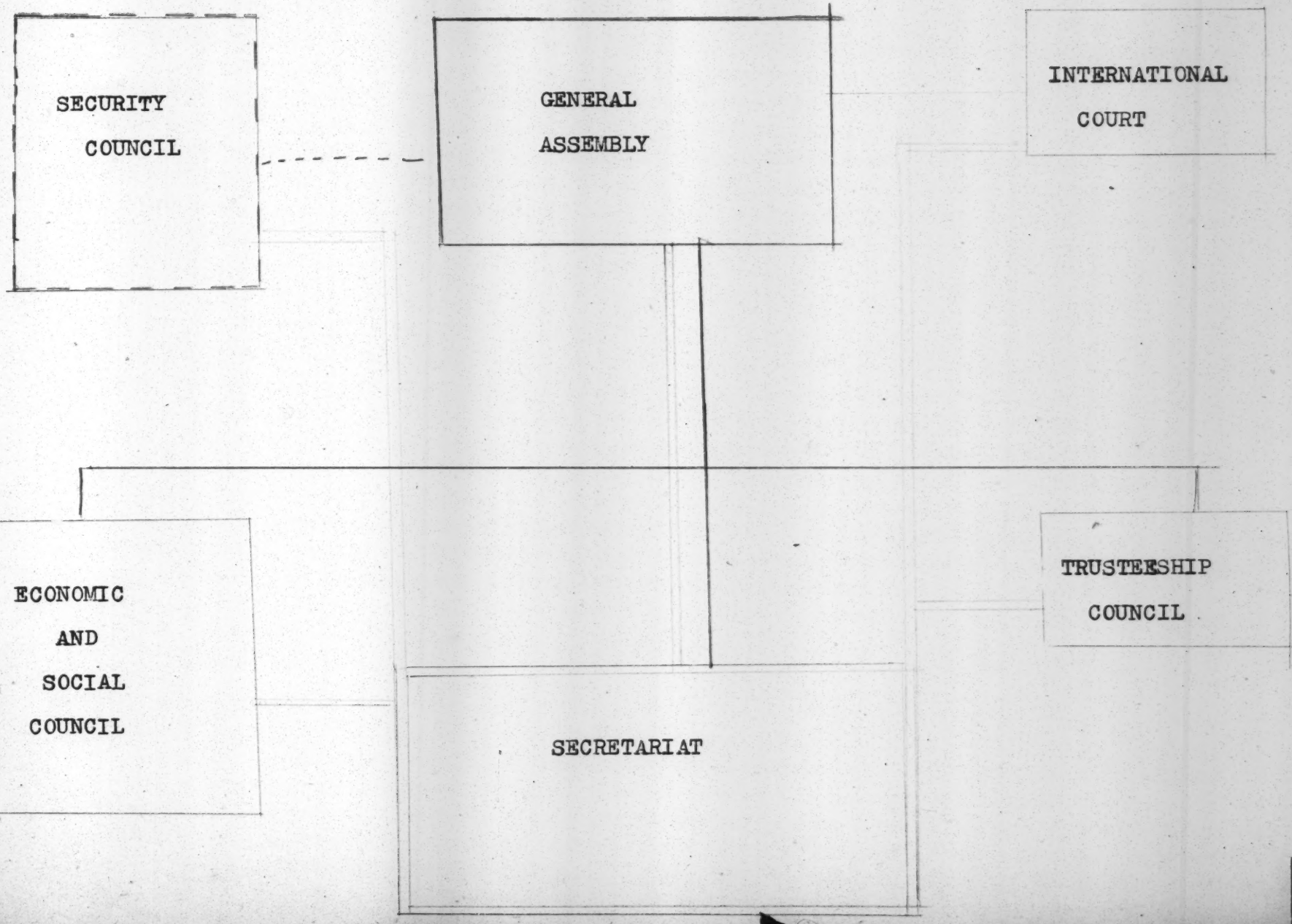
Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

Mr. Prather J. Hauser
Detroit Young Men's Christian Association
St. Antoine Branch
635 East Elizabeth Street
Detroit 1, Michigan

22-11-137

[Enclosure]



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DETROIT YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

CHARACTER BUILDERS

ST. ANTOINE BRANCH

635 EAST ELIZABETH STREET
ZONE 1

PRATHER J. HAUSER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

PERCIVAL R. PIPER, CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

March 25, 1947

22-11-161

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Due to the illness of Mr. Hauser, I am acknowledging your letter of March 17, 1947.

Your ticket will be purchased in order that you may leave here on March 30. We will also get you a lower berth. May I take this opportunity to thank you for consenting to point out steps youth should take in the United Nations.

With best regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Robert H. Weaver

ROBERT H. WEAVER
Boys' Work Secretary

RHW:aw

21 July 1947

22-2-49

My dear Mr. Hauser:

I am curtailing my lectures for next season. There are only two possible date that I can offer you for lectures in Detroit. I should prefer December second but I could come November twenty-third. I am not assuming that you wish me either of these dates but I am simply letting you know that I could not come later in the season.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Prather J. Hauser
Detroit Young Men's Christian Association
St. Antoine Branch
635 East Elizabeth Street
Detroit 1, Michigan

HOWARD A. COFFIN, PRESIDENT FRED P. TODD, TREASURER A. G. STUDER, M. D., GENERAL SECRETARY

DETROIT YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

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635 EAST ELIZABETH STREET
ZONE 1

PRATHER J. HAUSER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

PERCIVAL R. PIPER, CHAIRMAN
COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

July 29th, 1947

22-27-10

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your letter of July 21st regarding the possibility of your lecturing in Detroit this fall. As you know our Forum Series do not begin until January. We have not contemplated any meetings for this fall.

I appreciate however, your letting me know what your plans are and if we change our mind about fall meetings, and you are still available, we shall be glad to have you come.

Yours sincerely,

Prather J. Hauser

PRATHER J. HAUSER
Executive Secretary

PJH:RF

22-27-11

21 August 1947

My dear Mr. Hauser:

I could speak for the Detroit YMCA November 30th or December 7th.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Prather J. Hauser
Detroit YMCA
St. Antoine Branch
635 East Elizabeth Street
Detroit 1, Michigan

22-27-15

30 July 1947

My dear Mr. Hunt:

I have looked over my engagements for the early Fall and to my regret I find that it wil be impossible for me to speak September 13th at Holiday Hill. I am sorry not to be able to accommodate you and thank you for the offer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mr. Lawrence S. Hunt
Harlem Branch
Y M C A
180 West 135th Street
New York, New York

[YMCA - Pittsburg, Pa.]

17 April 1947

Sir:

It happens that in May I shall have to make a trip to the West for a commencement lecture this would take me through Pittsburg. If your lecture series is still going, I could speak for you Sunday May 25th. My charge would be $100 out of which I pay my own expenses.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-11-140

Mr. C. Sterling Chavis, Secretary
Colored Y.M.C.A.
The Centre Avenue Branch
2621 Centre Avenue
Pittsburg 19, Pennsylvania

THOMAS A. ROBINSON, PRESIDENT
URBAN WILLIAMS, GENERAL EXECUTIVE

Young Men's Christian Association of Pittsburgh

MEMBER COMMUNITY CHEST

CENTRE AVENUE BRANCH
2621 CENTRE AVENUE (19)
MAYFLOWER 1762
WALTER S. BUCHANAN.....*Chairman*
C. STERLING CHAVIS..*Branch Executive*

April 21, 1947

22-11-141

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Sir:

Thank you for the offer to appear in Pittsburgh for a lecture program on Sunday, May 25. Our present plans, however, for our Forum Series do not include a program quite as late as May. We will give serious thought and may inquire with regard to your availability when our next Series is organized.

Thank you.

Very sincerely yours,

C. Sterling Chavis

C. Sterling Chavis
Branch Executive

CSC:tmb

Mrs. Arthur C. Logan CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT
Cecelia Cabaniss Saunders EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HARLEM BRANCH

The Young Women's Christian Association of the City of New York

179 WEST 137 STREET (30)
AUDUBON 3-1000

Newark Del Bus

222-19

My dear Member:

Your membership expires in APRIL. It is particularly important for you to renew this month, because of the ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP DRIVE that is now in progress.

Our goal is for 1000 new members and no less than 500 renewals!

Your renewal will mean one more advance toward these goals. Mail or bring your membership renewal TODAY.

Thanks!

Cordially yours,

Fannie P. Byrd

Fannie P. Byrd
Contact Director

FPB:ehj

P. S. Won't you help in this MEMBERSHIP DRIVE by bringing in at least ONE new member? We are counting on your support!

17 April 1947

My dear Miss Byrd:

Enclosed is my check for six dollars. Please apply one dollar to the annual membership of Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois and five dollars to her contribution to the membership drive. Please send receipts for both these papers to Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois, 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore 14, Maryland.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Fanny Byrd
Y.W.C.A.
179 West 137th Street
New York 30, N. Y.

13 May 1947

My dear Madam:

I sent last week six dollars for Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois. She has received a receipt for her dollar membership but no notice of the five dollars which she contributed to the general fund. Will you kindly see that she gets a receipt for the five dollars at her home, 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore 14, Maryland.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Secretary of the Y.W.C.A.
Emma Ransome House
179 West 137th Street
New York City

[YWCA Forum - Wilmington]

PHONE 3-2556

WALTER W. GOENS, M. D.
503 EAST 10TH STREET
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

lecture

6 June 1947

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
Director, Special Research, NAACP
409 Edgecombe Avenue,
New York City, N.Y.

22-11-122

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Will you address the YWCA Forum at a luncheon meeting on Wednesday, November 19th? We will be glad to have you choose your own subject or choose one from suggested topics enclosed.

Our group has but modest means and we can offer you an honorarium of only $50.00 if our budget is approved, otherwise this small sum of $50.00 will be decreased to $35.00. But if you will find in your heart the grace to come to us, we will assuredly make up the wide difference of your worth in our appreciation.

A reply is requested by June 15.

Yours very truly

Grace Goens

GRACE GOENS

lecture

11 June 1947

My dear Mrs. Goens:

Because of your personal interest in this forum I shall be glad to speak at your luncheon Wednesday, November 19. You did not enclose any suggested topics but I would like to speak on the subject "Economic Illiteracy" that is, the lack of knowledge which intelligent people have of the basis of work and income. I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Grace Goens
503 East 10th Street
Wilmington, Delaware

30 September 1947

My dear Mrs. Goens:

When you called me last night I was having dinner with two friends so that I could not elaborate on the conversation. I think you have all the necessary facts concerning my career. With regard to the subject "Economic Illiteracy," I am going to talk about the wide ignorance among even educated people concerning the basic facts of economics and to complain that this ignorance is in many cases deliberate and in all cases very dangerous. I shall talk about thirty minutes. I plan to come down to Baltimore early in the week and then come up to Wilmington sometime on November 18. I will tell you exactly on what train. I shall have to leave the night of the 19th, because I speak in Schenectady, New York on the 20th. If there is any other information, please write me. It was nice at least to hear your voice over the phone.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mrs. Grace Goens
503 East 10th Street
Wilmington, Deleware

Education

YOUTHBUILDERS

of the

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

36 GREENWICH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: OREGON 4-5800

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Research
CLARAMAE B. LONG

21 November 1947

22-5-30

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing to ask whether you will receive in an interview, a committee-group of Youthbuilders. They are interested in learning how they as a unit can help promote better human relations. They seek from you reaffirmation of faith in the American democratic way of life. The children wish to question you about proper procedures for obtaining redress for outrages of wide spread discrimination against Negroes of the United States in economic and social affairs.

These alert and observant children have requested this interview because you are an expert in your field and, too, they are interested in the contents of the "request for redress for minorities" document you presented to the United Nations, and the ensuing action of that international body.

How may this organization acquire a draft of that petition?

As you know the Youthbuilders' citizenship program operates under the supervision of, and in cooperation with the Boards of Education of the City of New York, Philadelphia and Chicago. Our aim is to help develop in pupils of the upper elementary and junior high school level, an activating concept of citizenship - a sense of individual responsibility for doing their share in

Board of Directors of the National YOUTHBUILDERS, Inc.

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JOHN H. MORRIS

22-5-31

building the peace. The children turn to accredited authorities for information and inspiration, which translates the problem on a broader scope and yet affects insight for a practical and socially desirable action on the school-community level.

The pupils can come to your office any afternoon of a school week beginning with December first. If it is more convenient, you are welcome to come to our conference room at Youthbuilders' headquarters, 36 Greenwich Avenue, New York 11, New York.

With every hope for a reply in the affirmative, and with grateful appreciation for your cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Claramae B. Long

Claramae B. Long
Research Supervisor

CBL:OB
Encl.

November 24, 1947

Miss Claramae B. Long
Youthbuilders
Board of Education
36 Greenwich Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss Long:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois has come during his absence from the city on an extensive lecture tour of the Middle West. Unfortunately, Doctor will not return to his desk for quite some time, but I shall see that your note is brought to his attention when he arrives. I know that he has a profound interest in such things as the Youthbuilders foster.

Thank you for writing.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

[Anna B. Zellman]

(17)

Wednesday
April 30
1947.

Conv V

To
Dr W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr Du Bois -

On Monday April 21st. we received at the Main Public Library your latest work, "The World and Africa." This book group meeting numbered between 75 and 100 women. Surely they read books and are interested in knowing more about what is recorded in books about life.

22-22-25

Again they learned to know the author, his studies, his research and observations concerning especially his own race.

A year ago we reviewed "Color and Democracy" - and now gratefully acknowledge another scholarly work on Africa.

Becoming personal I shall touch upon some of my own impressions: To Mira, "For our Golden Wedding" most gracious of you. Nowhere had I read so comprehensive a view of the great Creation and such an excellent accounting of events which cast the human family once again into its present chaos.

Same pattern continues to bring the same results, each successive time, we come closer to utter nihilation. Perfection in Destruction! "All valiant dust that builds on dust."

White Masters, mixed races, all blood is red, including the blood

of so called political royalty. India, Amritsar, Jan Smuts!
Modern slavery created, maintained and protected by Christians.
Paradoxes - peace, war, revolts, poverty, wealth!
Why then more christianity - is it also a new christianity,
or a new Religion we all need.
One thing I feel definitely sure of in my own mind is
the need of more social control of the right kind. Surely
we cannot continue to disregard the very first problem
that faces mankind without having the same catastrophes -
Degrading human slaughter betraying all men, to rid the
world of excess populations!
Cadent of tales was the story of the elephant hunts for ivory
and Donatello.
Without formal training men decorated with art design every-
thing they used in their daily living. That is when they were
closest to the god-head - lived in dignity and joy right into
their creation. This is where my heart weeps.
What an ugly imitative machine made age we are living in!
I appreciated the story of the anthropoid apes - the poem,
"The Negro Speaks of Rivers", and the fitting words from Swinburn,
Proserpine.
I know only the twenty-one Pan American countries - which are
the Pan-African ones? On page 85, you give such a fine descrip-
tive paragraph on Africa, yet Linton Wells in his review of your
book in the Saturday Review of Literature dated 3/29/47 claims
you have never been in Africa. I know you have tried as stated in
Peace and the Colonies, noting that Visas were denied.

22-22-26

So I am hoping Pan African Congresses endure and repeat- and I wish all Negroid peoples all over the globe, returned to their land of origin and claimed their own country. I would welcome an opportunity to see Africa. Should you ever know of a reasonably priced and ably conducted tour, I would appreciate hearing about it.

I like the excerpt on the back page of the jacket of the book, "to the kernel of the Inquiry into The Part which Africa has Played in World History".

Full freedom of being, consent and agreement, whatever we must do to attain this seems the job at hand.

again thank you sir, keep well, sail on, the world has need of thee.

Good wishes and greetings to you,

Most sincerely yours,

819. N. Marshall St.
Milwaukee 2. Wis. (Miss) Anna B. Zellman

P.S. also received on the same date were—
Mary Abeley's, "Rumble of a Distant Drum".
Don Blandings, "Today Is Here".

6 May 1947

My dear Miss Zellman:

I appreciate very much your kind letter of April 30th. Sometimes an author gets a bit discouraged at his attempts to get over a message to readers. But letters like yours give him added courage.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Miss Anna B. Zellman
819 N. Marshall Street
Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin

Special Request for Info. 1947

México City, October 27th. 1947.

Mr. William E. Burghardt Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Md.,
U. S. A.

Dear Sir:

22-3-54

A person who knows you and who has spoken very highly about you, has made me trust you a very delicate matter of which depends the entire future of my dear daughter, as well as my very existence.

I am in prison, sentenced for bankruptcy, and I wish to know if you are willing to help me to save the sum of $375.000.oo U. S. Cy. (THREE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS) which I have in bank bills hidden in a secret compartment of a trunk that is now deposited in a Customhouse in the United States.

As soon as I send you undeniable evidence, it is necessary for to come here and pay the expenses incurred in connection with my process. so the embargo on my suitcases can be lifted, one of which suitcases contains a baggage check that was given to me at the time of checking my trunk for North America and which trunk contains the sum above said. To compensate you for all your troubles, I will give you the THIRD PART OF SAID SUM.

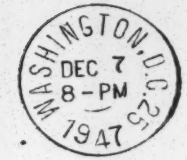
Due to serious reasons which you will know later, please reply via AIR-MAIL. I beg you to treat this matter with the utmost reserve and discretion. Fearing that this letter might have gone astray and not reach your hands, I will not sign my name until I hear from you, and then I will entrust you with all my secret. For the time being I am only signing "M".

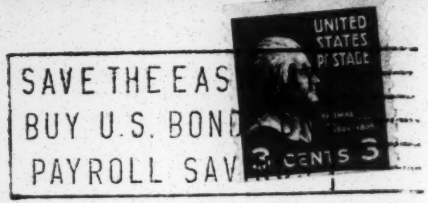
Due to the fact that I am in charge of the prison School, I can write you like this and entirely at liberty.

I cannot receive your reply directly in this prison, so in case you accept my proposition, please air-mail your letter to a person of my entire trust who will deliver it to me safely and rapidly. This is his name and address:

Sr. Ramon Trejo
Calle Tepic # 4
Mexico City, Mexico

"M"





5

Mr W. E. B. Dubois.
c/o. N.A.A.C.P. 69 5th. Ave.
20 u 40 New. York. N.Y.

220-3

I Wrote a short notice to the Too girls you Pictured on the sheet for your Consideration you have the last chance on the lady question if they come they come if they dont they dont this ends the lady question. we can not meet armageddon with Women heads People over the world must be a wake at that time when god makes his first move these World wide People must no what on what. the People here must no what on what not. the men must be numbered on decided apon such as Captains. drivers firemen groups. station men engineers. Cooking Places on arrangement. first aid service docters. storage Places guards. food colectors. cooks. dead wagons. burning grounds. water on fire Workers. truck drivers. the Prophet said let the lame take the spoil. there is much in this line the lame can do thousands of the lame

class will be brought in the service the Principles Work I done (2500) years ago has to be done over again I come ready as has ever been ready that uniform of fire in has never ceast to burn my stutch is for an idea for the unthing man to observe with much more to be considered that calls for our best. it is not gods way an Plan for the fight to be brought to you it is gods Plan to carry the fight unaware sense it is gods bidding to this world as a sure thing. we need to use our strenght while you got it there is much to be done if it is a dead easy, you are not too late if you act up. an not be guided by out side influrance when People fail them selves at their best they'll fail you on bear threads. we have nothing only what we take in comparison to modern science which mean s battle at the gate

are not for all People To no the Time
other Wise you could be met at the gate which
must be guarded against. I dont no of
such but take no chances the evil one
is here make the Time long at the last minute
now I rather give up the Women than to cause
error an slaughter in the struggle the Prophet
said they would forebare to fight an remain
in their holds. but I think the Prophet was
looking a way out on the oceans at that
time. when mean at for a way Points gets
the news the great warorors will stack arms
an forebear To fight. if the girls will come
they need To do so fill the order as described
a girl of dark hue not over (21) or (22) years old
Miss america an africa. Too only. or none
stop the rocket. god not Call an instruct me
in vain if you dont do it others will an
stand ready To do it. they have all chances
To lead you an beat you if I say so if you so

rebell you are lost I am Tired of yours
big Talk at me you counts on men
but I counts the living god That sent me
on give me a War I am yet to fight with
the Promise of showing me how to lead
it I can Wake you in a sad distress as
much so as I can Wake the World. I believe
in all men up on no man down dont
stand in the Way of gods bidding To the
World I have reach the stages of War spirit
I stand With unflinching fidilty for
a larm War do as you are Told and be
at ease I Purpose no harm To my race
big nor little nor Those here from distant
lands I am right on no it in all on more
than I ask or Claim before the World on I will
not stand for a blind human To lead me
Contray To god I am With you on The World
When on as long as you are right. it is
not right for you nor any body else to oppose me

in such things as god said do. I did not decide To Take The Women because of you I intend To Put you out just The same as if you back me any further I will bring you The fight when you think not more over if The People here dont act up others will. I have never told a lie for The truth an no it. I never told my mother a lie when ever she wanted To no The truth about things she call for me if I knowed it she got it. you got The truth from my heart. girls. The gods your creator has given such as you in his bidding To This World is The greatest service ever rended To mankind apun earth To bless all The families up The earth is some thing has never been done before since man was apun earth. let your conscience be your guide an conie you or such as you owe a duty To humanity which they truly needs of you

Robt D.C.

229-3

[Encl.]

WASHINGTON, D.C.
NOV 23
9-PM
1947

MAIL EARLY FOR CHRISTMAS

UNITED STATES POSTAGE
3 CENTS

Mr W. E. B. Dubois
c/o. ~~N.A.A.C.P.~~ 69. 5th. Ave

N. A. A. C. P.
20 W. 40th STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

New. York. N.Y.

it is commonly said the People aught to be organize before armageddon I think so Too. how can they be organized when they can not be Choosen neither except godly terms. the opays was a mong the first to bid let me say this I know a bout the dark blood that Coosen in white vains but it is not Commendable To Talk that. it is said the first white men of this Country lived in Indian huts with the Indians an Taken Indian women for wives if this be True many Indian girl Turn white an drifted a way in the white world with Indian blood coarsing in her vains an the same is applyed to Colored People. the advance high standard of Colored People of To day is Too much for em they dont no what To do with it. if they understand the bible they dont show it. if they work by a rule or high class Political debate they aught To Try more than one way it's Poor thing dont work but one way

as we near the 28th year it has been
lead rule or ruin. ask your selves
what Church or society could set up a
government different from all other
governments of the world to day. it is writen
that way in bible Prophecy an testes apon
mankind to do. if the People that stand for
the government fight each other how will we
have a government. I dont see the spirit
Judgment in you to build a government
how to build a nation. your force is a
running force run an hide like a little
Boy. the gods will bring the struggle
I'll stand back an let you take it you
taken every thing else to take the battle
with your force I stood back before an
will stand back again. if there is any
of you that have indian or negro blood
hid under your white skin keep it to
your selves it may help you see the
salvation of god in a coming new world

honorable Miss ofay do you no I give
you that name and you know your name
Miss ofay I speak the truth to you as I under
stand it of the gods by letter and spirit. I dont
say you but one of your sect has been made
known to me. who the gods has endowed
me to honor with a Policy of the great. the deeds
an obedience of your ancient fathers speaks
for one like you. tho you are not of the Promise
Covenant seed yet if god loves you I does
Too if will listen to me I will listen you there
is others on the roll that is due. now if I take
any Too or three at one time the single one will
be made void for ever some tried to say the
girl that come to me so many times an for
so long was an ofay but not so she was a
girl of distant lands not of the covenant seed
her back turn to me answers that question
she come by the year until her fate was decided
these things the People will agree to do neither

will I ignore god for the sake of a woman
more oder the People loose Time to try any
other way it would be a crime against god
To be fore warned of these things then ignore
god an follow self will demon. of the world
the sons of Perdition. god child you must
Come a lone. if the People here dont deliver my
message I will send them where they will be
delivered. more over I want. harlem to no
god is got People for the ones that will
obey. you can take this letter to the elders.
as the last Pathetic ack as a fiery soul Pass
on To armageddon. I trust you all get
What I mean I am in the middle. my stand
is inobedience to the letter an Vision of god
which all hell can not change I would
shoot my self before I would change
my Stand

Robt D.C.

Reg. Info. 1947

(FRAGMENTARY LETTER)

Day People there is a question before
me now so true an so near right it
cause to think much for a real decided
answer. first dont you think nor get it in
your mind. that a gods Picked a mob from the
Stag halls or dump allies to lead a common
Wealth of up right People such as we or you
represent as it. I beat such Idia is foolish
god give the best of heart if nothing else.
I speak in short: if they will come you
and those too girls of last week to me
at once on a ladies an gentlemans agreem
in fact I waited for the answer of a question
an got it. now you have the first Part of
an undecided decision which do not
Put any body in nor take any body
out as the case stands you no god said
to this Poor men will I look Isaiah 66-6th
or 6th you no by this I am not an sleep those
that do not believe I am a good sent man
will regret their Idole moments in tears.

Robt. D. C.

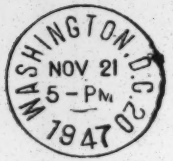
girls you Too young Women are
Invited to come to me at last your
Creator has given such as you are
I mean those Pictured last week
come To 434 Ridge St N.W. you see
a alley walk a few steps down the alley
To the left is a Bicycle shop come in
the day I am at the shop all day from
9. A.M. To 5th. P.M. that may not be in
the question tho you know how love
does adorn. Tales don't do no good

Robt D.C.

22 + 3

not

Dr. has been receiving this
type of letter for years
from this party — HHS



Mr. W. E. B. Dubois.
c/o. N.A.A.C.P. 69. 5th Ave.
New York New York.

320-3

it Must be time for that lone girl to come down things is getting in a muddle I haven't got time to Write on such matters. the Bible student are the most interesting question of all. I am afraid to open a Public debate it may be like the first letter I wrote the wrong judgment may be Passed with a grodging world of confusion at hand by misinform People. after all I will make the question one to guest at. Wisdom knows her children I trust bible readers an students to read the book of obadiah an Compare it with the 49th Chapter of Jeremiah an get the question. you all know bible Prophecy stand for what it says this can not be a secret to the mind that has Wisdom as I thought to take up the matter with the bible student I trust they give it their consideration an their duty involved in the question second I speak to the three young ladies in the Picture beyond doubt young Women such as you are. are subjects to the roll of honor which you girls could as easily make your way Possible. if I could I would take you with a song. the main thing we are not oranized in any way I can honor your bid

Cursed be the man that obey not the words of this covenant Jeremiah 11. 3. 4. the People that lead you are not obeing the words of the covenant which I refuse to take sides with rebellion leadership which blocks my way as well as yours I never will break the words of the covenant or bring the Curse of god upon my self or no it. if some thing new dosent take Place there will be no election untill the end of armageddon.

22-3 now as for this come out of her my People or be not a Partakes of her sins is nothing more than a fore waring To the People that do their god against failed leaders Pointed To distruction as many have gone on yet will go regardless To man Power or equipment many Praise the atom bomb as many dread it but the thing are not of god or only short To live or are not the hope of the world or it is thought to be. this rebellious fight has been going on [28] years un-call for or may yet snip the lips or blood out of many might or aught to live world war too aught to be a lesson for men that trust or believe in men or equipment People with sense dont notice dummies

if your People are such great fighters. Why are so many millions of them bulled robed an oppressed we are a few as you say. yet your millions are at the hands of the few. Your race has never Produced such men as american negroes the few has brought the world to them an humbled the great as Well as those in your bosom negroes sense of justice an love of liberty are sought here at home an not in foreign lands nor of foreign People. all We ask for is of our own. the out side World are only asked an even breath negro metal has been tested are here to test. we are on the way to recover our rig an show an Prove our worth to the World an humanity, you that fight your way remember you have a christain world to face an your fight will be fought in vain for that Cause you may be silent's world leader ship an those expect some thing of you will be left to wonder I havent got time for the letter

Robt L. C.

28a-3

~~35-1-415~~ (1)

US = 145M = {C. & S. America — Pop
= 1/10 production (& a quarter)

~~Arabia~~
Socialization
Coal
Bread
~~Fathers~~ Fertilizer
Cold weather
drought
} retards production in Europe

Retarded peace breaches
~~Communism is a mark of R. Nationalism~~
We believe in a spirit of free men

Near East + Africa = 600 Million
In near East
weakens by 9/10 B + Arms
Nationalism
Envy of Russia
we may help
Independence of Ethiopia + Liberia
Iran + oil

(an effort much on Truman)

Russia on the Volcano!

45-1-1

35-1-416

(2)

St. Mary, Free Press, Gunther & Hutchins: Free Press

Thesis ~~Law, Discipline, Compulsion~~

Antithesis — Chance, creation, Freedom

Synthesis — Freedom by means of Law
creation by discipline.

Our Help & Russia

1 — 11 billions on War

2 — Western invasion a help
& Russia

3 UN & Near East concessions

Russia must expand
Body of foreign Enemy to R.

Evangelicism of Communism

America wants Peace & Prosperity
to promote Liberty

Dickerson 4/5-1-2

Business organization as standard
& normal!

our greatest Press in World

Hutchins: Efficacy of free enterprise in US

We must be careful of investment
because of Russia — We are "virtuous"

55-1-417
3

The Money we have given

20 billion for Rehabilitation

growing increase of exports over imports

1947 $7\frac{1}{2}$ billion excess

Francs exch. 7 to $1 dollar

£ was given - $1\frac{1}{2}$ "

5 billion & long beach

Plants + Cultural facilities destroyed

Thrift = big Business (utilities - Dams + Railroads)

55-1-3

Sweden can't sell as as much as she buys

(also Mexico + Canada)

1946 exports $15 Bill

1947 " 20 "

Profiteering on Coal + Europe

$27 a ton for $9 a ton in USA

~~1946 exports 15~~

1946 Exports (goods down $15 bill

Imports 7 bill

1947 Inventory exports 8 20 bill ?

imports ?

11-12 B Gold { gold 4 B

assets 8 B

35-1-448

4

Germany exports only 3% of pre-war quantity

---

a tired group — complacent
non-questioning — unmoved
no communists — no new
Leaders —

Foreign policy { Violence - goods - offers - ~~symbols~~ ideas

---

6 week for UNESCO = cost of a battleship / year

Human R. Commission meets in June 47
Reports to E+C comm (Assembly? in Sept 48)
—
Sub-Comm. on minorities

Shall check. Slovakia produces (luxury articles (glass, lace, ...)) for USA
NW Europe from Russia?

45-14

45-1-5

1 Is it the policy of the S Dept to placate
G-Italy by surrendering to her the
African colonies including ~~Abe~~ Colonies
belong to Eritrea

2 mandate of S.W. Africa

35-4449

Nov. 1946-47

42/90/76

Higher Education in West Africa

As a result of the decision in July, 1946, of the former Colonial Secretary to implement the Minority Report of the Elliot Commission (see African Transcripts, No. 5)) in toto, a storm of protests arose and bitter controversies ensued. In particular, West African nationalism militated against a single university in West Africa, (See Gold Coast Memorandum and Nigerian objections, African Transcripts, No. 8) and in addition the Church Missionary Society, owners of Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, particularly objected, because it condemned the 119 year old college "to an inglorious and unjustifiable liquidation". (African World, Annual, December, 1946). The Society informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies that it could not agree with his decision and made the following counterproposals:

(1) Fourah Bay College should be the nucleus for establishment of the Territorial College, perpetuating the name and Christian tradition of the 120 year old foundation while giving due regard to free admission of non-Christians:

(2) The College, though constituted as a Territorial College, should be allowed to retain degree courses and receive financial aid from the Government for that purpose, until the new University College at Ibadan is in position to offer post-intermediate studies. At that time the question of ending degree courses at Fourah Bay College should be taken up;

(3) The Government should provide Fourah Bay College with accomodation for continuance of studies, since the Government's proposal to expropriate the College buildings and site at Cline Town and the buildings of the Territorial College are not yet erected;

(4) The Society has welcomed the interest and practical assistance of the University of Durham, would deeply regret a severance of that long association as proposed and asks that it be perpetuated.(African World, February, 1947)

As a result a Delegation of distinguished educators representing the Inter-University Council arrived in Lagos, last December 24th to spend three weeks in Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone for the purpose of investigating further questions connected with higher education in these territories. They examined sites, visited institutions, (the West African Pilot of Dec. 28, 1946, asks that "Government institutions should not provide the only medium of investigations") conferred with educational and governmental officials and representatives of the press.

In the Gold Coast, at the request of the Legislative Council the Bradley Committee was appointed and after consideration and investigation of the question it made its report which stated that its proposals are "expressly designed in accordance with the wishes of the Secretary of State to avoid conflict with the development of a university college at Ibadan, Nigeria, that at no stage will any restrictions be imposed upon private students who wish to go to Ibadan, the United Kingdom or elsewhere"

> "The committee considers there are sufficient students to make the plan worthwhile and reports the conviction of the people that they will be able to meet the cost from local resources and their full recognition of the necessity of cooperating with Ibadan." (Southern Nigeria Defender, July 28, 1947)

After reconsideration of all issues and as a result of the report submitted by the Inter-University Council Delegates, several alterations have been made in the recommendations of the Elliot Commission and the Secretary of State for the Colonies has endorsed them. The Inter-University Council now recommends two University Colleges, one in Nigeria and the other in the Gold Coast, however, that the title of "university college" should be adopted only when the institution has fulfilled the requirements for entering into special relations with the University of London for courses leading to degrees and after consultation with the University Council; and that at this stage a place name should be employed as a title. It further urged that in place of the provisional councils recommended by the Elliot Commission interim boards of trustees, which would ultimately give place to governing councils, should be set up.

The sentiment of Nigerians toward these changes is expressed in the following:

> "But in fairness to the new scheme, it must be said it has not altered much of the old one. The pre-eminence of Nigeria remains indisputable. She is to be the custodian of the faculties of medicine, agriculture, forestry, veterinary sciences as well as a social science research institute".(West African Pilot, Oct. 2 & 3, 1947)

On the other hand Gold Coast sentiment is reflected in the comment, "the announcement of His Excellency the Governor at the Estimates Session of the Legislative Council that the Secretary of State had approved of a University College for the Gold Coast came as a great relief to the people". (Gold Coast Observer, May 9, 1947.

The Committee set up by Mr. Burns to consider a site for the new university on the Gold Coast chose a site near Achimota College, a decision which has evoked much comment also. "An atmosphere characterized by the ever increasing hum and bustle of commercial or business activities is quite unsuitable for serious learning. It is, however, not too late to mend and the sooner the decision of site is reconsidered in this light, the far better, particularly for the University and the country generally". (Gold Coast Observer, April 18, 1947) The real question which remains for the Gold Coasters is, however, "Why the Colonial Office should make a difference between the Gold Coast and Nigeria financially" since "the cost of the former will be born primarily by the Gold Coast Government while the latter will draw a grant from £ 4,500,000 provided for higher education from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund". (West African Review, Oct. 1947) According to Mr. Creech Jones, "the building of the university colleges will be done from monies provided out of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, but the maintenance of these colleges will undoubtedly fall in part on local colonial funds. (Colonial Parliamentary Bulletin, II, No. 8, August, 1947)

In sum, concessions to public opinion have determined the setting up of three regional colleges which will provide higher education of a vocational type (complete in itself) and which will be centers of adult education but studies pursued therein will not normally lead to degree courses.

The Principal for the new University College in Ibadan, Nigeria, Mr. Kenneth Mellanby, O.B.E. was appointed and has already arrived in Nigeria. Before his arrival, however, the West African Pilot posed the question which they want this leader to answer:

> "how best can the proposed university help to restore popular confidence in the government, concretise the oft prostituted words

'co-operation' and 'partnership', serve the need of higher education in Nigeria and be African in its Ideal, democratic in its administration, efficient in its operation?"

The Pilot itself proposes the following answers:

"The vice principal should be an African, better still if he or she is a Nigerian. Such a person should be a university graduate and a popular national figure. The faculty should be predominantly African, male and female. Only in physical science may foreigners predominate. Heads of departments should as far as possible be African. There should be equal pay for equal work, and nothing called African or European post".

"We will not co-operate with this proposed university if it turns out to be another Yaba Higher College...we have urged and still insist that it be called a university...Let this new venture go a long way towards practicing democracy here. Let it respect African ways of life, encourage and help rehabilitate them." (West African Pilot, August 16, 1947)

During a visit to the offices of the West African Pilot Mr. Mellanby is quoted as having given assurance that "students will be allowed to express their views on local politics as long as they remain constitutional and do not run riot.

"To ensure that the university is recognized abroad...students would take London University degrees for the first few years, after which it will begin to award its own degrees."

"Quite a lot of scholarships will be awarded in order not to cut off many students on economic grounds."

"No racial discriminations (will) be practised and...a substantial proportion of the staff (will) be Africans with the requisite qualification."

"An independent council will be the governing body of the University." (West African Pilot, August 20, 1947)

A SURVEY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

Education

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	Black	Reed	Douglas	Murphy	Rutledge	Frankfurter	Jackson	Burton	Vinson
Fansteel (1939)	+	+							
Sands (1939)	+	+							
Southern Steamship (1942)	+	+	+	+		−	−		
Columbia Enameling and Stamping (1939)	+	+							
Express Publishing (1941)	+	+	+	−		−			
Indiana & Michigan Electric (1943)	+	−	+	+		−	−		
Eagle-Picher (1945)	+	−	+	+	+	−	−		
Meadowmoor (1941)	+	+	+	−		−	−		
Ritter's Cafe (1942)	+	+	+	+		−	−		
Burley I (1945)	−	−	−	−	−	+	+		
Burley II (1946)	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	
Lewis (1947)	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
Petrillo (1947)	−	+		+	+	−	−	−	−

35-1-204

45-1-55

Considering the thirteen cases referred to above as "anti-union" in their result, a majority result is designated by a minus sign (−), a dissenting vote by a plus sign (+).

Lawyer's Guild Review, Vol III, Nov-Dec. 1947 p47.

from far and

The First East African Bishop

Nominated by the Archbishop of Canterbury to be Assistant Bishop of the Western Province of Uganda, Canon Aberi Balya was consecrated in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, Kampala, on Sunday, October 26, 1947.

The new Bishop, who is sixty-three, was ordained in 1920. Writing about the appointment the Bishop of Uganda said: "He is a Mutoro, and highly respected by all races. This step forward will give tremendous pleasure to all who want to see the African Church progress, and especially to those who knew and worked with Canon Balya." In a later letter describing the Consecration service, Bishop Stuart wrote: "I have seen many big services in the cathedral, but never one where I was more conscious of God's presence and the prayers of His people. The cathedral was packed in every niche, and there were probably 2000 people outside." We assure Bishop Balya of the good wishes and prayers of all C.M.S. friends of Uganda in his new responsibilities.

★ ★ ★

Canon A. W. Howells

Many of our readers will have happ
recollections of meeting Canon H
of Lagos, with his cheerfu
massive 6

News from Japan

Recent letters from
sionaries who returned to
summer, include the news
Mann is now residing at
School at Osaka, and will
to keep in close touch
Yashiro, Presiding Bishop
who lives at Kobe, only
away. Among other duties
to the students in Mom
logical College (recently set
ment the Central Theolog
in Tokyo).

The four ladies appear
very busy, hardly knowing w
many jobs to tackle first.
smith is in her old haunts a
Kyushu; it has been decided
Baggs should live and work
shima; while Miss Foss a
Doubleday are for the present
on in school work in Kobe.

★ ★ ★

Secret Believers

"I have continued to t
service in the women'
have felt that there
response to the
The women
"On

African New Writing

Edited by CULLEN YOUNG. (Lutterworth Press. 1947. pp. 126. 5s.)

Mr. Cullen Young and the Lutterworth Press are to be congratulated on the publication of these fourteen short stories written by Africans. One or two of the stories are by practised writers, but the others are the work of beginners and two of the authors are women. The African is a born story-teller, apt in description and characterization and with a keen sense of humour and of the dramatic. The technique of the short story has therefore an appeal to him and moreover it is an excellent discipline for beginners. The authors have wisely written of things that are happening around them to-day in Africa; an Africa in transition with its young people drawing away from the old traditions and beliefs with the inevitable clash with their elders. The stories are well told and hold the attention of the reader. They are full of promise and their publication should encourage the younger writers to further efforts.

Civil Rights

These are some editorial comments from an article by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., THE SUPREME COURT: 1947, which appeared in the January, 1947, issue of Fortune magazine.

Douglas' position is complicated by the fact that few believe he has abandoned his presidential aspirations. No Justice gets better publicity. His special appeal is to "hardboiled" liberals who propose to escape the usual sense of liberal futility by concentrating on resuls at the expense of scruples. A group of writers--Richard Neuberger, Fred Rodell, Eliot Janeway--have constituted themselves a Douglas claque. Amusing little ancecdotes about the Justice even make frequent appearences in Leonard Lyons' column. His political backers include men like Tom Corcoran, Thurman Arnold, Harold Ickes, Abe Fortas; and the recurrent Douglas boom, whenever a vacancy occurs in a top government job, is a familiar feature in the Washington landscape. This group has staged small 'demarches' at regular intervals since 1940 to make him Vice President, head of WPB, manpower director, Secretary of War, Federal Loan Administrator, economic stabilizer, and Secretary of the Interior. He is now being pushed for Secretary of State if Byrnes should resign.

Most of these efforts were too little and too late; but they have contributed to the tension of the Court. Chief Justice Waite once wrote wisely of another Justice who hankered after the White House: "It was said that he permitted his ambitions in that direction to influence his judicial opinions. I am not one of those who believe he did so consciously, but one who occupies this position should keep himself above suspicion." This suspicion Douglas has been unable to shake.

Douglas ordinarily followed Black's lead up to the last term, when he

62-1-207

45-1-56

struck out on curious pro-states'-rights, anti-OPA, and pro-business tacks of his own (all of which his detractors promptly ascribed to political considerations). But the rate of agreement between Black and Douglas has fallen steadily. By the 1945 term, according to the calculations of Dr. C. Herman Pritchett of the University of Chicago, they agreed on only 71 per cent of the non-unanimous opinions. During their first three terms together on the Court they had never once been on opposite sides of a decision.

35-202

45-1-52

Civil Rights

AGREEMENT AMONG JUSTICES

1946 – 1947

JUSTICES	MAJOR	IMPORTANT	TOTAL
Black, Douglas	7 (of 8)	14 (of 21)	21 (of 29)
Murphy, Rutledge	6 (of 7)	18 (of 23)	24 (of 30)
Black, Douglas, Rutledge, Murphy	4 (of 7)	12 (of 21)	16 (of 28)
Frankfurter, Jackson	6 (of 6)	16 (of 22)	22 (of 28)
Black, Frankfurter	1 (of 8)	5 (of 22)	6 (of 30)
Black, Jackson	1 (of 6)	3 (of 21)	4 (of 27)

35-1-203

45-1-58

DISTRIBUTION OF VOTES IN NONUNANIMOUS CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

JUSTICES	IN SUPPORT OF THE CLAIMED RIGHT	IN DENIAL OF THE CLAIMED RIGHT
Vinson	0	12
Black	8	4
Reed	2	10
Frankfurter	2	10
Douglas	8	4
Murphy	10	1
Jackson	2	9
Rutledge	11	1
Burton	3	9

University of Chicago Law Review, Vol. 15, February, 1947. "The United States Supreme Court: 1946-1947," by John P. Frank. P. 1 (lead article)

4

Democracy

It is true that Russia is not a democracy in the exact meaning of that term. It is also that the United States is not a democracy; and that it would not be easy to pick out a modern country ruled by strict democratic methods. Everywhere democratic rule is curbed because we doubt the ability of the mass of men to rule justly and effectively. So in this country we legally limit democratic rule by indirect election of the president; by an appointed judiciary; by equal state representation in the Senate; by disfranchisement of voters. By extra legal means we limit democracy by the use of money in campaigns, by powerful lobby influence and by "blue ribbon" juries. Work for a living occupies the major part of the most waking hours of persons; yet in the conduct of industry: in kind of work, conditions of work, wages paid and hours of labor, the average American has little or voice or influence. By no means then can it be said that democracy rules in the conduct of most of the activities of our lives. But it can be said that the object of the government of the United States is to achieve democratic rule in the long run. This is also true of Russia And the basi mode of approach of Russia to this end, is universal education of the masses regardless of wealth or position, on a scale never before attempted by a human govern ment

49-27-5

CHAPTER I

FREEDOM FOR *ALL* PEOPLES

NANCY CUNARD :—Very much has been said and written about the new form of life that must come after victory over Nazi-Fascism, not only for the white peoples of the world but for *all* races. "Poverty must end. There must be work and good living for everyone," is the slogan.

Now, Padmore, you are not only a specialist in Colonial matters, but a member and a leader of the national majority in the British West Indies, that is to say, of the people of colour, descendants of Africans. In your book, *Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*, you have shown the miserable, the shocking, conditions in which exist most of the Negroes of the world. *How Britain Rules Africa*, another book of yours, is a thorough study of the situation in the Dark Continent. I have also read your prophetic book, *Africa and World Peace*, which warned us of the present war and its consequences. But to-day I am going to ask you a question about the future ; a straightforward but also a very complex question : What should be done for the peoples of Africa, of the West Indies, of India, and all British Colonial possessions, by the new type, the progressive type of administration that the pledges given by our public leaders, if they be carried out, entitle us to expect after peace has been declared ?

PADMORE :—Well, let us first consider the Atlantic Charter. That is a good basis on which to start.

N :—Excellent. The convoy in which I came back to England from the West Indies was the one which crossed Winston Churchill on his way to meet President Roosevelt. No one knew at the time what the meeting was about.

P :—You would suppose, from the way in which it is worded, that Clause 3 of the Charter would have application to all the peoples of the world. It says : "They (the representatives of Great Britain and of the United States) *respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they live*, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." This, apparently, was the meaning given to it not only by Colonial peoples, but even by prominent members of the British Government. Now let me tell you the facts :—

When Mr. Attlee made the announcement in August, 1941, about the Atlantic Charter, Colonial peoples throughout the world became very excited. At last, they thought, freedom was to come their way. And when a few days afterwards Mr. Attlee spoke at a meeting of the West African Students' Union in London, a member quite innocently asked whether it would in reality apply to the coloured peoples of the Empire. Mr. Churchill's deputy replied that there was not to be found "in the declarations which have been made on behalf of the Government in this country on the war any suggestion that the freedom and social security for which we are fighting should be denied to any of the races of mankind. We are fighting this war not just for ourselves, but for all peoples."

Now, this seemed specific enough ; too specific apparently for Mr. Churchill For almost immediately after his return from the Atlantic meeting with President Roosevelt, he pointed out to the House on September 9, 1941, that, "At the Atlantic meeting we had in mind, primarily, the restoration of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the states and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke . . . so that it is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in the regions and among the peoples which owe allegiance to the British Crown."

So there it was. And all the Africans and Indians and Cingalese and Burmans and West Indians, and all the rest of the Colonial peoples whose hopes had been raised by the announcement of the Atlantic Charter and the explicitness of Mr. Attlee's statement, were dumbfounded. When they had recovered from the shock they became more bitter than ever. First came U-Saw from Burma

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to test the British attitude. Point blank he asked for a promise of self-government for Burma after the war, and point blank it was refused. While U-Saw as an individual was not particularly important, he reflected the aspirations of the nationalists of Burma. There is no doubt, as we have been able to judge from subsequent events, that there was, as he said: "a small section of Burmese opinion which believes that to aid Britain win the war means to aid Britain to keep us in subjection. . . . There is another section which, while it cherishes no love for the Japanese, feels that if it is Burma's destiny to remain a subject nation, then it might prefer to be governed by a nation that is of the same blood and of the same religion."

Next, West African nationalists and intellectuals, watching these events very closely, addressed a cablegram to the Prime Minister through the leading Negro newspaper of Nigeria, *The West African Pilot*. It said: "Must we assume that the Deputy Premier's (Mr. Attlee) statement to the West African Students' Union, London, that the Atlantic Charter would benefit coloured races as well as the white race, is misleading and unauthorised? Are we fighting for the security of Europe to enjoy the Four Freedoms whilst West Africans continue to live under pre-war status? On behalf of the Protectorate and Colony of Nigeria, we request your clarification of the applicability of the Atlantic Charter regarding Nigeria. This will enable us to appreciate the correct bearings of 21 million Negroes in the sea of international politics."

This direct challenge from so-called "backward Africans" must have come as a shock and a surprise to the powers-that-be, and certainly was a most unlooked-for consequence of the simple question put by the West African student to Mr. Attlee in August, 1941. What happened? The fundamentals of the question put by *The West African Pilot* were disregarded. Mr. Churchill replied through the Acting Chief Secretary of the Nigerian Government in the form of a letter, pointing out that:—

"As explained by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on September 9, 1941, President Roosevelt and the Prime Minister had primarily in mind the restoration of the sovereignty, self-government and national life to the states and nations of Europe now under Nazi rule.

"The declared policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to the people of the British Empire is already entirely in harmony with the high conception of freedom and justice which inspired the Joint Declaration, and the Prime Minister does not consider that any fresh statement of policy is called for in relation to Nigeria or West African colonies generally.

"To suppose, however, that the statement which the Prime Minister made is incompatible with progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in Nigeria or elsewhere shows an evident misunderstanding of words, and any suggestion that this Empire's fight against Nazi tyranny is a fight for the freedom and security of the European race alone is a suggestion which he feels confident all His Majesty's loyal subjects in Nigeria and elsewhere would unite in condemning."

And that is about all that the Atlantic Charter means to the Colonial peoples within the British Empire: That the regime of exploitation and Colonial Fascism under which they now exist is to continue after the war; that the system of Imperialism is to run on indefinitely.

Events in the Far East have taught the British imperialists nothing. Had they enunciated the Atlantic Charter for the Colonial peoples of the Empire as well as for the diverse European nations now under Nazi domination, it is probable that the debacle which has occurred would have been averted. There would certainly not have been so much apathy among the native peoples, nor such active support given to the enemy in certain places.

N:—I think that most of the British public would agree on that score. And also on the point that this continues to be a war full of contradictions.

8 Nigerian Constitution Nov. 1946-47

The new constitution itself, first proposed in 1945 and effective in 1947, has met with opposition as a whole, and the demand in general is one for "self-government with power wholly and unreservedly in those (hands) of the self-styled leaders" even though, as Sir Arthur Richards said in his address to the reformed Legislative, the "impatient patriots who demand self-government are as yet untested in positions of responsibility and to transfer all political authority suddenly to their untried hands would be but a sham democracy". (West African Review, May, 1947)

On August 13 Mr. Creech Jones received the NCNC Delegation to discuss the memorandum which had been laid before him. The Minister told the Delegation that

> "the Nigerian constitution introduced in 1945 should be given a fair trial and that there was no question of its being changed until experience had shown in what ways it needed amendment". (London Times, August 14, 1947)

He further emphasized the Government's intention to do all possible to assist in the progress of Nigeria and urged the Delegation to cooperate. He also promised that certain points raised in their memorandum would need further consideration and discussion, some in consultation with the Government of Nigeria and that it would be some time before a reply could be given.

Although a part of the press and a part of the populace are fully supporting the demands of the NCNC there are indications that there are those in Nigeria who are not in complete accord, and who feel that the mission was not a success. However, the Delegation feels it has not entirely failed since in the words of the West African Pilot, "the Secretary of State for the Colonies did not say that the constitution would not be changed".

42/90/105

1

WEST-AFRICA

42/90/119

8

by-doubling [illegible]

In answer to a question, during the Legislative Council discussion last March, 1947, regarding illicit stills, the Colonial Secretary revealed that £76,000 went abroad from the Gold Coast last year for imported gin. The questioner, the Hon. Nana Frempon Manso, then pointed out (in effect) that this was a sad state of affairs. Why should the African be forced to drink somebodyelse's gin when he could produce his own; still more, why should he be liable to heavy penalties for patronizing home industry? Free distillation of local gin should be authorized forth with, excise placed on the stills to compensate for loss of revenue, and Government should assist in denaturing (sic) the local gin so as to raise it to the highest possible quality.

Nov. 1946 1947

American Missionaries of the [illegible]

7 -10- W. Af. 42/9c/132

(b) Nigeria:- In June (1946) the Government announced 30 more scholarships for study in Britain. Press comments that 30 is not many among 22 million. Government announced that all proceeding abroad for training may give in their names for appropriate Government posts. As Government employment is almost only outlet at present for ambitious young Nigerians, it is hoped thus to check growth of the jobless, embittered intelligentsia.

Nigeria's first Public Library (5000 volumes) established at Lagos, and reading room services extended.

Mr. S. L. Akintola, editor of "Daily Service" (mouthpiece of Youth Movement) is awarded a Government scholarship. A Government clerk in Warri publishes study of "Itsekiri Law and Customs". A history of Denkyiras is being written, showing value of customs in national life.

Extensions are planned for Katsina Training School and for Bauchi. U. S. buildings at Kano are to be used for a Girl's school. In Western Nigeria 467 new primary schools were started in 1945-46, and plans call for 40 new schools a year in each province.

[redacted]

The Nigerian Union of Teachers has 7000 members in 90 branches.

Nov. 1946-47

-4- Central Africa

(1)

(c) Gold Coast: - The Korsah Committee recommended pay scales increased by 1d. to 6d. a day, minimum wage 1s. 6d. a day. Government employees not on the established list, and day laborers of subordinate staff are affected. Government announced the new scales effective on 1 July, 1947, and is looking for sources of revenue to cover the greatly increased cost involved.

Gold Coast mines have provided good living quarters, low priced canteens with nourishing meals, free movies, and other welfare and social amenities for their Native workers.

Nov. 1946 47 W.A.

42/9c/131

-214- Nov. 1946-47

(c) The Gold Coast:- Now that Achimoto is to be a University College, it has reopened its arts course.

Trade scholarships were awarded to 425 ex-servicemen. 117 accepted.

Our duty is therefore clear. Instead of letting contact with us produce a proletariat more or less clothed and more or less French-speaking we must create an élite, an élite in the first place of chiefs and notables, which we can endow with responsibility and which will progress by sheer force of experience gained in meeting difficulties as they arise. To achieve this we must continually hold in front of us the necessity that they should enjoy respect. They cannot enjoy the respect of their people unless they enjoy ours.

Another error to be avoided is treating a chief as though he were a Government official, which he is not. He is not covered by administrative regulations. He receives a remuneration as a mark of honour and as a prerogative of office, but he is not salaried and he is perfectly entitled to supplement his income by legitimate means. There are abuses of course, but they are not as great as we suppose, and would they be less or more if the chiefs were replaced by native bureaucrats, whose only curb is fear of imprisonment if they are found out? Like us the native prefers the faults of his own people and country to a course of treatment which will end by eliminating his national entity. If he loses his chief - and his chief personifies his national entity - he ceases to beget children and even emigrates to re-form his national life elsewhere.

I have referred throughout to chiefs because they are the commonest native institution, but my remarks apply of course equally to other forms of control, and it is a great mistake to think exclusively in terms of chiefs or try to establish dynasties, where they have not existed previously. Whatever the native system, its solid qualities must be retained to the exclusion of any artificial substitutes invented by us. Chiefs, notables or councils, compelled to act on their own initiative and working in collaboration with us soon learn the responsibilities of office and gain in dignity as well as humility as they learn.

The first step which I propose to take at once is to hand over to native courts, wherever circumstances permit, a share in the administration of justice for penal offences: their civil jurisdiction, which they have never lost, will be officially restored to them. So the administrative officials will begin to be supervisors instead of executives in this sphere at least. This policy, if carried out methodically and ungrudgingly, will set French Equatorial Africa on the road of human progress again, and restore to its people the desire to perpetuate their race.

POLICY WHEN TRADITION HAS BEEN RADICALLY ALTERED.

So far I have considered only such native institutions as have been strong enough to survive the consequence of our ignorance or misconception. Many have failed to do so. The mere fact of our presence in the country modifies some of them profoundly. Our economic requirements, for instance, destroy social units. Our unco-ordinated encouragement of new ideas upsets traditional morality. When we introduce these detribalized elements into the government of their country we must take care that they are made aware of the problems that face them. We must arouse their interest and win their honest co-operation.

42/9c/276

Nov. 1946-47

Nov. 1946-47

Educational Developments in East Africa

Makerere College - A new milestone was passed in the history of Makerere College this year when the first five women passed their final examinations in the two year course set up at Makerere by Miss M. [illegible]. Graham of London.

Although only fifty of the one hundred and fifty applicants could be admitted to Makerere this year, primarily because of lack of accommodations, advances are being made. The Inter-University Council recommended that a preliminary grant of £200 000 be made for capital expenditure from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and that additional assistance be given annually to bring the College's income up to £ 70,000 per annum (African World, December, 1946). In June it was reported that £ 300,000 had been granted. (African World, June 1947)

42/9c/81

8) 2- Politics

N.C.N.C. Delegation to London

The leaders of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons made extensive tours of the country early in the year in an effort to collect funds to send a delegation to London for the purpose of presenting Nigerian demands to the Government in Westminster. Some £12,000 were contributed and on July 13 the NCNC Delegation duly arrived in London.

On August 4, the Delegation presented to a special meeting of the Labour Party Imperial Committee the gist of their mission demanding (a) "immediate reforms, (b) recognition as a self-governing dominion within the framework of the British Commonwealth, (c) Independence as an ultimate goal", and presenting a fifteen year plan. The immediate reforms proposed, according to the West African Pilot, were:

1. An elected Nigerian majority in the Legislative Council.
2. Equal franchise for male and female, rich and poor.
3. Mineral rights and lands should be vested in the people of Nigeria and not in the British Crown.
4. The word "Crown" in the constitution should read "government and people of Nigeria".
5. The ordinance empowering the Governor, Residents or D.O.s to appoint and dethrone our natural leaders should be repealed.

The fifteen year plan proposes that:

1. The first five year period should be used to train technologists and administrators.
2. The second five year period would be a partnership era with Britain. Half of the top posts must be held by citizens.
3. The last five years will set Nigeria completely free from British political domination.

(West African Pilot, October 9, 1947)

Nov. 1946-47

6/10/47

Nov. 1946-47

United Eweland

The plea of the Ewe peoples for a united Eweland (See African Transcripts, Nos. 10 and 11) was brought before the United Nations Trusteeship Council by Mr. Sylvanus E. Olympio, representative of the Ewe peoples. According to this representative the existing three way partition of the Ewe lands "is a source of grave political, social, economic and cultural hardship to the Ewe people." After outlining the history of the Ewes under European domination he further pointed out that because of the difference between French and British educational systems, the division of Togoland is having a divisive effect on coming generations". In addition, because of the customs barrier between the two zones, "Persons on one side of the boundary cannot send goods to relatives on the other side, nor can they send money because of currency restrictions on the sterling and the franc. Passport formalities restrict passage from one zone to the other."

42/90/103

On the question of government Mr. Olympio said:

> "We are incapable of self-government now - not later. We are working toward that. In the meantime we want to be allowed to live together under one roof and one Government so that we can achieve peace and prosperity". (New York Times, Dec. 9, 1947)

However, Mr. Olympio refused to commit himself on the question of whether his people preferred French or British rule; rather, he suggested a plebiscite to determine the choice of the majority of the people and pleaded that the Council send a commission to make an on the spot inquiry.

The Memorandum submitted by the Governments of England and France contained measures proposed to improve the economic, fiscal and cultural conditions of the Ewe people. To implement this program the Memorandum proposed a standing Consultative Commission for Togoland Affairs, which would be established by the two Governments and would include two representatives of the inhabitants of each of the Trust Territories.

Mr. Olympio, however, pointed out that the measures proposed in this joint Anglo-French memorandum are inadequate because they do not solve the basic problem, which is the need for a unitary administration. This the representative of England and France did not deny and stated that the measures proposed are merely transitional, but that immediate implementation of the proposed program would improve the situation and that in the future other and better arrangements might be contemplated by the Administering Authorities.

The Ewe representative further denied the statement in the memorandum that "substantial progress" had been made for he maintained there was not a single permanent road in either zone, only mud and laterite roads; not a single secondary school, no hospital and only one technical school, dating from the German period, now used more as a factory than as a school; nor did he consider progress in the political sphere to be "substantial".

After consideration of all the issues the Trusteeship Council took the view that,

> (1) the measures jointly proposed by the Administering Authorities represent an earnest and constructive initial effort to meet the immediate difficulties of the problem..."

I G Round-Nuts

8

42/90 Nuts

-180- November-1946-47

West African Groundnut Mission considered an area in Gambia and two in Gold Coast. Report published 30 April, however, recommends 50,000 acre site on deep water of the Gambia - groundnut areas in other West African territories were less desirable or impracticable for large-scale mechanized production, although satisfactory for small farmers as at present.

Produce Board has £20 million now from profits on cocoa, due mostly to high prices on American market,

Royal West African Field Force recruiting drive started in July -- 6 yrs. active service plus 3 years reserve. Only ex-service men being taken. Applications coming in at good rate, as unskilled jobs are scarce in towns and many ex-service men shun the back-to-the-land idea.

Since repeal of Forced Labor in French Africa, the frontier population of French West African territories has increased 25%, it is claimed.

In Haute Volta, the Mossi people, who have been divided since 1932 between Ivory Coast, Sudan and Niger, have now been re-united under their Mora Naba.

The Colonial Office announces following appointments: -- Sir John Stuart Macpherson, KCMG, from West Indies, to be Governor of Nigeria, succeeding Sir Arthur Richards, GCMG. Sir Gerald Creasy, KCMG, OBE, Chief Secretary of West Indian Council, to be Governor of the Gold Coast, in succession to Sir Alan Burns, GCMG. Mr. G. Beresford Stooke, CMG, Chief Secretary in Nigeria, to be Governor of Sierra Leone, succeeding Sir Hubert Stevenson, KCMG, OBE, MG. Mr. Andrew Barkworth Wright, CMG, CBE, MC, Colonial Secretary Trinidad, to be Governor of the Gambia, in succession to Sir Hilary Blood, KCMG.

Nov-1946-47

Prosperity of Nigeria and Gambia depends largely on their export of groundnuts and oil palm products. Before the War Nigeria, with 1,229,000 tons of groundnuts per annum, had ¼ the world's trade; while the region as a whole stood first in the palm oil field. Competition is increasing from Congo and Dutch East Indies in palm oil, both in quantity and quality, and the 1946 forecast was that by 1948 these competitors would be far ahead of Nigeria's annual 144,000 tons. Also, the Government's vast Groundnut Scheme in East Africa gives further anxiety to West Africa. In 1924 the British Government passed laws which have protected West Africa's small, independent farmers against large-scale capitalistic plans very effectively; so effectively, in fact, that the low quality, inefficient production of the small farmer was perpetuated and he now finds himself hopelessly out of the running as soon as any real competition arises. Only thru benevolent Government action and thru strong co-operative societies, can the small producers hope to survive. For this reason the Oilseed Mission, which visited West Africa in 1946 had as a member the Director of the English and Scottish Joint Co-operative Wholesale Societies.

1 Miscellaneous

"However, until 1935, although we had a geological survey in South Africa and professors of geology at Pretoria and Johannesburg, no interest was showed in Sterkfontein". (Cape Times, June 11, 1947)

The poignancy of Dr. Broom's feelings is understandable. However, two weeks later, June 24, he made a further front-page find, which must somewhat have alleviated his distress,

"Dr. Broom discovered at Sterkfontein on June 24 a nearly perfect lower jaw of a large male ape-man of the same period as the Sterkfontein man he discovered many years ago and the female remains he discovered in April.
It was found in the vicinity of the places where the two skulls were previously found and it will enable him to describe the Sterkfontein man in much greater detail as both these previous skulls were found with large parts of the jaw missing.
The jaw possesses so many human characteristics that Dr. Broom believes that if it had been discovered in any other country every anatomist in the world presented with it would have declared it to be human.
He considers that the fact that it possesses the rudiments of a chin may indicate the beginning of speech.
'This jaw is by far the most important jaw ever discovered'....
The right side of the jaw is practically perfect, but the back part is detached and still on the counter slab. The front of the jaw is also perfect but the right ramus is considerably broken and has not yet been completely cleared of matrix.
By far the most important tooth in the jaw is the eye tooth which is very large. It has been ground down in line with the other teeth so that the top is quite flat.
This is a human characteristic not met with in any apes; In all the apes the eye teeth of the lower and upper jaw lock with one another, but here, as in man, the teeth have been completely ground down by a rotatory movement." (Cape Times, July 11, 1947)

In addition Abbé Breuil has been examining rock paintings recently in Southern Africa. In Natal he noted paintings which resembled those found in the Spanish caves (African Affairs, Oct. 1947, p. 195). Then from South-West Africa, he reported even more remarkable observations:

"A painting between 5,000 and 7,000 years old and described by the Abbé Breuil as the most interesting rock painting he has seen outside Europe, has been found in a cave in the Brandberg mountains of South-West Africa.

The painting is of a white woman with features common to Mediterranean inhabitants. The Abbé studied it for 10 days and it still remains a mystery to him.

He describes it as so extraordinary that it cannot be compared with the usual Bushman paintings."

What scholars and scientists will finally decide concerning these new discoveries remains to be seen. In the meantime the University of California has dispatched a large scientific team to Africa and Prehistory may look forward to a new day of interest of enthusiasm.

(c) Gold Coast: - New Gold Coast Constitution, giving all-African majority, inaugurated 23 July, 1946, with great ceremony. £10 million 10-year plan announced. Purchase price of cocoa increased to 27s. 6d. per load (old rate 15s.) but 2s. 6d. per load levy taken for swollen shoot campaign and higher education. Nearly 100 Ashanti villages may get water wells as result of recent geological survey work. Farmers dislike Cocoa Marketing Plan, which gives them only 2 of 11 memberships on Board. Preliminary work begun on new port for Ada. Income taxes to be increased in March, to meet cost of new Civil Service salary scales, and projects of 10 year plan.

At the Governor's Durbar, at Kumasi, 12 Dec., 1946, some official (it is reported) requested the Chiefs to remove their sandals - which procedure in that locality is the prelude to being deprived of office!

Ex-servicemen of Gold Coast (as in Nigeria, Uganda and elsewhere) show no interest in trade training centers or resettlement on the land. They much prefer town life.

Colonial Development funds for Gold Coast include £125,650 to combat leprosy, and £8,000 for trial campaign against yaws.

Achimoto is to be a University College, but dependent principally on local funds.

Opinion in the Gold Coast seems strongly behind the Governor in the now well publicised "Kibi Murder Case", about which such a stir was made in Parliament. (Mr. Creech Jones: "I think it is true..." Hon. Members: "Shame". Mr. Churchill: "...Is this not an affront to every decent tradition of British administration?.. 'cat and mousing' men up to the scaffold..."). Abroad, however, the concensus seems to be that all if guilty should have been hanged, or all pardoned if doubt of guilt persisted; but in no event should legal quibbling have been permitted 5 times in 2½ yrs. to intervene practically on the scaffold, culminating on 24 March, 1947, when the actual executions were interrupted after 3 had been hanged, reprieving the remaining 2 once again - whose sentences have since been commuted.

On 20 August, 1946, the Martindale Commission commenced hearings to enquire into the wartime transactions of the Gold Coast Customs and Supply Department, in regard to the granting of import licenses, allocation of supplies and dollar ex-

42/90/100

November 24, 1947

I see no way in which I can be of service in the matter of recommendations to the Human Rights Commission or the Sub-Commission on Discrimination and Minorities.

1. Directly after Dumbarton Oaks a number of organizations began drafting proposed declarations on human rights. At San Francisco the proposals continued. I took no interest in these, because I was statisfied and still am, that there is no lack of such theoretical statements. The Commission on Human Rights has at least two dozen such documents. So far as words go they are complete and I have nothing to add.

2. What is wrong about human rights is not lack of pious statements, but the question as to what application is made of them and what is to be done when human rights are denied in the face of law and declarations. For this reason I have worked for a year on a specific case of denial of rights.

3. The Commission on Human Rights has practically denied us the right of petition or consultation. They have insisted that all we can do is to file our petition "confidentially". With Mr. White I consulted Mrs. Roosevelt on procedure and have followed her vague and meager advice. Twice since I have written her and received no reply not even acknowledgement. I have no further communication or advice for her.

4. The fact is that the United States Department of the U.S. is determined that American Negroes shall have no chance to state their grievances before the world. Mrs. Roosevelt is following orders. I advised Mr. White a year ago to seek the position of a consulting body for the NAACP. As it is the meetings of the Commission on Human Rights are either closed or open to spectators with no right to speak. No statement nor petition can be put before them except for "filing". The organization and meetings of the Sub-Commission on Discrimination and Minorities will doubtless follow the same procedure. It would be a waste of money and time for the NAACP to be represented at Geneva for these meetings.

5. If Mrs. Roosevelt or the Commission had wished our advice or opinion they have had a year to ask ft. They have, on the contrary discouraged us from action in every possible way.

6. (Later)

WHY HAS THE COMMITTEE PERSISTED IN GETTING ITS CASE BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS AND WHY WILL IT CONTINUE TO PERSIST?

Mr. V. L. Brunch — Negro

Mrs. Muriel Hamm

Willard Ramm

Exhibit 'A'

Names of Agencies having Clerical Vacancies
for Whites but not for Negroes
(With Names of Placement Officers carrying out Agency Policy)

General Accounting Office - Mr. Snyder (quota)
Commerce - Bureau of Standards - Miss Soper
Patent Office - Mr. McCabe
Treasury - Internal Revenue - Mr. Wallace
Federal Security Agency - Public Health Service - Miss Russel and
Miss McGillicuddy
Federal Works Agency - Public Buildings - Miss Sylvia Baldinger
Justice - Alien Property Custodian - Mrs. Krigsman
Navy - Mrs. Mildred King
International Bank - Mrs. Doyle
Government Printing Office - Mrs. Lawson (quota)
War Department - Army Security - Miss McKenzie
State Department - Mr. Holcombe
Bur. of Budget - Mrs Mary Sabin no Mr. Bicker

Statements made to Miss Finkelstein,
Miss Price & Miss Travis

See Sec - "E" marked on applications

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Exhibit "F"

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

DATE: 1/27

FROM : John [redacted]

SUBJECT:

Attached are the applications I talked to you about. Except for color - they look like good girls.

[redacted]

John.

224-8

Exhibit "C"

FEB 5 1947

FORM DS-110
FORMERLY DP-1
5-1-45

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REQUEST FOR PERSONNEL ACTION

Prepare 3 Copies. Forward Original and 1 Copy Together With Applicant's Papers to BF for Clearance Before Action by DP.

Nature of Action Requested

Proposed Effective Date

Name | Date of Birth

Sex | Race | Legal Residence

PRESENT STATUS	PROPOSED STATUS
Position No.	Position No.
Title	Title
Grade and Salary	Grade and Salary
Office or Division	Office or Division
Branch	Branch
Section	Section
Unit	Unit
Headquarters	Headquarters

REMARKS: (For Use of DP Only)

DESCRIPTION OF DUTIES: (For Continuation Use Back of Sheet)

Date | Signature and Title of Responsible Officer

For Use of DP & BF Only

BUDGET CONTROL

Appropriation

CIVIL SERVICE AUTHORITY

RETIREMENT DEDUCTION

CLASSIFICATION (Reference, Name, No.etc.)

NATURE OF POSITION

New

Additional Identical

Reallocation

Vice

APPROPRIATION & ALLOTMENT CODE

From | To

INVESTIGATION

Administrative Approval

EFFECTIVE DATE

Applicant Notified

To E.O.D.

Division Notified

Date of Oath

Routing Symbol

26-73666-30M

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FD - 140

APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

DIRECTOR,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

....., 19....

Sir:

I hereby make application for employment in the position indicated by check mark, in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, and for your use in this connection submit the following information:

Special Agent (Law Trained)	☐ **
Special Agent (Accountant)	☐ **
Stenographer	☐
Typist	☐
Translator	☐
Messenger	☐ **
Laboratory Technician*	☐ **
Student Fingerprint Classifier	☐
Clerk	☐

(This application should be typewritten if possible) (Indicate by check)

1. Name in full (please print)_____ (Family name) (Given name) (Middle name)
   (a) Female applicants must furnish maiden name_____
2. Legal Residence_____
3. Mail and telegraphic address_____ Phone No._____
4. Complete date of birth_____ Weight_____ Height_____
5. Place of birth_____ (City) (County) (State)
6. (a) Father's name_____ (b) Father's birthplace_____
   (c) Present address_____ (d) If foreign born, is he a citizen?_____
   (e) Date and place of naturalization_____
7. (a) Mother's name_____ (b) Mother's birthplace_____
   (c) Present address_____ (d) If foreign born, is she a citizen?_____
   (e) Date and place of naturalization_____
8. Brothers_____ (Complete names, birthplaces and present addresses)
9. Sisters_____ (Include married names, birthplaces and present addresses)
10. If you were not born in United States, how long have you lived here?_____
11. Are you a citizen of the United States?_____
12. If naturalized, date and place of naturalization_____
13. Are you single, married, widowed, separated, or divorced?_____
14. (a) Maiden name of wife_____ (b) Wife's birthplace_____
    (c) Present address_____ (d) If foreign born, is she a citizen?_____
    (e) Date and place of naturalization_____
15. (a) Husband's complete name_____ (b) Husband's birthplace_____
    (c) Present address_____ (d) If foreign born, is he a citizen?_____

*Specify exact title of position sought as Laboratory Technician.
**Positions of Special Agent (Law Trained), Special Agent (Accountant), Laboratory Technician, and Messenger for male applicants only.

See details on separate description sheets which will be furnished on request.

34. Give residence addresses and dates of residence for the past ten years.

---

35. List the names of any relative now in the Government service, with the degree of relationship, and where employed: _____

Names of any friends or acquaintances who are employed in the Federal Bureau of Investigation: ----------

---

36. Give dates and branch of military service, if any, also type of discharge received and basis for it, also military serial number. ----------

---

36a. Do you claim veteran's preference? If so, give basis. ----------

---

Do you now have any service disability? If so, give percentage. ----------

---

37. What is the lowest entrance salary you will accept? _____

38. Are you in a position to accept probationary employment at any time, without previous notice, and, if notice is required, how much? _____

39. In the event of appointment will you be willing to proceed to Washington, D.C., upon 10 days' notice and at your own expense? _____

40. If appointed are you willing and prepared to accept assignment or transfer to any part of the United States where services are required, for either temporary or permanent duration? _____

41. Attach unmounted full face photograph not larger than 3 by 4½ inches. Write your name plainly on back of photograph. Photograph to be taken not more than 30 days prior to date of application. (Application will not be considered complete if such photograph not furnished)

(Photograph)

Respectfully,

_____
(Signature of applicant as usually written)

NOTE.—If the applicant desires to make any further remarks or statements concerning his qualifications or in answer to any question contained in the application, the same should be made on a separate sheet of paper, numbering the remarks in accordance with the original questions.

Note.—The following jurat must be subscribed to by all applicants for positions in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, U. S. Department of Justice.

Subscribed and duly sworn to before me by the above-named applicant, this _____ day of _____, 19____, at city (or town) of _____, county of _____, and State (or Territory or District) of _____

[OFFICIAL IMPRESSION SEAL]

_____
(Signature of officer)

_____
(Official title)

Application will not be considered complete if above jurat not executed.

Draft of material for Announcing Conference, to appear in SPOTLIGHT, December

11.20.47

ANNOUNCING A

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN POLICY IN CHINA AND THE FAR EAST

OUR AMERICAN WAY

Americans have always felt a pride and an exhilarating hope in our heritage and destiny as a democratic people.

DANGER!

Today this American concept of ourselves as a democratic people is being attacked: both the domestic and the foreign policies of our Government have elements that tragically threaten to halt the development - the rightful and rich flowering - of our democratic process of living and working.

FAR EASTERN POLICY

In the Far East American policy is dealing with nations peopled by millions of human beings who are demanding a better way of living and who will not stop struggling until they free themselves from feudalism and from all forms of foreign domination.

The present American Far Eastern policy supports the feudal and reactionary elements in Asia; it violates what we Americans know to be our basic political affirmations; it is building up for us here in the United States a tragic future: these Asian peoples who could be our strong, fresh and cooperative allies in creating a better world will reject us as enemy; the healthy trans-Pacific trade we could now be enjoying is still non-existent; our support of old, entrenched and selfish interests in the Far East leads only toward international friction and maybe to war.

The same people who are trying to deny and thwart our democratic way here at home are the very ones who now determine our Far Eastern policy.

WE CITIZENS MUST ACT!

We must know: the facts and the issues and the implications of the present anti-democratic Far Eastern policy pursued by our Government.

We must work: to find ways and means of implementing a citizens' demand that the United States cease using our American prestige and resources to support unpopular, anti-democratic regimes and elements in Asia.

to achieve a United States policy that encourages the growth of democracy in Asia - both for our own sakes and for the sakes of the millions who inhabit Asia.

How. First: come together in a National Conference of American citizens to get the facts and issues clearly before us, and to discuss together ways of effective citizenship action on Far Eastern policy.

Then: carry back to our own communities and organizations the facts, insights, convictions and suggested methods of effective citizen action to achieve a democratic Far Eastern policy.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE JANUARY 17th and 18th 1948 NEW YORK CITY

National Chairman

T A Bisson — Far Eastern authority, editor and writer, author, just returned from over a year of service as Special Advisor, Government Section, GH , SCAP, Japan

Dr W E B DuBois — Director of Special Research, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, writer, author, lecturer, and authority on colonial issues.

Hon Stanley M Isaacs — Prominent New York lawyer and member of the City Council of New York City

Organizing Secretary

Dr Stephen H Fritchman

Auspices

An Organizing Committee of Citizens

Organizations are invited to send delegates and observers. Individuals are invited to attend as visitors. Registration Fee $5.00

If you are interested in knowing more about this Conference please fill in and return the accompanying blank to the Organizing Secretary 111 West 42nd Street New York City N Y

22-27

Politics

22-14-1

NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICES:1917-1947

Year	City Council	State Legislature	U.S. Congress	Judges*
1917-18	10	2	0	0
1919-21	20	13	0	2
1922-24	11	14	0	1
1925-29	35	26	0	1
1929-31			1	1
1932-36	20	38	1	5
1937-39				
1940		24	1	3
1942		23	1	1
1944		26	2	
1946 **	6	33	2	2

*These figures refer to the number elected, rather than the total number serving during the given period. Today, in 1947, there are reportedly 13 Negro judges in the U.S.

**The figures for 1946 are good for 1947, since the terms are usually for two or more years in holding the offices covered here, and 1946 was the election year for the individuals represented in these statistics.

Southern Lure - Bus. Wk. Jan. 25-47 p. 37

Alexandria and Monroe, Ga. recently announced plans for formation of community development corporations to bring in outside industry. That raised the number of such organizations formed or projected in the South since the end of the war to 23. The corporations represent a professional approach to the problem of industrializing small southern communities. They tackle the job scientifically by concentrating on plants that can logically expect to prosper in the community, have good credit rating and are likely to stay put.

Working Methods - With capital raised by sale of stock or bonds the developmen corporations construct or purchase factory buildings. Usually the stock or bonds holders are local people. Officers are likely to be a cross section of small town business. Factories owned by the corporations are leased or sold to industries. Lease terms generally cover 10 years with monthly rental running roughly 1% of building's cost. Under most contracts the operator may buy it any time during the 10 years and have paid-in rental counted against the price. Typical of these efforts at industrialization is the work done in Georgia by the Marietta Industrial Ass'n, Inc. This was organized in 1943. Marietta business men liked the war-time sales volume made possible by payrolls of the Bell Bomber Plant; they wondered how they could keep the town alive industrially when Uncle Sam stopped making aircraft. Their answer is the small town version of the big prosperous Louisville Industrial Foundation in operation for 30 years.

Under the usual pre-war schemes which attracted industries, tax exemptions were handled out without thought for the town's future needs. Marietta's contracts provide that the manufacturers pay taxes, insurance, utility charges and maintain buildings.

Textile Workers on the War Path - Bus. Wk - Dec. 18-43 p. 102

Some 300 representatives of AFL United Textile Workers of America, in conference in Asheville, N.C. threatened to strike 57 textile mills in No. and So. Car. unless the

Nat. War Labor Board listens to their demands for higher wages. *****Strike if called, would affect 80,000 workers.

Coastal Drilling - Bus. Wk - Sept. 15,45 p. 35

Magnolia Oil Co. leases 129,025 acres extending 30 miles into the Gulf of Mexico. The state receives 660,597 in cash from the Magnolia lease, plus ½ of that sum annually as rent after one year and until drilling starts, with 1/8 straight royalty and 1/48 over riding royalty.

Mangolia's confidents that there will be no trouble was demonstrated when the company offered for its lease a figure more than 5 times the bids of Superior Oil Co. and Pure Oil Co. , the only other firms participating.

Textile Industry Knits Itself - Bus. Wk - May 18-46 -. 68

Textron, Inc. has just bought controlling interest in Gossett Mills of Anderson, S.C. which owns 12 cotton and rayon mills in the two Carolinas *****

Integrating in cotton textile production occurs whenever an operator decides to combine two or more successful steps under the same management or to bypass one of the intermediaries in the chain. At present, 2 variations on this theme are particularly important: (1) complete yarm to garment integration in which a single company retains control of the cloth all the way through the weaving, finishing, cutting and sewing operations; (2) alliance of the independent converter with the weaving mill, farming out work direct to the job finisher and selling finished cloth instead of gray goods.

A shining example of yarn-to-garment integration just now isTextron, Inc. which hopes

to do a 100,000,000 business in 1946 with about ~~200,000~~ 30,000,000 of it in items that retail under the Textron trademark. Before the war Textron (then named Atlantic Rayon) was a small New England Company that concentrated on throwing and processing rayon yarm.

M. Lowenstein & Sons , Inc. latest acquisition at Entwistle Mfg. Co. of Rockingham, N.C. with 62,400 spindles and 1,575 looms. Its biggest was the Huntsville, ALA. plant of Merrimack Mfg. Co. with 109,248 spindles and 2,635 looms. All in all, textile men estimate that about 1/8 of the industry has changed hands since 1943. Besides Textron are:

Flint Mfg. Co.
Gastonia, N.C. by Burlington Mills

Calhoun Mills, Calhoun Falls, S.C. by Ely & Walker Dry Goods Co.

Seneca, S.C. plant of Ionsdale Co. by Utica & Mohawk Cotton Mills

Union-Buffalo Mills Co. by United Merchants & Manufacturers

Denim Mill Saved - Samoset Cotton Mills of Talladega, Calf Bus. Wk. Mar. 25-44 p.44

WPB and OPA won out last week in a struggle with the laws of supply and demand in which they managed to save the output of a marginal producer of a sorely needed textile - denim. Now they have to find a buyer for the denim.

The marginal prodcuer is Samoset Cotton Mills of Tal, Ala. Before the war Samoset was running into the red. In 41 and 42 boom years for the textile industry it made money. In ~~43~~ 43 rising costs caught up with the profits and the mill went into the red. In Laat Oct. an involuntary bankruptcy petition was filed by its creditors. From Oct. 22 to Dec. 31, 1943 Samoset showed an operating cost of $27,461.

Last month the Mills trustee, Edward Vaughn was ordered by the court's referee in bankruptcy to shut down. He went to Washington. WPB appealed to OPA to give the company better price ceiling.

Defense Supplies Corp. was persuaded to step into the breach ~~xxxxxx~~ The problem now was to find somebody to take the denim off DSC's hands. Best bet at present is that the Foreign Economic Adm. will buy it from DSC.

Free Port No. 2 - Bus. Wk - 7-6-46 p. 33

New Orleans gets rating from Commerce Dept. Zone will be operatedmuch like N.Y.'s foreign trade area. The 2nd free port to be established in U.S. has been approved by Commerce Dept's foreign trade zones board for New Orleans. It will be operated much like N.Y. Zone established in 1937. Other cities seeking rating are S. F., L.A. and Houston.

The board defines zone as a "segregated, fenced-off and policed area within a port where foreign merchandise maybe landed, sorted, mixed or otherwise manipulated with a minimum of control and without customs bond." Goods may enter a free port zone and be re-exported without payment of customs duties. Any goods entering this country from a zone, of course, pays regular tariffs. At present, manufavturing or exhibiting within a foreign trade zone is prohibited, but legislation to remove this is before Congress.

Industry's Billion Dollar Club Shrinks - Bus. Wk. July 6-46 - p. 85

Fiscal readjustments necessitated by the advent of peace obviously have been shrinking corporate assets sharply from their highly inflated war levels, even tho they still remain far above 1939 figures.

	Assets Dec. 31, 1945	Dec. 31, 39
Stnadard Oil N.J.	2,532,000,000	2,035,000,000
E. I. duPont de Nemours	1,205,000,000	858,000,000
Socony, Vacuum Oil	1,076,000,000	930,000,000
	Sales or Revenue	
Standard Oil N.H.	1,618,000,000	934,000,000

New York State Conference, NAACP, James Egert Allen, President
National Council of Negro Women, Inc., Mary McLeod Bethune, Founder Pres.
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Mae Wright Downs
National Sunday School, B.T.U. Congress, Dr. W.H. Jernagin, Pres.
National Bar Association, Earl B. Dickerson, President.
West Coast Regional Office NAACP, N.W. Griffin, Regional Secretary
American Teachers Association, Walter N. Ridley, President
National Assoication of Colored Women, Inc., Mrs. Christine S. Smith, Pres.
Non-Partisan Interfaith Citizens Committee, C.B. Powell, A. Clayton Powell, co-chairmen
National Negro Congress, Max Yergan, President
Council on African Affairs, Max Yergan, Executive Director
Southern Negro Youth Congress, Esther V. Cooper, Executive Secretary
Improved Order of Elks of the World, J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler
Alpha Phi Alpha, Belford Lawson, President
Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, Frank L. Stanley, President
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., D.W. Jemison, President
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc., George A. Parker, Nat. Pres.
National Medical Association, W.A. Younge, Pres.
Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Augustus G. Parker, Grand Polemarch
Second Episcopal District, A.M.E. Zion Church, Bishop W.J. Walling, Presiding

22-9-110

National Council of Nigeria representing 140 organizations, 110 towns in British West Africa, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Acting President

Non-European Unity Committee, Union of South Africa, Z.R. Mahabane, Chairman

Pan-African Federation, Manchester, England affiliated with 12 organizations of Negroes in Europe and Africa, T.K. Makonen, Secretary

His Excellency Ras Has Immru of the Imperial Ethiopian Legation has expressed, "his sympathy for your efforts in the interest and welfare of the African people and to wish you success."

St.Kitts-Nevins Trades and Labour Union, Jos.N. France, General Secretary

Trades-Union Congress of Jamaica, B.W.I., Ken Hill, Vice-chairman

The Barbados Progressive League, H.W. Springer, General Secretary

The Barbados Workers Union, H.W. Springer, General Secretary

The African Development Association, F.C. Archer, Sec-Treasurer

Nyasaland African Congress, C. Matinga, President-General

The League of Coloured Peoples, M. Joseph Mitchell, General & Travelling Secretary

Moline, Ill { Dec. 1-6 / Nov. 29

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~~West Virginia University~~

Dallas, Texas $ 250

EAST-WEST

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NOV. 29
or
DEC. 1

2.15.1 1.28.2 4.4.15 4.91

Memo . . .

To.....

from

W. E. B. DU BOIS

V. P.

Oct 11, 18, 25

Nov 1

30
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220-14

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[U.N.]

~~1 — Belgium~~ Countries

~~11 — Pakistan~~ Acknowledgment

~~7 — India~~

~~4 — Egypt~~

~~3 — Denmark~~

~~13 — U.S.S.R~~ Russia (USSR

~~6 — Haiti~~

~~8 — Liberia~~

~~2 — Czechoslovakia~~

~~12 — Poland~~

~~9 — Mexico~~

~~14 — South Africa~~

~~5 — Ethiopia~~

~~10 — Norway~~

~~15 — U.S.~~

16. ~~United~~ Kingdom (Great Britain)

222-13

ROOM 121

Room 121 is an ordinary room in an office building occupied by an agency of the government of the United States.

Room 121 contains eight desks, about a dozen straight backed chairs and a framed picture reproduction of the Declaration of Independence hanging on the wall. The glass frame is dusty.

To the uninitiated visitor, Room 121 looks exactly like any other of the unending rows of office cubicles which make up the building of the Federal Trade Commission in Washington, D.C.

But Room 121 is different. Very different. Though the visitor cannot see these things, Room 121 also contains the steel shackles of the Georgia chain gang and the barbed wire of the Hitler concentration camps.

To the eight employees of the Federal Trade Commission assigned to Room 121 the barbed wire and the chain shackles are every bit as real as the sturdy walnut desks with the Grand Rapids labels.

The eight workers are Negroes.

This is their story.

It is the story of eight Negro Americans in the career service of the Federal government and how they fared as employees of one agency of government, the Federal Trade Commission.

The story goes back a long time and includes the years of training and effort by members of a minority group to find places for themselves in government service.

Among the eight who spent nearly nine months in the invisible barbed wire enclosure of Room 121, were some who had been employed in other Government agencies as long as twelve years. Most of them started originally in so-called "New Deal" agencies such as the Social Security Board, etc.

In 1944 one of these "New Deal" agencies, the Office of Price Administration, in a search for qualified employees, hired many career service people from other governmental departments, - without regard for race, color or creed. In setting up a Financial Reporting Division the OPA chose, among others, these eight Negro workers. One is an accountant. The others are accounting clerks. Thus, by accident, they first began to work together in OPA.

By November 1946 the message of the National Association of Manufacturers that "OPA was ruining the country" was pretty widely accepted by the lawmakers. The OPA went out of existence. Many career service employees were out, and according to law, places had to be found for them in other government agencies in preference to temporary, or war service, employees.

However, the functions of the OPA's Financial Reporting Division were to be transferred to the Federal Trade Commission. Theoretically this meant that the employees would be transferred also.

When officials of the FTC learned that the staff in this Division included Negroes, women and Jews they consulted with officials of the Civil Service Commission to ascertain whether they could bypass these employees.

OPA employees were members of a union, the United Public Workers of America, CIO. When the union heard of this, sharp protests were made to the FTC, the Civil Service Commission and the Office of the President.

FTC officials, after much argument and debate, some of which appeared in the press in Washington, agreed to take all of the OPA employees from the transferred Accounting Division.

Motives became all too apparent however when, after the transfer was accomplished, all of the employees received dismissal notices. FTC officials then began to call in each employee for individual interviews to determine who would be rehired. So flagrant was this violation of Civil Service rules that when the union filed appeals the Civil Service Commission ordered FTC to take back this OPA group in strict observance of federal regulations. FTC was forced to take back 32 employees. Included among them were the eight Negro workers in this story.

All of the wrangling with FTC occurred between November 1946 and January 1947. The eight Negro workers began their assignments with FTC during the second week in January.

Although other transferred employees were assigned to various offices, these eight Negroes were all assigned to Room 121. No one else used that room. Room 121 was theirs.

When visiting the FTC building one notices name plates on the doors of all offices. Some doors have one name - for important persons, others are occupied by two or three workers. From the top brass to the lowest paid clerical worker -- all have their names on the door of their offices.

Room 121, however, was an exception. No name plates were made for the Negro occupants of that "office". No names appeared on the door. Room 121 was a blank.

One of the Room's occupants, an accountant named Herman E. Cramer tells the union he spent his first three weeks in 121 trying to find out what he was supposed to do. He was given no work. After three weeks of searching and protesting he was finally given some chores. Each time he finished a job he would be forced to ask for more work. No assignment was ever forthcoming in due course. Some of the jobs given him included stuffing envelopes, filing index cards, copying reports made by other employees, etc.

All of the others experienced the same difficulty. All had to beg for work. Brother Cramer began his employment in the government in June 1941, as an employee of the Social Security Board. His work rating there was "Very Good". Subsequently he was transferred to the Bureau of the Census where he worked for three years with a "Very Good" rating. In July 1945 he joined the OPA Staff and served until dissolution of the agency in December 1946. His rating for work in OPA was "Excellent".

The other seven had equally good work records in other agencies of the government.

On September 5th, 1947 all of the occupants of 121 received notices of dismissal. Instead of the 30-day notice as required they were given only two weeks.

Reason given for the dismissals? FTC said that the work of one was "unsatisfactory". The others could not be retained because of "lack of funds". However, their last efficiency ratings were purposely made so low that they were sure to be the first fired.

When Brother Cramer protested his rating to his supervisor, Mr. D'Allessandro, pointing to previous ratings received in other agencies, the official blandly stated that he 'probably got a good rating when compared with other Negroes but that his work is only "fair" when compared with white employees. The official also denied that he was prejudiced but added that, in his opinion, "Negroes are not dependable because they take more sick leave than the average white person."

When the union heard this shocking story — none of the employees complained until they received dismissal notices -- it demanded hearings to appeal these dismissals. It was supported in this demand by the NAACP.

Farcical machinery was set up and hearings were held during the last week in September. All of the top brass appeared. Two special attorneys assigned by the FTC came to represent the agency. Nearly ten days were spent on "evidence" attended by officials whose total salaries exceeded $500 per day. All this to get eight occupants of Room 121!

But — no one would listen to the union's charge that prejudice and discrimination were factors in the dismissals. In spite of the story of 121, the officials insisted on discussing "work loads", statistics on production, etc. Evidence on discrimination was ruled irrelevant.

Taking a delegation to the Civil Service Commission, the union demanded that the Commission again force the FTC to obey the laws of the land. The union warned that the Civil Service Commission would bear final responsibility if FTC succeeded in its lily white personnel practice.

On September 30th the Civil Service Commission announced that it had revoked the dismissal notices of three of the eight employees and had ordered FTC to find jobs for them -- even if it resulted in the dismissal of war service employees.

That is something. But far from enough.

Texas, Dallas –
1718 Jacksm St.
Dmrd Jmes, Exec.

222-20

220-20

Petty Cash Record
for
December, 1947

December 31, 1947

Carried over from November			$ 46.99
Received from National Office December 22			78.01
Total petty cash handled in December			$125.00

Disbursements:

Dec. 13:	Postage	$10.00	
	To girl for 2 days spent in office while our of town after dismissal of secretary	7.00	
Dec. 20:	To girl, as above	7.00	
Dec. 22:	On home telephone bill, for business calls made and received collect	9.23	
Dec. 29:	Postage	21.50	$62.73
	On hand as of December 31		$62.27

(signed) Donald Jones
Donald Jones
Regional Secretary

Memo . . .

To.....

from

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Mr. A R. Brayman Esq
Chairman Committee
on Tercentary cele-
bration First
Settlers of Eleuthera

222-4

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119 W. 23rd ST., NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

1940	POPULATION	UNITED STATES CITIZENS 21 years AND OVER	79,863,451
1946	VOTERS		34,410,009
		OR	43%

15 SOUTHERN STATES

1940	POPULATION	21 YEARS AND OVER	21,801,680
1946	VOTERS		3,695,569
		OR	16.9%

315

POPULATION OF SOUTH, CITIZENS 21 AND OVER	21,801,680	
VOTERS IN SOUTH, 1946	3,695,569	
PERCENT OF CITIZENS VOTING IN SOUTH	16.9%	
DISFRANCHISED, 1946	18,106,111	
PER CENT DISFRANCHISED IN SOUTH	83.1%	
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS, UNITED STATES, 1944		531
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS, SOUTH, 1944		165
SOUTHERN PER CENT OF TOTAL ELECTORAL VOTE		31.09%

282-2

Census
Thorough study 7 volumes
Dictionary
Mun. Reports
1911-12
B-9

9/17/47

Information for Mr. White

Edgar Algernon Robert Cecil known as Lord Robert Cecil, "became in 1923 Viscount Cecil of Chelwood" acted as deputy for the foreign Secretary- Sir Austin Chamberlain on the Council of the League of Nations.

Sir John H. Harris

20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York
December 15, 1947

Mrs. Norma Helen Kane
Carver Welfare League
Lincoln Heights Community Rooms
Building No. 5
Schenectady 5, New York

4 - 228

West Africa, May 24, 1947 *Price Sixpence*

WEST AFRICA

THE WEEKLY NEWSPAPER of West African Commerce, Mining, Finance, Politics and Social Affairs.

Circulating throughout Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Gambia, French West Africa, Mandated Territories, Belgian Congo and among West African Interests in Europe. 31st year of publication.

No. 1579 Vol. XXXI. SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1947 **Annual Subscription £1 5s. 0d.**
Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper. Post free to all Countries.

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Palm kernels, palm oil and ground nuts supply the raw material for many products with a fat content, and these commodities rank high among the exports of Nigeria. Tin mining is also a major industry, while cotton and rubber growing are steadily increasing in importance. In comparison, recent trade returns for cocoa, hides and skins show some decline on pre-war figures.

The gradual change-over to a peace-time economy with its varied demands may well bring about further changes in the commercial activities of Nigeria. Modern commercial development calls for careful and continuous study of local market conditions. Full and up-to-date information, backed by an intimate knowledge of the Colony, is available to merchants and manufacturers interested in trade with Nigeria.

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	Kumasi.	
	Oda.	
CAMEROONS -	Duala.	

NIGERIA - -	Abeokuta.	Lagos—Marina.
	Calabar.	Lagos—Broad St.
	Enugu.	Maiduguri.
	Ibadan.	Onitsha.
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WEST AFRICA

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The Cup That Cheers . . . . Shadows . . . . A Voice from Nigeria . . . . "It Will Always Stick" . . . . Speed and Ca tion

THE discussion in the House of Commons on the price to be paid for West African Cocoa reveals one main fact which is disturbing for the future of agricultural produce. It is how prices are fixed. Both DR. SUMMERSKILL and MR. IVOR THOMAS speaking for the Government emphasized that the world price of cocoa is determined by the price that the New York buyers are prepared to pay. Yet over in Holland the Dutch Minister of Agriculture has been telling the International Federation of Agricultural Producers that the prices of agricultural produce would have to be stabilized internationally. Meanwhile a fear has been expressed at Geneva that inter-governmental arrangements for primary commodities might become a fixed and permanent part of international economic relations.

Food for Thought

The supporters of imperial preference have for some time been anxious lest it may be eliminated without corresponding concessions as a result of bargaining with the United States. Assurances from the Prime Minister and SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS have not yet removed all uneasiness and the refusal of the Government to guarantee preference for West Indian sugar is still widely discussed. All these events may at first sight seem far removed from the prices of cocoa and many readers may agree with a remark made by MR. THOMAS during the discussion when he said: "I think we should not divide on this matter but rather go home and drink a cup of steaming cocoa."

But unfortunately there are disturbing factors which have to be watched. Already there is talk of overproduction. One year ago when lettuces were scarce in the United Kingdom, one million lettuces were thrown on a slag-heap in Holland. A de-hydration factory has just been dismantled at Karatina in Kenya. Competition from Sumatra and the Dutch East Indies is envisaged for West African oil and kernels. And there is we read an increase of productivity of cocoa in Brazil.

In the meantime *The Economist* for May 17 draws a rough picture of Soviet strength and limitations. "It might be entitled" we read, "'Waiting for the Slump,' and would show in the foreground an ageing MR. STALIN waiting in the Kremlin—just a shade impatiently—for an American slump in his time." All of which individual items may or may not be connected. They may be related to or they may have nothing to do with the price of West African cocoa which government spokesmen say is determined by the price the New York buyers are prepared to pay.

What does emerge from the interplay of ideas and facts is the little share West Africans have in all these discussions. That would appear to have been in the mind of MR. THOMAS when he announced that in a very short time cocoa boards would be set up in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria to take over the marketing arrangements for this commodity. It is only just that the boards will be mainly representative of the producers. What seems to complicate the issue and still remains unclassified is MR. FLETCHER'S challenge that there is no free access to cocoa in West Africa, whereas the Atlantic Charter made it absolutely clear that the peoples of the world shall have free access to raw materials.

His rider that the government are trying to run control and bulk buying based on control and at the same time to argue that they are basing it on a free and open market is also food for thought. It may be very tempting to drown one's sorrows in a cup of steaming cocoa—it is a soothing drink—but at the moment the whole future of agricultural produce deserves special study which a hot beverage may sustain but must not replace.

The world was underfed said MR. TURNER in Holland this month, and the land was not producing to capacity: if these two plain facts could not produce international agreement how could we ever hope to survive more complex problems? How can we indeed?

* * *

Empire Day is a fitting day to give prominence to questions of colour which are in the news again. Two questions on colour bar were asked in the House of Commons last week. In answer to these it was made clear that only the Royal Air Force is now open to all British subjects without discrimination of race, religion or colour. Yet a message of the King for Empire Youth Sunday this week included the Colonies and dependencies in "the great ideal of Brotherhood on which this commonwealth is founded and through which alone it can survive." "We ask them all to remember," the message stated, "that they are members of one great family, brothers and sisters of each other." And yet regular engagements in the Army and Navy are still confined to British subjects of pure European descent. How is the African and non-European colonial to include himself as a member of a family in which equality of opportunity is still denied him?

Colour and Pageantry

There is no wish here to stir up feelings about colour which are only too easily excited and which should only be discussed unemotionally. But the point noticed by MR. GAMMANS that there was no restriction of colour on British subjects coming to the help of this country during the war deserves prompt consideration. Why it should have taken more than a year for the other two services to follow the good example of the Royal Air Force needs, as MR. DRIBERG suggested, explanation.

There are certain problems which are so difficult that they cannot be solved immediately in their entirety. It is possible however that they may be solved in a series of their parts. The problem of colour cannot be solved like a simple equation. But it is being solved in parts, as recent developments in Nigeria have shown. The action of the Royal Air Force more than a year ago was another instance of the breaking down of racial discrimination.

There can be little doubt that the time has come for the other two services to follow the lead of the Royal Air Force and to admit all British subjects. That is our view, but if there are reasons against it, they should be made known without further delay. Little good can result from such secrecy and if the goal of brotherhood in one great family is to be reached and maintained, frankness is the only method to adopt.

The celebration of Empire Day must for coloured subjects of the British Commonwealth always be tinged with disappointment, when they reflect on the barriers which still segregate them from a full share in all that the Commonwealth stands for. Too many coloured subjects of the

Commonwealth are being lost to a cause which deserves their support and are going over to the cause of extreme nationalism. Those in authority have recognized this fact and action is being taken to remove some of the more glaring abuses of racial discrimination.

It is greatly to be hoped that when Empire Day is celebrated next year, at least admission to regular engagement in the Army and Navy will be open to all His Majesty's subjects.

* * *

Africa Speaks

No matter how great is the knowledge or interest which Europeans possess or show in the affairs of West Africa, from the point of view of Africans there can be no doubt that what Africans have to say about the country is of first-rate importance. It is therefore encouraging to observe some of the things which a Nigerian, Mr. Awolowo, has said in a book just published in London. It must be borne in mind, he writes, that Nigeria will deserve self-government only when the masses of the people prefer the rule of Nigerians to that of the foreigners. A truism perhaps, but an African has said it. Again we read "surely people who are self-seeking and are unable to grapple intelligently with the issues of State have no right to demand political autonomy." Idealistic perhaps but doubly valuable coming from an African writer.

"Unless we learn to distinguish fair criticism from deliberate vilification, to uphold the former and ignore the latter, we shall continue to wallow in error and incompetence." It is the same writer who says these words and dare we add that he has hit the nail on the head? There is much of the same matter in the book which will shortly be reviewed in West Africa, so further quotations will be out of place here. It would also be out of place to pass comment on the book as a whole, to say whether it hits or whether it misses the mark. That job has been reserved for the reviewer.

Why Mr. Awolowo's book is mentioned here is to draw attention to the things that are being said by Africans about their own country to the world at large. The fact that Miss Margery Perham, the eminent historian, has written an introduction to the volume is in itself a sufficient sign of its significance at the moment. Whether one agrees or whether one disagrees with the writer, his book cannot wisely be ignored. Africa speaks.

* * *

Names and Changes

"What's in a name?" and "give a dog a bad name" are just two instances of conflicting adages, which have long been the resource of the music-hall comedian. Today the Colonial world is beginning to realize the importance of names to an almost embarrassing degree. Only last week the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies said that non-self-governing territories was a better description of Colonies than the word itself. The trouble about being too fastidious with labels is the difficulty of being consistent throughout the attempt. While "non-self-governing territories" may be less offensive in Colonial ears, because it implies that one day they might be self-governing, how is the change to be effected? Are we going to have a Secretary of State for the non-self-governing territories and must we really put up with the whole non-self-governing territorial question?

The framers of basic English have already shown the limitations on free expression imposed by an arbitrary selection of words. There is a Colonial question and it is difficult enough without introducing etymological will-o-the-wisps. Everyone is familiar with the meaning of colour bar. Need it be called the obstacle of pigment? The best way to jump over a gate is to go over. Going round only indicates a change of plan. When there are no more colonies is time enough to worry about the new nomenclature.

THE WAY TO THE STARS

"Go with a Great Patience"

By Observer.

A distinguished retired Colonial Governor used two Latin words when speaking in London last week. The words were *Festina Lente* which literally mean "hasten slowly," but may be popularly translated "go slow." At first sight this statement may be misinterpreted as savouring of reaction—that much abused word so dear to post-war scribes. But there is much wisdom in these words of an experienced administrator who qualified his adage with the fraternal advice "go with a great patience."

One of the disadvantages of moving too swiftly with the times and of placing too much reliance on the energies of youth and progress is that the experience of the old is sometimes overlooked. In the period of history which is ours, the swiftness of modern transportation has made it possible for the young to savour experience which only the slow passage of time used to bring within the scope of an older generation. But the advantages offered by modern transport of broadening the mind cannot replace, by brief and transitory visits, that knowledge of peoples and their problems which is only slowly amassed after long residence in their countries.

The argument is equally applicable in reverse and it is obvious that retired Colonial administrators will with the passage of time cease to be up-to-date in the knowledge of the changing conditions of countries they once knew. It is applicable in reverse but sometimes may too regularly be employed in this direction.

The distinguished administrator was speaking with reference to developments in the South Pacific where a Commission has recently been set up on the lines of the Caribbean Commission to consider South Pacific problems regionally and internationally. Mr. Ivor Thomas, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, had announced at the meeting that the first South Pacific Conference in which representatives of the local inhabitants will meet at least every two years in a kind of South Pacific Parliament is to be held in 1949.

He also referred to the people of New Guinea as still living practically in the Stone Age. It was doubtless the clash of these two concepts that led Sir Murchison Fletcher to mention the old Latin proverb. And when Mr. Ivor Thomas remarks that "missionaries or administrators" may represent those islands where it "will be harder to find suitable representatives" then the use of the reins may well be recommended.

Rather Ambitious Project

There is a lot more behind the formation of the South Pacific Commission than the advancement of colonial peoples. No policy for uplift or betterment of local inhabitants could be divorced from the complications arising from the strategic importance attached to that part of the world. The policy of go-slow might well be advocated for such a reason alone. When however a "kind of a South Pacific Parliament" is envisaged in which local peoples are to be chaperoned, because they themselves are presumably not yet fitted to speak for themselves, then the whole project seems to be rather ambitious.

The title of South Seas Commission, Mr. Thomas says, was rejected because it suggested a famous "bubble." A "kind of a South Pacific Parliament" which is not wholly representative is suggestive if not of a bubble, at least of a balloon. And balloons like bubbles have been known to burst, before reaching the stars.

WHAT THE HOME PUBLIC IS HEARING ABOUT COLONIES

Sound and Liberal Administration Not Enough

AGRICULTURE was the substance of the second of the series of BBC talks on the colonies to home listeners on May 11. Mr. Dunstan Skilbeck (Principal of Wye Agricultural College) had many things to say on colonial agricultural policy with particular reference to Africa which he has visited. He led off by stating that issues cannot be avoided merely by providing a sound and liberal administration.

"We've got to realize," he said, "that, in so doing, we are inevitably completely upsetting the so-called balance of their (the colonies') primitive economy. It's our job to see that our administration takes as much account of economic development as it does of political and social development. Putting it on its lowest level, no political structure can survive unless the people are adequately fed and free from the spectre of famine."

Bush Period is Main Safeguard

Asked by Major Lewis Hastings why native agriculture had not kept pace with the population, Mr. Skilbeck replied:

"The trouble is that it is usually extremely wasteful—wasteful of land and of human labour, and generally incapable of intensification. In Africa, for example, native farming is typically based on what is known as 'shifting cultivations.' You clear a bit of land, crop it for a year or two till its fertility is worn out, and then let it revert to bush for several years until its natural fertility is regained.

"As soon as the population increases, the only way of overcoming the situation—assuming that the people can't migrate—is to give the land less and less resting time. After all," he said, "it's the period under bush that is the main safeguard against an over-cultivated tropical soil getting denuded and being finally washed away or farmed into a desert." Increases of population had not been confined to human beings but there have been equally startling increases in livestock populations.

The Goat is the Curse of Africa

"In Africa and elsewhere," said Mr. Skilbeck, "livestock are kept by many tribes and not primarily for their value as producers of meat, but for their value as currency and as part of tribal custom. Overstocking is as dangerous as, or even more dangerous than human increase. Whole districts are being progressively ruined by over-grazing, cattle are eating the very heart out of the land, and it has often been said that the goat is the curse of Africa, killing bushes and trees and setting up soil erosion."

Some of the main objectives for agriculture were defined by Mr. Skilbeck. "We have got," he said, "to replace shifting cultivations by a settled rotational agriculture. We have got to limit and control the nomad. We have got to settle the landless labour. And all this is only a beginning. We must improve native peasant agriculture, so that we provide an improved standard of living, and we have also got to increase the output of cash crops for export to the growing Colonial urban and industrial centres and across the seas to this country. I am sure that the economic development of agrarian Colonial peoples must, for many years, be based primarily upon their agricultural exports."

We Have Got to Break Down the Chasm

All this will involve much more technical administration and instruction; it will involve the setting up of large numbers of semi-rural industries, cotton mills, oil crushing plants, soap factories, meat and hide processing units—to say nothing of better social services, water supplies, and so forth. And, if we are to achieve success we have got to break down the chasm which so often divides the political administration from the technical and economic services." Unless native agricultural production could keep pace with increases in population, it was folly to think of economic development or investment of capital. "The economy of most of our Colonial peoples," concluded Mr. Skilbeck, "is essentially agrarian. It is our job, and our responsibility to help them to develop it. The rest will follow, provided only that our own concept is large enough and that we are dissatisfied with development loans which are little more than palliatives."

NIGERIA'S NEW PRINCIPAL DESIGNATE

The Man Behind the Appointment

BY WEST AFRICA'S SPECIAL REPORTER

"I HAVE found contrary to many people's opinion that the best way to avoid unpleasant publicity in the newspapers is not to hide away from the reporters, but to give them an interview and tell them the whole story with the fewest possible reservations," The quotation is from *Human Guinea Pigs*, a book written by Dr. Kenneth Mellanby, the new principal-designate of the University College to be set up in Nigeria.

This quotation will obviously be of greater interest to newspaper personnel than to the average citizen, but in one important respect it is indicative of the character of the man whose influence will shortly be felt in West Africa. Before reading *Human Guinea Pigs*, my impressions of Dr. Mellanby were youth, frankness and sense of humour. After reading his book, my original impressions were confirmed.

Whether it is his youth, whether it is his examining scientific mind, or whether it is natural good manners, Dr. Mellanby is one of those rare men who can put the stranger absolutely at ease during the first interview. In a previous issue of WEST AFRICA, details of Dr. Mellanby's experience as a research worker and of his scientific qualifications were given. I am only concerned here to introduce him to West Africans as a personality.

Those are my introductions—youth, frankness and sense of humour. I saw him for half an hour only. West Africans will, I hope, see him for many years. I shall be interested to hear their impressions. One thing more about Dr. Mellanby. Although he has not visited West Africa, he has spent some two years in Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda and has met many Africans in the United Kingdom, some of whom have been students at the School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

MASS EDUCATION THE ARMY WAY

Adult Education—The Record of the British Army, has been written by Major T. H. Hawkins in collaboration with L. J. F. Brimble. (It is published by Macmillan at 15/- net). The book is a comprehensive story of the growth of army education from 1767 to the present-day activities of the Royal Army Education Corps. Few British soldiers, African or otherwise, can have escaped army "education" in some form or other, and will therefore be interested in this 420 page volume.

Apart from a military public, however, the story of army education presents a much wider appeal to all interested in mass education. This form of education has been receiving so much attention from all those interested in "developing" colonial territories that the story of the largest experiment in adult education to be carried out should not be overlooked for this reason alone. There are several passages in the book dealing with the experiences of Army educationalists on the Coast.

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WEST AFRICA AT WESTMINSTER

The Martindale Commission

THE Colonies were not in the limelight last week but some twenty questions affecting them were asked by M.P.s. Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State what action it was prepared to take on the report of the Martindale Commission of Inquiry into irregularities in connexion with dollar exchange and import licences in the Gold Coast. After referring him to replies made to another Member on March 19 and April 2, Mr. Creech Jones continued: "Disciplinary action under Colonial Regulations is being taken against one of the two officers of the Colonial Service principally concerned and the pension of the other officer, who has retired, is being withheld under the Pensions Legislation of the Gold Coast. Both these officers have made representations in their own defence which are at present under consideration. Both the Customs and Supply Departments are now in charge of officers in whom the Governor has every confidence."

Sierra Leone and Rice

Mr. T. Reid asked about rice. Would the Secretary of State, in view of the world shortage of rice, state in which large-producing rice colonies, the system of transplanting rice which gives a harvest many times greater than the easier system of broadcasting the seed, is generally adopted?

Mr. Creech Jones replied that the transplantation system is suitable for use in swamp or irrigated lands and it is extensively so used in Ceylon, Malaya, Sierra Leone and British Guiana. The large use of labour which it involved made it uneconomical if the local conditions required the growing of short-term rices. It was not therefore a universal practice in these countries.

Timber Resources of Colonies

A review of the exportable timber resources of the Colonial Empire has recently been completed, said Mr. Creech Jones, in reply to a question from Mr. Haire. Any marked increase in exports, he said, would in general depend on the readiness of the United Kingdom to accept hitherto unused timbers and on logging and transport equipment being available.

Colour and His Majesty's Forces

A question of interest to Africans was asked by Mr. Gammans on May 14. He asked the Minister of Defence what restrictions of colour, race or religion prevent British subjects from voluntary enlistment in any one of His Majesty's Forces.

Mr. A. V. Alexander answered: The present position is that Regular engagements in the Army are confined, as they were before the war, to British subjects of pure European descent. There are no restrictions on religious grounds. The position is substantially the same in the Royal Navy except that non-Europeans are accepted for local service on non-continuous engagements. The R.A.F., however, is now open to all British subjects without discrimination of race, religion or colour. As my hon. Friend the Under-Secretary of State for War has indicated, future policy in this matter is under consideration.

Mr. Gammans then asked: In view of the fact that there was no restriction of colour on British subjects coming to the help of this country during the war, is it not entirely repugnant that there should be any distinction whatsoever?

Mr. Alexander replied: I have said that the whole matter is under consideration, and perhaps the hon. Gentleman will wait until that consideration has been completed.

Mr. Gammans: Are these considerations likely to come to fruition, and can the right hon. Gentleman say when?

Mr. Alexander: I cannot give any fixed date.

Mr. Driberg: Can my right hon. Friend say why it has taken over a year for the other two Services to follow the good example of the Royal Air Force?

Mr. Alexander: There are different circumstances in some parts of the Services. I must repeat that the whole matter is under consideration between the three Services, and I will make a statement as soon as possible.

Who is Responsible for Delay?

Earlier in the week, Mr. Driberg had asked the Secretary of State for War what progress he had made in his discussions with the Admiralty and the Colonial Office with regard to the abolition of the colour bar against applicants for Regular engagement in the Forces.

Mr. J. Freeman regretted that his right hon. Friend was not yet in a position to make any statement about this matter.

Mr. Driberg then asked: "Can we take it that it is not the Colonial office that is responsible for the dilatory nature of the discussions?" And Mr. Wilkes, who reminded the Minister of a question which he had asked in April, 1946, said: "Can we have some statement about where the difficulty arises and what constitutes the difficulty?"

Mr. Freeman replied that the matter has been reopened and is being re-examined and "I think," he said, "some sort of statement—whether it will be favourable to him or not, I cannot say—will be made before long."

Mr. Driberg rose again: "If it is not," he said, "as I take it from my hon. Friend's silence—the Colonial Office which is causing the delay, and if it is the Admiralty, will he point out to the Admiralty that, rather surprisingly, there is no such discrimination even in the United States Navy?"

Mr. Gallacher also asked: "When the Under-Secretary says that he is not sure it will be a favourable statement, will he tell us who is preventing a favourable reply?"

Mr. Freeman replied: "I do not know on what grounds the hon. Member says there is not to be a favourable reply. I have not promised that, but I have told my hon. Friend that there will be an answer in the near future."

There were no further replies from Mr. Freeman, but General Sir George Jeffreys asked: "Is the Under-Secretary aware that white regiments are for white men and that white regiments want only white men?"

Mr. Driberg: "Is my hon. Friend aware that the sentiment expressed by the hon. and gallant Member opposite is a most retrograde and reactionary sentiment, which is certainly not shared by the Royal Air Force which instituted this reform a year or two ago? I beg to give notice that I will raise this matter on the Adjournment."

Married Quarters for Troops in West Africa

Thirteen married quarters for officers and none for other ranks are occupied by soldiers serving on regular engagement in West Africa. This information was supplied by the Under-Secretary of State for War in the course of a reply made to Mr. Wilkes.

LAW REPORT—PRIVY COUNCIL

Nigerian Appeal Dismissed

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The petition by Stephen Ola Ajayi, who was convicted on October 2, 1944, by the magistrate at Ebute Metta, Lagos, Nigeria, of attempting to obtain the sum of £4/17/- from the Nigerian railway and sentenced to six months imprisonment with hard labour, was dismissed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on May 12.

Ajayi appealed to the Supreme Court and then to the West African Court of Appeal, both appeals being dismissed. From the latter decision, he asked for special leave to appeal to the Privy Council. Mr. F. H. Collyer (for petitioner) said his client complained that the Court of Appeal did not decide in a proper way the only issue before them—whether he was informed by the magistrate of his right to be tried by the Supreme Court and whether he consented to be tried summarily.

The Court of Appeal was satisfied that the right of election was given.

COCOA BOARDS FOR GOLD COAST AND NIGERIA

House of Commons Debate on West African Cocoa

(By Our Parliamentary Correspondent)

A MOTION was moved in the House of Commons on May 14 by Mr. Errol to annul the Raw Cocoa (Control and Maximum Prices) Order 1947, increasing the price of raw cocoa to 119/- a hundredweight and allowing for further increases. The motion was negatived by 140 votes to 43.

Mr. Errol said that according to published evidence " we in Britain are having to pay a needlessly high price for our cocoa while the West African native grower is getting an extremely low price." It also showed that the Ministry of Food bought cocoa from the West African Produce Control Board and sold it to manufacturers in this country on a " no profit no loss " basis. There had been a tremendous dollar pressure which has caused the American price to rise on a limited supply of cocoa. " What the Americans do in their own country is their own concern, and there is no difference of opinion on that point. But we in this country are having to pay to West Africa the artificially stimulated New York price, and we are being forced to do so by the West African Price(?) Control Board which is, strangely enough, controlled by the Colonial Office. We are on a merry-go-round which may become a spiral at any moment."

It had been said that something like £20 million sterling would be used ultimately for the benefit of the African native. " That is a fine hope " said Mr. Errol, but it was difficult to say why the Colonial Secretary should have won in his " squabble " with the Minister of Food, " because for other West African agricultural products, we in England pay prices well below the prevailing world prices. There is no central surplus being held in respect of any other West African agricultural produce."

African Producer Should Get High Price

By paying a high price now the native would have enough spare money to buy the imported goods he required, " which are available to him—as they were not in wartime —at the relatively high world prices and he would still be able to afford to cut down his trees as soon as they were visibly affected," by swollen-shoot disease.

The present policy followed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Ministry of Food did not encourage the elimination of the disease and would reduce productivity in British West Africa at the very moment when the world is crying out for more and cheaper cocoa.

Mr. Walter Fletcher, who seconded the motion, said that fifty per cent. of the world's produce of cocoa came from " this area on which the Government can work their will without challenge in any way at all. The remarkable thing to which we have to devote our attention is the enormous gulf which is fixed in the price to the producer and what the consumer pays. The consumer of cocoa is not only the British housewife. It goes much wider than that, for cocoa and chocolate are considered one of the most concentrated forms of nourishment which is known. Therefore, in the rehabilitation of starving countries like those in Europe it takes a very high priority."

No Free Access to Cocoa in West Africa

The Atlantic Charter, said Mr. Fletcher, made it absolutely clear that the peoples of the world shall have free access to raw materials. " There is no free access to cocoa in West Africa," he said. " No market is free in which more than 50 per cent. of the main produce does not come on to the market at all and is in one set of monopolistic hands. The Government are very much against cartels and monopolies, but it is clear by the Order that they have 50 per cent. of the monopoly, and they arrogate to themselves the right to say that they can use that monopoly because they have it."

" The Government," Mr. Fletcher said, " are trying to run control and bulk buying based on control and at the same time to argue that they are basing it on a free and open market. That is a contradiction in terms."

Dr. Edith Summerskill (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food) said that the background to the rapid increase in prices is simply that there is a world shortage of cocoa. She said it was the policy of the West African Produce Control Board to sell to all purchasers at the same price " but in practice this means selling at the price obtainable in the New York market."

Mr. Callaghan thought these were good grounds for annulling the Order and for putting forward one which contained a price which would be a reasonable increase over the existing price.

" Trustees for the Colonies "

The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Ivor Thomas) thought it had been sufficiently explained that the world price of cocoa is determined by the price that the New York buyers are prepared to pay. The reason why a lower price could not be charged in the United Kingdom than the world price, was in the first place because " we could not discriminate against the United States in such a matter." We were also committed by the proposals which have been accepted as a basis for discussion in the negotiations for the International Trade Organization.

There was an even deeper reason and that was " that we are trustees in this matter for the colonies and it would be wrong for us to try to get a lower price for ourselves than could be obtained in the world market, especially when, under international arrangement, the quotas of cocoa which go to the various markets are determined by the International Emergency Food Council." " If we passed on to the Gold Coast and Nigerian producers," Mr. Thomas said, " the high price now being received for cocoa that would not lead to an increase in the quantity of cocoa produced. It would result in inflation."

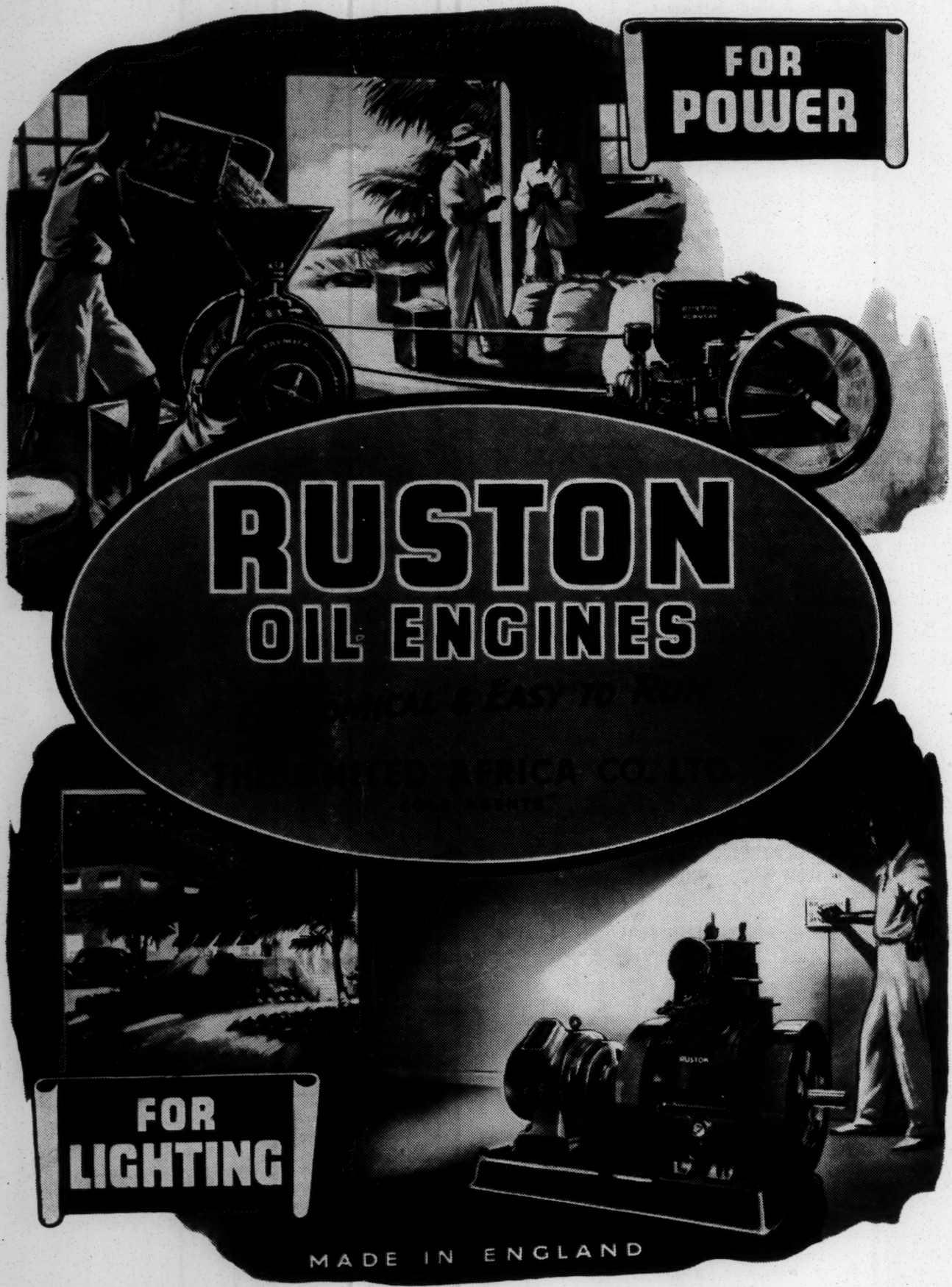
How Surplus will be Used

The answer to what would be done eventually with the surplus had been given in Command Paper 6950, a statement on the future marketing of West African cocoa which had been laid before Parliament in November 1946. That document had stated that the primary purpose for which these funds were proposed for use was to " serve as a cushion against short and intermediate term price fluctuations in the world market price of cocoa." It had also allowed provision for funds to be allocated for other purposes of general benefit " to the cocoa producers and the industry such as research, disease eradication and rehabilitation, the amelioration of indebtedness, the encouragement and cooperation and the provision of other amenities and facilities to producers."

" In a very short time," said Mr. Thomas " both in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria, Cocoa Boards will be set up to take over the marketing arrangements for this commodity."

The reasons for this step are constitutional, as we do not think that we should keep indefinitely the arrangements by which these prices are settled in London. These prices are to be settled in the colonies concerned by boards which will be mainly representative of the producers, but with an element of consumer representation. The boards will set up in London a joint selling organization to help in the disposal of these products and the Secretary of State will set up a Consumers' Consultative Committee here.

Mr. T. H. O'Donoghue has been appointed editor of *Hansard*, the Official Report of the House of Commons, in succession to Mr. P. F. Cole who is retiring on June 5.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NEWS PAGE

East African Groundnuts Corporation

The Minister of Food announced in the House of Commons, on May 16, the names of those who have agreed to serve as members of the public organization it is intended to set up for the direction of the East African Groundnuts scheme. They are:—Chairman: Mr. L. A. Plummer (assistant general manager and a member of the board of directors of Express Newspapers, Ltd. Formerly business manager of *The New Leader*, *The Miner* and *The Socialist Review*, and assistant manager of *The Daily Herald*); Vice-Chairman: Mr. James McFadyen (director of the Cooperative Wholesale Society, Ltd., and a member of the Colonial Economic and Development Council); General Manager in Africa: Major-General Desmond Harrison (member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, Director of Works at the War Office, and formerly Engineer-in-Chief to South East Asia Command); Members of the Corporation: Sir Charles Lockhart (economic adviser to the East African Governors' Conference); Mr. J. Rosa (member of the banking firm of Helbert, Wagg & Co., Ltd. and one of the signatories of the original report recommending the groundnuts project); and Mr. A. J. Wakefield (formerly director of Agriculture in Tanganyika Territory, Inspector General of Agriculture in the West Indies, and one of the signatories of the original report recommending the project). Mr. Frank Samuel, who first suggested the project, and Lord Rothschild have accepted invitations to serve as non-executive members.

Africa and Empire Day

The message sent to members of the Royal Empire Society on Empire Day mentions the peoples of Africa. It says:

"The people of this country will never forget the open-hearted generosity of the peoples of the Empire in offering their aid when even the elements conspired to lay additional burdens on an economy already over-strained and disordered by the sacrifices of war made in the common interest. They will ever remember the honour done and the loyal affection shown to the Crown by the peoples of Africa while the Royal Family have been in their midst."

How Agriculture can help the World

At the first annual general meeting of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, which was opened at The Hague, Holland, on May 13, the Dutch Minister of Agriculture said that there was need for increased production while there existed nations whose food consumption was quantitatively and qualitatively far below every reasonable minimum. Prices of agricultural produce would have to be stabilized internationally.

Mr. Turner (President of the Federation) said: "Industrialization has blurred but never altered the fundamental truth that the economic stability of the world depends primarily upon the economic stability of agriculture. Expansion of trade and creation of a higher standard of living everywhere rest largely on the purchasing power and distributive efficiency of agriculture. We have no ideology other than the simple truth that a prosperous and efficient agriculture can bestow enormous benefits on peoples of every race and creed." The world was under-fed (declared Mr. Turner) and the land was not producing to capacity; if those two plain facts could not produce international agreement, how could we ever hope to survive more complex problems.

A call for action was made by Mr. H. H. Hannam, of Canada, who said: "The lack of progress in implementing the F.A.O. programme is a matter of deep concern and disappointment to us. A continuation of this delay and trend will simply permit us to drift into the vicious nationalistic trading practices which prevailed in the period between the two world wars. People everywhere will recall all too vividly the paradox of embarrassing surpluses, clogging markets, driving producers' prices to disastrous levels, while at the same time failing hopelessly to feed people who needed food. A repetition of this experience must be avoided at all costs. Here lies the challenge to this Conference and to our International Federation."

Ministry of Food's Groundnuts

West African groundnuts were brought to the attention of the Minister of Food when Sir J. Barlow asked about 300,000 tons of groundnuts which growers in Nigeria were unable to sell or ship for use in Britain.

Dr. Summerskill answered that West African groundnuts were bought on behalf of the Minister of Food as soon as they are offered by the growers. "The stocks," she said, "to which the hon. Member refers are the Ministry's property and are being shipped for use in this country."

British Conference on African Fauna

British East and Central African dependencies were represented at the Conference on Fauna held this month in Nairobi. Control and preservation of game were among the subjects discussed and it was considered that the destruction of game should be undertaken by experts. The lion, the leopard and cheetah should be considered for early protection.

And Now Synthetic Petrol

The Stanolind Oil and Gas Company operating in Kansas claim that synthetic petrol from natural gas on a commercial scale will be available in the United States in 1949.

Plaque for Eboue

General de Gaulle unveiled a plaque in Bordeaux on May 15 on the house where the late Felix Eboue lived for the first four years of the century. He spoke of the foresight and decision of Eboue in rallying the first African territory during the war and of the policy of emancipation initiated by his administration.

In Honour of the late Colonel Foley

A Foley Memorial Hall for Europeans and Africans has been envisaged by the Chairman of the Amalgamated Tin Mines of Nigeria. Plans for a hall are being made for consideration by the Company. Colonel Foley was welfare officer to West African troops in Burma.

The Gold Coast Band on Tour

The Gold Coast Police band gave the second recital of their tour at Belle Vue, Manchester on May 16 and on the following day were the guests of the management of Belle Vue, Ltd., who gave a dinner in their honour. Later, the band travelled to Leamington for two performances in the Municipal Gardens, on May 18, which attracted a large audience in spite of heavy rain. Future engagements include performances at Leicester over Whitsun and a week in Bath early in June.

NEWS FROM WEST AFRICA

Monsieur Doubard, of the Paris newspaper, *Le Figaro*, recently paid an informal visit to Liberia. He hopes to return for the centenary celebrations this year.

Mr. G. Beresford Stooke, C.M.G., recently paid an official visit to Ibadan and inspected the Agriculture, Forestry and Cooperative Departments.

The death is reported in April of Muhammadu Ligali (Chief Imam of the Central Mosque, Lagos). He was 80 years of age and after assuming office in 1923 wielded considerable influence in local politics.

Dr. O. A. Ajose, M.D., D.P.H. (Assistant Medical Officer of Health) succeeds Dr. I. Ladipo Oluwole, M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H., as Medical Officer of Health, Lagos. Dr. Oluwole retired from the Service on April 1.

The member representing Senegal in the French Chamber of Deputies (Monsieur Lamine Gueye) has been visiting British West African Colonies to compare social, political and economic developments with those of French West Africa. Monsieur Gueye was born in 1891 at Medina, French Soudan, and has had a distinguished official and political career. At one time, he was an Advocate at Dakar.

"I say, this is excellent!"

"Of course it is. It's White Horse." *"But this tastes like pre-war whisky."* "That's just what it is." *"How do you mean?"* "Well, the White Horse you get today was growing old when the war was young. It takes years to bring whisky to such perfection."

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WHITE HORSE

Scotch Whisky

Agents for West Africa: PERCY CHRISTIAN AND COMPANY, LIMITED, LIVERPOOL

London Log

Princess Elizabeth will be granted the Freedom of the City of London at the Guildhall on June 11.

A daughter was born on May 10 in Dublin to the wife of Mr. James Smith (Nigerian Forest Service).

The marriage took place on May 10 at Clifton of Mr. John Herbert Ward (of Lagos) to Doreen Alicia (widow of Mr. James W. P. Ellis of Benenden, Kent).

Because Nigeria will not be represented at the Olympic Games, Prince Adegboyega Adedoyin of Ijabo-Remo, the Nigerian athlete, is regarded as a certainty for inclusion in the British team next year. A medical student at Queen's University, Belfast, Adedoyin has been trained by Dr. Stampfi, one of Europe's best coaches, and is thought to be our chief hope in the high and long jumps.

The marriage took place on May 15 in Llandaff Cathedral, Cardiff, of Mr. Nicholas Master Assheton (Gambia Administrative Service, son of Canon and Mrs. W. O. Assheton, Bilton, Rugby) and Miss Mary Nest Jones (daughter of the Very Rev. David Jones and Mrs. Jones of Llandaff).

A daughter was born on May 6, at Accra, to the wife of Major A. W. Fordyce.

Founder of the famous London store bearing his name, to which few West Africans would omit a visit when touring London, Mr. H. Gordon Selfridge died at his home at Putney Heath on May 8 in his ninety-first year. Born at Ripon, Wisconsin, Selfridge started work in a bank at the age of fourteen and subsequently became prosperous in the Chicago firm of Marshall Field, being made a junior partner in 1892. Eleven years later, he retired and, in 1909, opened his London store with 130 departments and a capital of £1,000,000. An American for most of his life, Selfridge applied for British Nationalization papers in 1937. He retired from the board of his company in 1939.

The death took place in London on May 12 of Sir Granville St. John Orde Browne, Adviser on Colonial Labour since 1938. Born 1883 and educated at Wellington College, Sir John served in the East African campaign and, later, in the East African Colonial Service. From 1937 onwards, he undertook a series of special labour investigations throughout the Empire and in this connexion visited West Africa in 1938. Apart from numerous official publications, he was the author of several books dealing with Africa. Married in 1923, Sir John leaves a widow and three daughters.

Mr. Claude E. Wright, who was born in Freetown, has been appointed a Government Dentist in Sierra Leone. Son of Mr. Claude Emile Wright, Barrister-at-Law, Freetown, Mr. Wright, junior, was a pupil of Freetown Grammar School before proceeding to England to complete his education.

With the West African Troops in the Burma campaign, Mr. Cyril Dibb (of Otley, Yorkshire) has now been appointed as inspector of industries in the Gold Coast Prisons Department.

Major Maurice Owen of Manchester, who prior to 1939 held commercial appointments in West Africa and during the war served in the Nigerian Regiment, has been appointed Inspector of Plants and Produce in the Gold Coast.

The following appointments are announced—NIGERIA: Major V. H. Warren (of Bristol), Captain B. K. Cooper (of Reading), Captain P. M. Wand-Tetley (of London, S.W.1.), Major R. G. Hodgson (of Barnet), Squadron-Leader R. A. Clarke (of Seascale, Cumberland) and Major D. J. Muffett (of Birmingham) as Administrative Officers. Squadron-Leader J. C. Groves (of Newcastle), Captain C. M. Jones (of Edinburgh) and Miss F. C. Kerr (of London, S.W.20.), as Medical Officers. Squadron-Leader D. W. Styring (of Plymouth) and Lieut-Commander N. MacSween Waldman (of Glasgow) as Development Officers. Mr. H. D. Ling (of Fowey, Cornwall) as Agricultural Development Officer. Mr. J. Dobinson (of Prestwich) as Veterinary Education Officer. Major L. J. Morris (of Guildford) as Veterinary Development Officer and Mr. J. G. H. Rogers (of Portishead) as a Mechanical Engineer. GOLD COAST: Mr. F. W. Lunau (of St. John's Wood) as Mechanical and Electrical Engineer, P.W.D. Mr. W. B. Tevendale (of Coupar Angus) as Geologist. Major D. W. Dudley-Smith as Education Officer and Mr. H. B. E. Waters (of Twickenham) as Inspector of Machinery, Mines Department. SIERRA LEONE: Miss P. Kennedy (of Middlesbrough) as Nursing Sister. SIERRA-LEONE—GAMBIA JOINT ESTABLISHMENTS: Captain J. W. Paul (of Dorset) as Administrative Officer and Lieut-Colonel A. Scott (of Prestwick) as Educational Officer.

A well-known London weekly publishes the following: "Two horses and a girl arriving by plane from West Africa," was the signal received by officials at London Airport yesterday. A large crowd of people, including Press photographers, were waiting for the plane when it arrived. Down the steps came Mr. and Mrs. Horsey and another lady passenger for a holiday in Britain.

Mr. S. S. Tindall (senior public health engineer, Gold Coast) has been appointed supernumerary Deputy Director of Public Works, Uganda.

A former Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (The Duke of Devonshire), has been appointed Deputy Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England.

The late Captain H. A. Heswall Yardley (formerly of Elder Dempster Lines and one of the best known Captains on the Coast Service) left £15,624 (net personalty, £14,274).

Major-General E. C. Mansergh (Chairman of the Burma Re-Union Committee), writes in *The Times* that it is proposed to start a benevolent fund for those who served in the Burma Campaign and their dependants. For this purpose, a re-union, which all holders of the Burma Star may attend, is being held at the Royal Albert Hall, on June 2.

Field-Marshal Sir Cyril Deverell who, as a Lieutenant in the West Yorkshire Regiment took part in the bloodless Ashanti expedition of 1896, died at his home at Lymington on May 12 at the age of 72. A pupil of Bedford School and graduate of the Quetta Staff College, Sir Cyril held several staff appointments in India and eventually became Chief of the Imperial General Staff in 1936.

The annual dinner of the Corona Club will be held on July 1 at Connaught Rooms, Great Queen Street, London, W.C.

Instructional models made by ex-service student teachers at a Government Training College in Lancs. include West African huts in various stages of construction.

On leave from the Coast, the Rev. Kenneth Phillips recently addressed Dorking Youth Club on life and work in a West African mission.

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OVALTINE

BUILDS-UP NERVE-STRENGTH RESERVE

O-W.A.143B.

Two representatives from the people of the Gold Coast, Miss Florence Addison and Miss Doreas Eshun, attended the Methodist Women's Work meetings at Wesley's Chapel, London, early this month.

Dr. F. N. Woodward has been appointed Director of the United Kingdom Scientific Mission in the British Commonwealth Scientific Office, Washington. The retiring Director is to return to Britain for an official appointment.

Dr. Howard Souster, recently returned from Ituk, Nigeria, was a speaker at the Medical Missionary Meeting, Wesley Chapel, London, on May 2 when he emphasized the need for more doctors and nurses in mission work.

Two Imperial scorpions, sent over by air from West Africa to the London Zoo last autumn, are shortly to become the proud parents of a family, estimated to number between 20 to 30 offsprings. It will be the first time for nine years that scorpions have been bred at the Zoological Gardens.

Announcing proposals for greater native autonomy to members of the Natives' Representative Council on May 8, General Smuts said the first step would be to give the Council some authority over the administration of the native reserves which were now governed by European officials and to make the council all-African. At present, it has five European members. The native advisory boards in the towns are to be linked up with the council to give a unified system of native government for the whole country.

Mr. William Sellers has returned to Nigeria where he first had the idea of using a visual propaganda on a large scale as a medium for educating illiterate rural communities. During a campaign to rid Lagos of the rat menace, when the Government had offered to pay a bounty for dead rats, Mr. Sellers noticed an African who brought weekly consignments of dead rats to the Lagos Health office. Investigations revealed that the man was operating a rat farm to supply the government with as many rats as possible. A special Health Propaganda Service was thereafter established with Mr. Sellers in charge. Realizing the effectiveness of the screen as a means of propaganda, he took a training course in England and, organizing a mobile cinema unit in Nigeria, produced films to meet the special needs of African audiences. In 1938 Mr. Sellers was awarded the M.B.E. and later recalled to Britain to become head of the Colonial Film Unit which produced 280 films for Colonial use during the war.

Asked in the House of Commons: "What is a clerical assistant. Is it an assistant clergyman or half a clerk?"

Accommodation has been secured for over 4,000 competitors and officials coming to England for the Olympic Games from July 29 to Agust 14, 1948.

Nearly 2,000 telephone lines were installed by the Post Office for exhibitions at the British Industries Fair and a special directory compiled.

Everything has its market these days, including African drums. Ex-coasters with this memento of a sunnier clime may now augment their capital by contacting Mrs. Eva Potter of Lydgate Unitarian Church, Newmill. With three West African students, Mrs. Potter hopes to broadcast a programme explaining African music and dances and will buy the drums for use in the programme and at rehearsals.

At the King's request, July 6 is to be observed as a National Day of Prayer and Dedication.

The first safety air statistics issued disclose that over two-thirds of the scheduled international air-lines had records of complete safety during 1946 and that for the 8,346,000,000 passenger-miles flown only 33 fatal accidents, resulting in 298 casualties, were recorded.

That nostalgic instrument, the bagpipes, will be enjoyed less frequently by Scotsmen. Reports from makers, indicating a wait of ten months for delivery, state that special African blackwood employed cannot be obtained through a Board of Trade order restricting timber licences to wood for building purposes. Present stocks are due to large deliveries by ships returning from supplying the 8th, 9th and 10th armies via the West African coast. Ebony, also used in the pipes and formerly imported from the French colonies in Africa, is now unobtainable.

The report of the University of London for 1946/47 states that during the initial stages of the system of university education to be built up in the colonies, the new institutions would enter into a new relationship with the University of London which had already sent two missions to the West Indies to advise on the establishment of a medical school. Colonial Service Cadets would now have the resources of the University at their disposal for research and plans are being made to create an Institute of Empire Studies for use of students and Colonial visitors.

For 15 years warden of Student Movement House, Miss Mary Trevelyan has resigned to become Deputy Director of Relief and Rehabilitation, U.N.E.S.C.O. The new warden (Rev. Gardner-Scott) at present an Army Padre, will take up his duties on June 1, after demobilization.

Lieut-Colonel H. W. Chandler who, as previously reported, died suddenly on March 30, was buried with full military honours at Accra. Mourners included the Colonial Secretary and Sir Walter Harragin (Chief Justice). Born in 1894, Lieut-Colonel Chandler went to the Gold Coast in 1920 and became Comptroller of Customs. Promoted Director of Supplies at the outbreak of the war, he was due to retire at the time of his death.

An organization for promoting cultural ties between metropolitan France and French overseas territories has been formed in Paris. It is known as the "Comité d'expansion Culturelle de la France d'outre-mer" and its patrons are the French Ministers for Overseas and the Interior.

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Mr. F. M. Noad (Senior Resident of Jos area) arrived in Britain on May 13 by the s.s. *Gambian*. He will shortly proceed to the Bahamas to take up an appointment as Chief Out-Islands Commissioner.

After living for twelve years in Manchester, where he worked as a metal caster and also studied sculpture, Mr. E. Oyodiran has now returned to Lagos, with his English wife and five children, to set up a business embracing both trades. With the aid of a small foundry, he plans to mass-produce casts of household ornaments, after fashioning the originals in clay. The foundry is also used to cast metal licence plates for cars.

WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

Elder Dempster Lines Movements

HOMEWARDS: s.s. *Biafra*, due leave Sherbro, May 23, for Liverpool; s.s. *Caithness*, loading May, for Hull; s.s. *Cochrane*, at Clyde; s.s. *Empire Wharfe*, loading May, for Avonmouth; s.s. *Fort Wrigley*, left Freetown, May 11, for Hull; m.v. *Fulani*, left Takoradi, May 16, for Liverpool; m.v. *Macgregor Laird*, arrived Lagos, May 16, for London; s.s. *Samfleet*, arrived Liverpool, May 19; s.s. *Samythian*, loading May/June, for Liverpool; s.s. *Calumet*, left Freetown, May 19, for New York; s.s. *New Texas*, left Takoradi, May 13, for New York; s.s. *Cargill*, arrived Montreal, May 12; s.s. *Chandler*, due leave Marshall, May 20, for Montreal; s.s. *Cottrell*, arrived Takoradi, May 16, for Montreal.

OUTWARDS: m.v. *David Livingstone*, left Freetown, May 16, for Lagos; m.v. *Deido*, left Freetown, May 18, for Takoradi, Accra, Lagos/Apapa, Port Harcourt and Duala, with connexions for Burutu, Warri, Sapele, Calabar, Abonema and Opobo; m.v. *Fantee*, left Liverpool, May 20, for Lagos; s.s. *Gambian*, due leave Liverpool, June 7, for Freetown, Port Bouet, Takoradi, Accra, Lagos/Apapa, Port Harcourt, Sapele and Warri; m.v. *Godfrey B. Holt*, due leave Liverpool, June 11, for Takoradi, Lagos/Apapa, Duala and Warri; s.s. *Maaskerk*, due leave Amsterdam (May 28) and Antwerp (May 31) for Dakar, Conakry, Freetown, Takoradi, Accra, Lome, Cotonou, Lagos/Apapa (for Burutu, Warri, Sapele and Calabar), Port Harcourt (for Abonema and Opobo) and Duala; m.v. *Mary Kingsley*, arrived Lagos, May 12, for Bonaberi; s.s. *Ocean Vision*, arrived Lagos, May 14, for Duala; m.v. *Sangara*, sailed Sapele, May 16; m.v. *Sansu*, due leave Liverpool, June 7, for Bathurst, Takoradi, Lagos/Apapa, Calabar and Sapele; m.v. *Sobo*, due leave Freetown, May 17, for Takoradi, Cape Coast, Winneba, Accra, Lagos/Apapa and Sapele; m.v. *Tamele*, leaving Liverpool, May 30, for Madeira, Las Palmas, Freetown, Takoradi, Lagos/Apapa and Port Harcourt; m.v. *Tarkwa*, arrived Takoradi, May 19, for Lagos; m.v. *Zini*, left Freetown, May 19, for Lagos; m.v. *Zungeru*, left Southampton, May 11, for Pointe Noire, Matadi, Dakar, Monrovia and Cape Palmas; s.s. *Bradburn*, left New York, May 16, for Loanda; s.s. *Calgary*, left Las Palmas, May 16, for Lagos; s.s. *Calumet*, due leave New York, June 18, for Las Palmas, Dakar, Freetown, Monrovia, Marshall, Takoradi, Accra, Lagos/Apapa and Duala; m.v. *Freetown*, left Matadi, May 11, for Loanda; s.s. *Boltonhall*, arrived Accra, May 16, for Lagos; m.v. *Calabar*, left Accra, May 8, for Cape Town; s.s. *Empire Wallace*, due leave Montreal, end June, for Beira; and the following for Lourenco Marques:—s.s. *Amersham*, due leave Montreal, June 2; s.s. *Artemsia*, due leave Montreal, June 20; s.s. *Cabano*, left Durban, May 18; s.s. *Cambray*, arrived Cape Town, May 19; s.s. *Empire Torrent*, left St. John, May 10; and s.s. *Saint Bernard*, due leave Montreal, May 22.

The United Africa Company Fleet Movements

HOMEWARDS: s.s. *Congonian*, left Lagos, May 10; s.s. *Fort Moose*, arrived Takoradi, May 13; s.s. *Fort St. Joseph*, left Freetown, May 8, for Liverpool; s.s. *Gambian*, arrived London, May 13; s.s. *Guinean*, left Lagos, May 10; s.s. *Kumasian*, arrived Sapele, May 10; s.s. *Takoradian*, arrived Lagos, May 9; s.s. *Daltonhall*, arrived Accra, May 14; s.s. *Empire Martaban*, left Takoradi, May 11; s.s. *Helencrest*, expected give delivery at Greenock, May 23/24; s.s. *Jenny*, loading Nigeria, June; s.s. *Suncrest*, left Lagos, May 10.

OUTWARDS: s.s. *Conakrian*, arrived Accra, May 14, for Lagos/Apapa, Port Harcourt, Calabar, Burutu, Warri and Sapele; s.s. *Ethiopian*, left Bathurst, May 11, for Freetown, Takoradi, Accra, Keta, Lagos/Apapa and Sapele; s.s. *Fort McPherson*, arrived Takoradi, May 11, for Accra, Lagos/Apapa, Port Harcourt and Burutu; s.s. *Lafian*, left Liverpool, May 8, for Freetown; s.s. *Leonian*, loading London, May 16, for Teneriffe, Dakar, Bathurst, Freetown, Marshall, Takoradi, Cape Coast, Accra, Lagos/Apapa, Port Harcourt, Calabar, Victoria, Tiko and Burutu; s.s. *Liberian*, left Antwerp, May 10, for Dakar, Freetown, Takoradi, Cape Coast, Accra, Lagos/Apapa and Port Harcourt; s.s. *Fernmoor*, loading Port Said, May 16, for Lagos/Apapa, Port Harcourt, Abonema, Calabar, Burutu, Warri and Sapele; s.s. *Rowanbank* (ex *Sampford*), left Belfast, May 2, for Lagos; s.s. *Suderholm*, left Hull, May 14, for Lagos; s.s. *Wellington Court*, left Hull, April 26, for Freetown and Sapele; s.s. *Samjack*, left Liverpool, May 6, for Lagos.

John Holt & Co. (Liverpool) Fleet Movements

HOMEWARDS: s.s. *John Holt*, at Warri, May 13; s.s. *Godfrey B. Holt*, at Avonmouth, due Liverpool, May 22; s.s. *Thomas Holt*, at Hull, due Liverpool, May 27; s.s. *Jonathan Holt*, sailed Takoradi, May 16, for Dakar and Avonmouth, where due May 30.

OUTWARDS: s.s. *Robert L. Holt*, sailed Liverpool, May 16, for Dakar, Takoradi, Lagos/Apapa, Port Harcourt, Victoria, Duala and Warri.

Rederi A/B Transatlantic West Africa Line Movements

HOMEWARDS: m.s. *Glimmaren*, due Antwerp, May 15, for Rotterdam and Scandinavia; m.s. *Temnaren*, due Duala, May 15, for Port Bouet, Freetown, Las Palmas, Antwerp, and Continental and Scandinavian ports; m.s. *Vingaren*, expected to load Lobito (May 17/19) and leave, about May 24, for Novoredondo (May 25), Porto Amboim (May 26), Loanda (May 27) Barra do Dande (May 31), thence San Thome, Duala, Nigerian port, Port Bouet and Freetown, for Continent and Scandinavia; m.s. *Bullaren*, expected to load Lobito and other Coast ports, end May, for Continent and Scandinavia; m.s. *Innaren*, expected to load Lobito and other Coast ports, mid-June, for Continent and Scandinavia.

OUTWARDS: m.s. *Bullaren*, left Teneriffe, May 8, for Pointe Noire, Loanda and Lobito via Freetown, completing discharge at Lobito, about May 29; m.s. *Innaren*, loading Antwerp (May 17/20) for Las Palmas, Teneriffe, Dakar, Duala, Loanda and Lobito; m.s. *Glimmaren*, loading Gothenburg, Aalborg and Antwerp, end May/early June, for Canary Islands, Loanda and Lobito; m.s. *Vingaren*, arrived Loanda (May 7) from Pointe Noire, thence Lobito; m.s. *Temnaren*, loading Gothenburg and Antwerp (second half June), for Canary Islands and West African ports; m.s. *Vingaren*, loading Gothenburg and Antwerp, mid-July, for Canary Islands and West African ports.

Barber West African Line Movements

HOMEWARDS: m.v. *Hopeville*, arrived Takoradi, May 5, for New York; m.v. *Talisman*, arrived Philadelphia, May 11, for New York; m.v. *Ferngulf*, tentative homeward schedule Lagos for New York; m.v. *Fernbrook* sailed Takoradi, April 26, for Norfolk and New York; m.v. *Tamerlane*, tentative homeward schedule, Nigeria to New York.

OUTWARDS: m.v. *Ferngulf*, arrived Lobito, May 9; m.v. *Tamerlane*, sailed Dakar, May 6, for Pointe Noire, Matadi, Luanda and Lobito; m.v. *Tai Yin*, sailed New York, May 3, for Teneriffe, Dakar, Marshall, Monrovia, Takoradi, Accra, Duala, Lagos/Apapa and Matadi; m.v. *Fernplant*, sailed New York, May 10, for Dakar, Takoradi, Lagos and Matadi; m.v. *Taiwan*, due leave New York, May 16, for Dakar, Monrovia, Takoradi, Accra, Lagos, Duala and calls Canary Islands if sufficient inducement; m.v. *Talisman*, due sail New York, May 29, for Dakar, Lagos, Pointe Noire, Matadi, Luanda and Lobito; m.v. *Hopeville*, due sail New York, June 25, for Dakar, Monrovia, Marshall, Takoradi, Accra, Lagos, Duala and Matadi; m.v. *Ferngulf*, due sail New York, June 24, for Pointe Noire, Matadi, Luanda and Lobito.

American South African Line Movements

OUTWARDS: s.s. *African Glade*, arrived Monrovia, May 12, for Takoradi, Accra, Lagos/Apapa, Duala, Pointe Noire, Matadi, Luanda and Lobito; s.s. *African Grove*, sailing New York, May 16, for Dakar, Freetown, Monrovia, Marshall, Cape Palmas, Port Bouet, Takoradi, Accra, Lagos/Apapa, Duala, Matadi, Luanda and Lobito; s.s. *African Glen* sails New York, June 6, for Freetown, Monrovia, Marshall, Takoradi, Accra, Lagos/Apapa, Pointe Noire, Matadi, Luanda and Lobito.

Holland West-Africa Line Movements

HOMEWARDS: s.s. *Congostroom*, at Lobito, May 5, for Novo Redondo, Porto Amboim, Luanda and Boma; s.s. *Amstelkerk*, left Freetown, May 4, for Port Bouet, Takoradi, Accra, Lome, Cotonou, Lagos, Port Harcourt and Duala.

Fabre-Fraissinet Line Movements

HOMEWARDS: m.s. *Martha Kleppe*, left Pointe Noire, May 7; s.s. *Theomitor*, left Dakar, May 12; m.s. *Duala*, left Port Bouet, May 11; s.s. *Hydroussa*, left Sassandra, May 9.

OUTWARDS: s.s. *Canada*, due leave Marseilles, July; s.s. *Katoomba*, due leave Marseilles, June, for Dakar, Conakry, Port Bouet and Cotonou; s.s. *Edea*, due leave Marseilles, May 27; s.s. *Chelma*, left Marseilles, May 17; t.s. *Rogn*, at Le Havre, May 16; s.s. *Hoggar*, left Casablanca, May 11; s.s. *Tombouctou*, left Dakar, May 10; s.s. *Professeur Emile Lagarde*, left Dakar, May 11; s.s. *Sete*, left Dakar, May 10; s.s. *Saint Maurice*, at Senegal, May 16.

PASSENGER LISTS

Arrivals from the Coast

HOMEWARDS: Per m.s. *Gambian*, which arrived at London on May 13—

From SAPELE:—Mrs. S. MacPhee.

From PORT HARCOURT:—Mr. and Mrs. T. T. Taylor and infant.

From LAGOS:—Mr. and Mrs. F. M. Noad; Mr. and Mrs. F. K. Sheen and infant; Mr. and Mrs. R. Henderson and infant; Miss M. A. L. Gummow; Dr. I. G. MacGregor; Dr. G. R. Waller.

Departures for the Coast

Per m.v. *Fantee*, which left Liverpool on May 20—

For LAGOS:—Mr. H. Boothman; Miss Cowper; Messrs. N. Croft and I. Ferguson; Misses J. Flex, J. McG. Frame, M. Hastings, G. M. Herra, M. Matthew, H. McInnes and M. Simmons; Mr. H. S. Wellings.

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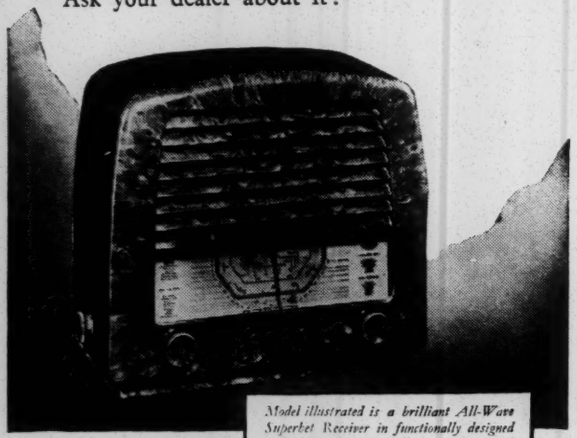

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By "The Searcher"

Konongo Gold Mines

THE annual report of Konongo Gold Mines Limited, for the financial year ended September 30, 1946 makes excellent reading and makes a better showing than its predecessor. It is much more informative though we shall doubtless have to wait until paper shortages are things of the past before we get the fine bulky reports of the old days.

Still, the current report is a great improvement upon the previous one and, in the light of the difficulties that have had to to be faced, it is a fine achievement that is well described. Faced with an advance in working costs, the amount is 1/7½d. per ton, making 39/3d. per ton all told, it must be regarded as excellent to report a working profit of £115,711 compared with £124,629.

At first sight, it might have appeared that, with only 50,413 ounces of gold recovered from 113,520 tons of ore, compared with 52,674 ounces from 113,849 tons of ore, results would have been considerably less. But when it is pointed out that the price of gold was higher and the gold export tax lower, it will be seen that the apparent contradiction is fully explained.

There is another point, however, for the treatment plant has recovered 90 per cent. and the residue value is only ·89 dwt. per ton. For the previous year, the residue value was ·93 dwt. per ton. In this connexion, it also ought to be remembered that the ore put into the plant, in this year, was valued at 9·87 dwt. per ton (against 10·45 dwt. per ton for the previous year.)

This latter fact is further significant in that the proved ore reserves average 12·6 dwt. per ton and were 279,696 tons over 40 inches of stoping width. The previous year gave 12·63 dwt. per ton and were 292,243 tons over 44 inches.

This shows that in neither of the past two years has fully representative ore been treated. When average ore is being treated, the returns will be 20 per cent. better.

The small reduction in the ore reserves is of no consequence, for development during the year has gone up to 9,072 feet (against 6,480 feet) making a progressive advance. Some excellent values have been disclosed by the No. 13 drive, the north-east drive gave 25·6 dwt. over 40 inches for 151 feet; and the south-west drive gave 27·6 dwt. over 45 inches for 89 feet.

WEST AFRICAN MARKET NOTES

Encouragement for Mining Companies

By the Commercial Editor

IT was but to be expected that the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy should make a considered and helpful contribution to the question of Colonial Mining, with particular reference to the rather vexed question of the attitude of the ruling authorities to the mining interests, particularly those of the Colonies. The Memorandum issued by the Colonial Office, and representing the views of the British Government on Colonial Mining Policy naturally contained much sound commercial sense, shorn of all political bias or theory; but it also contained a series of recommendations that, though they might well be non-political in origin, certainly show little relationship to the proved facts of commercial mining.

Ignored Losses

Too often, in the past, has attention been drawn to the spectacular successes of the richer mines; and far too often have the huge losses incurred by other mines been glossed over and forgotten. The latter should be brought out more prominently, so that a truer perspective of the risks of mining is taken. It is for this reason that bodies of the calibre of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy exist, to exercise such control over its members that will ensure a high technical and ethical standard of conduct and care in the preparation of reports and estimates.

The opinion of the Institution in this regard is of the utmost value and it has been submitted to the Colonial Office, in reply to that body's memorandum. It stresses the soundly practical view that for the Colonial Office to advise any Colonial Government to undertake speculative mining, in those cases where private enterprise does not consider the risk worth taking, would be suicidal, in that public funds would be sacrificed. The only possible exception to this general rule would be in a national or world emergency, such as the recent war; in which connexion, it might be added that, as in Nigeria when tin was wanted urgently, uneconomic production had to be resorted to—at a huge advance in working costs.

Governments Can Be Helpful

The Institution rightly points out that Governments can be more helpful than they have been in the past. For example, instead if passing crippling legislation, they might extend their geological survey service and give all the mining companies much more help in their work. After all, labour is stimulated and the local authorities obtain much revenue from mining companies, whose activities are a great help in the development programmes. These form the largest single contribution to the wealth of the Colonies and the shareholders obtain only the small remainder.

The mining companies, in the past, have had to do most of their own surveying and mapping; and this had not been, before the war, a good incentive to closer cooperation between neighbouring companies. The war has changed much of that attitude, and it is the healthiest of signs that this wartime experience has been carried into the present, with signs of still closer cooperation.

We submit that all technical and commercial interests should, to safeguard themselves, close their ranks against the new menace of possible interference with such important matters as the extent of original leases, taxation, royalties, etc. which, if not soundly and commercially based, will negative the efforts of companies to secure world minerals for world usage.

The Money Market

Credit conditions have recovered from the difficulties of the previous week and banks have had ample funds to meet all demands.

The clearing banks have been ready buyers of July dates and have not had their appetites satisfied by market houses.

Applications for the £170 million of Treasury Bills have again fallen, this time to £281·165 million, compared with £296·275 million for the previous week. All the bills were allotted and the market syndicate naturally found its quota up to 49 per cent. (against 44 per cent.), the average rate of discount working out at 10/1·62d. per cent. (against 10/1·38d. per cent.).

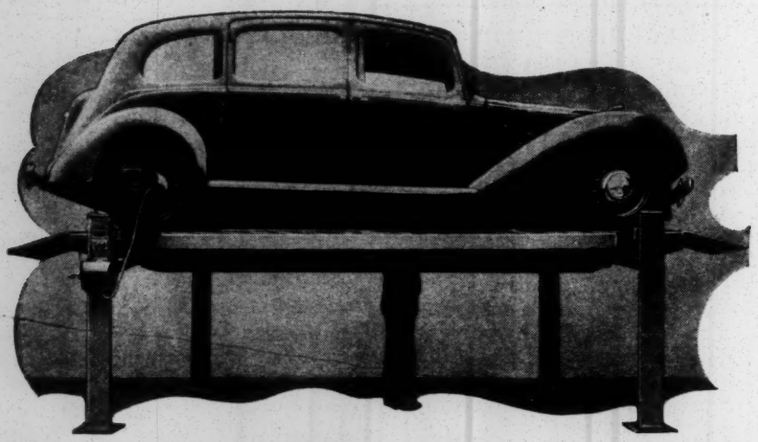
This week-end, the Treasury will offer only £160 million of new bills, whereas maturities are at the £170 million level. At the same time, the Treasury has intimated that it will again make no call against six months' deposit receipts but there are also no maturities.

The price of essential silver has remained at the unchanged level of 44¼d. per fine ounce for spot and forward positions since Monday, May 12.

The price of gold is unaltered at 172/3d. per fine ounce.

Tin Consumption

The Ministry of Supply announces that the consumption of tin in the U.K., during the first quarter of 1947, was 6,663 tons of virgin metal and 1,800 tons of scrap, making a total of 8,463 tons. The main avenues were: Alloys, 3,485 tons; tin-plate, 2,074 tons; solders, 1,552 tons; foil and collapsible tubes, 622 tons; tinned wire, 140 tons; tin compounds and salts, 207 tons; tinning, 230 tons; miscellaneous, 153 tons.



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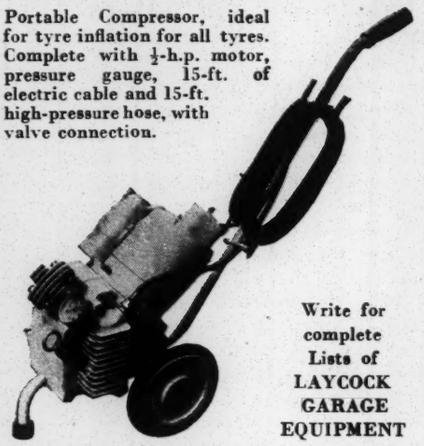

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X.3

WEST AFRICAN STOCKS AND SHARES

Mines Remain Weak Spot

By "JANUS"

LONDON, TUESDAY MORNING.

Business in West African mining shares has been of average dimensions during the past week; but it cannot yet be said that optimism has returned; and even tin mines have lost ground. Banks, commercial and Colonial stocks, on the other hand, have made substantial progress.

There were some signs of recovery in the gold mining section on Tuesday, last week, when Kwahu led with 7½d., at 31/10½d.; Taquah & Abosso following with 4½d., at 28/6d., with 3d. each in Bibiani, at 26/9d.; Gold Coast Selection, at 29/9d., and Nanwa Options, at 1/4½d. The only losses of note were 3d. by Fanti, at 9/- and National Mining, at 4/-. Tin mines were dull. In banks, B.B.W.A. added 2/6d. to reach the highest level yet recorded, at 193/9d. Barclays went ahead, too, at 80/- and 79/- respectively. Colonial stocks were quiet. In commercials, Nigerian Electricity made 9d., at 52/6d.; Lever 20 per cent., 4½d. at 25/9d., and Lever Ord., 3d., at 56/3d.

Wednesday was the best day of the period, but declines set in again in gold mines, Kwahu leading with 7½d., at 31/3d. Taquah & Abosso following with 6d., at 28/-; followed by 3d. each in Exploration, at 1/-; Fanti, at 8/9d., Konongo, at 5/8½d. Again 3d. was the major rise, seen in Bibiani, at 27/-. Tin mines were again dull. Banks were irregular, B.B.W.A. losing 7½d., at 193/1½d., whilst Barclays (D.C.&O.)A. rose 1/1½d., at 81/1½d. Colonial stocks were firm, though quiet, for Gold Coast 4½ per cent. (1956) added 1⅝, at 120. Commercials varied, the chief gain being 1/1½d. by Elders at 55/-; and the chief losses 4½d. each in Bartholomew Ord., at 1/5¼d. and Lever 20 per cent., at 25/4½d.

Business was a trifle lower on Thursday and mines continued to droop. Kwahu again led off with a loss of 7½d., at 30/7½dxd.; Ashanti Goldfields followed with 4½d., at 56/1½d.; and National Mining with 3d., at 3/9d. Again there was but one advance, by 3d., in Fanti, at 9/-; and Konongo recovered a little, at 5/10½d.xd. Tin mines eased off, Ex-Lands to 6/3d.; Jantar, to 7/4½d. being the chief losses and South Bukeru recovering to 2/1½d. Banks moved both ways, B.B.W.A. losing 7½d., at 192/6d., and Barclays (D.C.&O.) new making that amount, at 79/9d. Colonial stocks were better and busier, but commercials again moved both ways. Thus Elders made 1/-, at 56/-, whilst Nigerian Electricity lost 1/-, at 51/6d.; Lever 7 per cent. lost 7½d., at 40/9d. and the Ord. lost 3d., at 56/1½d.; whilst Bartholomew recovered 4½d., at 1/9¾d.

Business sank to a low level on Friday and, in the gold mining section, only Kwahu recovered 7½d., at 31/3d.xd. Losses did not exceed 3d., seen in Fanti, at 8/9d., Konongo, at 5/9d., and Nanwa Options, at 1/2¼d. Tin mines also were irregular, Jantar making 3d., at 7/6d., as did United Tin, at 3/1½d., whereas Tin Fields of Nigeria lost nearly 6d., at 1/1½d. In banks, Barclays (D.C.&O.) added 9d., at 82/-. Colonial stocks suffered on account of xd quotations but commercials again moved both ways. Lever Ord. made 4½d., at 56/6d., but Bartholomew Ord. lost ground, at 1/6d., as did Elders, at 55/9d.

There was a better interest shown in tin mining sections yesterday, but gold mines sagged again, led by Ashanti Goldfields with 7½d., at 55/6d.; followed by 3d. each in Bibiani, at 26/9d., London & African, at 8/1½d. There were some recoveries, notably 4½d. in Taquah & Abosso, at 28/6d., and 3d. each in Fanti, at 9/- and Konongo, at 5/11¼d. Tin mines weakened, 3d. each in Amalgamated Tin, at 13/6d.; Ex-Lands, at 6/1½d., and Jantar, at 7/3d. In banks, Barclays (D.C.&O.) old shares made 6d., at 82/6d., and the new shares spurted by 2/9d., at 82/6d. also. Colonial stocks were generally weaker. Commercials again moved both ways, Elders losing 9d., at 55/-; Bartholomew Pref., 4½d., at 17/1½d., as did Lever 5 per cent., at 30/7½d.

Making-up Prices

From the Stock Exchange Official List of making-up prices, at May 14, with comparative prices for April 30, the following, of West African interest, are selected :—

April 30.		May 14
55/-	Lever & Unilever (£1)	56/3d.
41/-	Lever 7 per cent. Pref. (£1)	41/6d.
44/-	Lever 8 per cent. Pref. (£1)	44/6d.
5/6d.	London Tin (4/-)	5/4½d.
5/6d.	Amalgamated Banket (5/-)	5/4½d.
11/10½d.	Ariston (2/6d.)	11/10½d.
56/9d.	Ashanti Goldfields (4/-)	56/6d.
26/6d.	Bibiani (4/-)	26/9d.
3/7½d.	Gold Coast Banket (2/-)	3/6d.
29/9d.	Gold Coast Selection (5/-)	29/9d.
5/10½d.	Konongo (2/-)	5/10½d.
3/9d	Lyndhurst (1/-)	3/7½d.

COMMERCIAL NEWS

Personal

The Institution of Mining and Metallurgy reports the following news of the movements of personnel of interest to West Africa :—

MEMBERS : Mr. H. H. W. Boyes, M.C., has left Northern Nigeria for Britain.

ASSOCIATES : Mr. W. A. Burke has returned to Nigeria after leave in Scotland; Mr. C. Courtis has returned to West Africa after three months' leave in Britain; Mr. H. L. Holloway has left Britain to take up an appointment with the London & African Mining Trust Ltd. in Nigeria; Mr. G. New has returned to Britain on leave from Taquah & Abosso Mines.

STUDENTS : Mr. D. J. B. Batzer is shortly to return to Britain from the Gold Coast.

The death of Mr. W. E. Thorne, M.I.M.M., at the age of 85 years, is reported to have taken place in the U.S.A. in 1945. He had a world-wide experience of mining including a report on the Nigerian tin properties of the Ropp Tin Mines and West Africa Mines; and the design of power plant and dredges for the Ropp Tin Mines in 1914. He went to Siberia and, in 1916, returned to Nigeria to supervise the starting up of the dredges. From 1917 onwards, his work was mainly as a consultant in many fields.

Barclays Bank Directorate

The Earl of Airlie (Governor of the British Linen Bank) and Mr. J. S. Crossley, who is Chairman of Barclays

WEST AFRICAN SHARE LIST

	Last Week.	This Week.
COLONIAL STOCKS.		
Gold Coast 3% 1954-59 ...	105½*	105½*
,, 3% 1963	108½*	108½
,, 4½% 1956	118⅜	120½
,, 4½% 1960-70 ...	124¾*	124¾*
Nigeria 2½%	100¾	100¾*
,, 3% 1955...	107	106⅜
,, 4% 1963...	120⅜	120 7/16
,, 5% 1947-57	102¼*	102¼*
,, 5% 1950-60	109½	109½*
,, 6% 1949-79	112 5/16	109⅝xd
Sierra Leone 3% 1954	104½*	104½*
,, ,, 3½% 1958-63 ...	112⅜	112½
,, ,, 4½% 1955	118⅜*	118⅜*
COMMERCIAL.		
Bartholomew Ord. (1/-)	1/9	1/4½
,, 7½%Ptg.Pref.(10/-) ...	16/9	17/1½
Elder Dempster Lines Holdings ...	54/-	55/-
Lever Bros.and Unilever		
,, (£1 units)	56/-	56/7½
,, 5% Prefs.	30/3	30/7½
,, 7% Prefs.	41/6	41/-
,, 8% Prefs.	44/6	44/9
,, 20% Prefs. (5/- units)	25/4½	25/6
Nigerian Electricity Supply ...	51/9	51/6
GOLD MINING AND DIAMONDS.		
Amalgamated Banket (5/-) ...	5/4⅜	5/4½
Andura Syndicate (1/-)	2/4¼*	2/8¼
Ariston (2/6)	11/10½	11/10½
Ashanti-Adowsena (2/-)	1/10½	1/10½
,, ,, Opt.	6d*	3d
Ashanti Goldfields (4/-)	56/6	55/6
Ashanti-Obuasi Reefs (1/-) ...	1/2¼	1/3
Atta Gold (1928) (2/-)	1/1½	1/0¾
Bibiani (4/-)	26/6	26/9
Bremang Gold (5/-)	4/4½	4/3
Central Wassau (1/-)	1/0½	1 1/16d
Exploration Company (1/-) ...	1/3	1/1½
Falcon Mines (5/-)...	14/-	14/-
Fanti Consolidated (8/-)	9/3	9/-
Gold & Base Metal (2/6)	2/11¼	3/-
Gold Coast Banket Areas (2/-) ...	3/6	3/6
Gold Coast Devel. Synd. (5/-) ...	4d*	4d*
Gold Coast Main Reef (5/-) ...	11/10½	11/9
Gold Coast Selection Trust (5/-)...	29/6	29/6
Konongo (2/-)	5/10½	5/11¼
Kwahu (2/-)	31/3	31/3xd
London & African Trust (5/-) ...	8/6	8/1½
Lyndhurst (1/-)	3/7½	3/7½
Marlu (5/-)	7/1½	6/11¼
Maroc (5/-)	3/6*	3/6*
Nanwa (1/-)	3/6	3/-
,, ,, Opt.	1/2¼	1/2¼
National Mining Corp. (2/6) ...	4/3	3/9
,, ,, Opt. Cert. ...	1/4½	1/3
North Ashanti (4/-)	11¼d*	11¼d
Offin River (5/-)	5/-	5/-
South Barket Areas (1/-)	1/9	1/8¼
Taquah & Abosso (4/-)	28/1½	28/6
West African Diamond (5/-) ...	2/1½	2/2
West African Mahogany (2/6) ...	5/10½	6/1½
TIN MINING.		
Amalgamated Tin (5/-)	13/9	13/6
Anglo-Continental (10/-)	6/0¾*	6/0¾*
Bisichi (10/-)	10/1½	10/1½
Daffo (2/6)	2/3*	2/3*
Ex-Lands, Nigeria (2/-)	6/4½	6/1½
Filani (Nigeria) Tin (2/-)	2/3*	2/3*
Jantar (3/-)	7/6	7/3
Jos Tin (5/-)	11/4½	11/3¾
Kaduna Prospectors (3/-)	4/3	4/3*
Kaduna Syndicate (2/-)	10/3	10/4½
London Tin (4/-)	5/4⅜	5/3
Naraguta (10/-)	6/-*	6/-*
Naraguta Extended (2/-)	1/-*	1/-
Naraguta Karama (5/-)	3/-*	3/-*
Nigerian Consolidated (2/-) ...	2/10½	2/8¼
Ribon Valley (Nigeria) Tin (2/-) ...	2/10½	3/-
South Bukeru Areas (2/-)	1/10¾*	2/1½
Tin Fields of Nigeria (2/-) ...	1/6¾*	1/1½
United Tin Areas (2/6)	3/-	3/-
BANKING.		
B.B.W.A. (£10, £4 paid) ...191/3		192/6
Barclays Bank (Dom.C.&O.)A ... 79/9		82/6
,, ,, (New) 78/3		82/6

*Price at latest previous dealings.

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London Tin Corporation

The directors of London Tin Corporation Limited announce that the accounts, for the year ended April 30, 1947, cannot be completed until final information from Malaya is received; but they consider that the profit for the year will be slightly in excess of £100,000 compared with £92,663 for the previous year. Accordingly, they have decided to declare an interim dividend of 4½ per cent. (4 per cent.) less tax at 9/- in the £; and have intimated that it is not their intention to recommend a final dividend for that year, when the accounts are issued. This interim dividend will be payable on July 10, and the transfer books will be closed from the close of business on Monday, May 26 until the morning of Friday, May 30.

Ribon Valley (Nigeria) Tinfields

The directors of Ribon Valley (Nigeria) Tinfields, Limited, announce that the year ended March 31, 1937, produced 132 tons of tin concentrates, compared with 134 tons for the previous financial year. The new pipe-line, completed in August, 1946, was a material help in hydraulicking operations. The work is being concentrated on the development of the ore reserves of the wholly-owned subsidiary. The basalt cap on part of the deposit is proving a difficulty but adequate plant is being obtained to deal with it. The results should add a substantial tonnage to the ore reserves. Interests have also been acquired with other associated companies, in very large areas for which special exclusive prospecting licences have been granted by the Nigerian Government. Further prospecting is proceeding for gold, silver, lead and zinc.

CORRESPONDENTS' REPORTS

Supplies Continue to be Short

LONDON.

The prices of refined oils and fats, for the eight-week period ending May 30, showing considerable advances over those for the previous period, are given in the table which appears elsewhere in this issue. The prices of unrefined oils are officially stated to be for the period from May 5 to May 31.

Other values, of interest to West Africa, are: Cottonseed oil, crude, £109 per ton; washed, £112 per ton. Sunflower oil, crude, £110/10/- per ton; acid, £92 per ton. Cotton (black grease), £80 per ton; (ex-washed), £93 per ton.

The new price of tin, effective March 29, is £437 per ton f.o.b. U.K. port or delivered U.K. consumers' works, for Grade A which ranges from 99 per cent. to 99·75 per cent. purity; with premiums for extra purity, to be published when notified. The previous rates, when tin was £380/10/- per ton, were 30/- premium for 99·75 per cent. to 99·9 per cent. purity and a total premium of £5/10/- per ton for 99·9 per cent. minimum purity.

The Ministry of Supply has issued a new Control of Iron and Steel Order, which amends maximum prices, increasing the prices of hematite pig-iron, Scotch foundry iron, blast furnace ferro manganese, bright steel bars and galvanized sheets, wire rope, nails and commercial quality hot finished seamless tubes. The new prices came into force on Monday, March 3. Ferro alloys and high-speed steel are removed from price control.

Tungsten ore of standard grade, from Government stocks, has been raised to 120/- per unit of WO_3. delivered consumers' works, effective Thursday, May 1. For special high-grade scheelite (68 per cent. minimum WO_3; tin maximum, ·6 per cent.; arsenic maximum, ·1 per cent.; molybdenum maximum, ·1 per cent.) the price will be 130/- per unit, delivered to consumers' works.

The Ministry of Supply has raised the price of aluminium from £72/15/- per ton to £80 per ton for virgin aluminium in ingot or notch bar form, 99·0 to 99·5 per cent. purity; with premiums for higher grades. The increase is effective from Monday, March 24, and is said to be designed to average the cost of metal purchased at home and abroad.

LIVERPOOL.

The official prices of refined oils, showing advances of £28/29 per ton over those previously current, are for the period ending May 30; and for the four weeks ending May 31, for unrefined oils. In all cases, the prices refer to supplies to primary wholesalers and large trade users and the range of those of West African origin or interest appears in the table given elsewhere in this issue.

The retail prices of edible oils have been advanced in line with those for the wholesale trade; examples being: Refined deodorized groundnut oil, cottonseed oil and maize oil: 126/- per cwt., 10/4d. per Imperial gallon, and 10/2d. per gallon of 9 lb.; refined deodorized palm kernel oil: 125/- per cwt., 10/2d. per Imperial gallon, and 10/1d. per gallon of 9 lb.; in all areas except Devon and Cornwall, where prices are 2/- per cwt. more and 2d. per gallon more respectively; except palm kernel oil, which is 3d. per Imperial gallon more. The hundredweight prices are based upon half-cwt. loan taper cans.

Cocoa remains at the new rate of 119/- per cwt. (plus duty) ex-store, to which level it was raised on March 30.

MANCHESTER.

There are few encouraging features of the Manchester West African market at the moment; and there is little prospect of a substantial improvement in supplies of Lancashire-produced cotton goods. Manchester shippers have had the chance, this week, of seeing samples of Japanese, American and Italian goods at a market research exhibition organized by the Cotton Board at the Colour, Design and Style Centre. There were several examples of Japanese grey goods, specially produced for the African markets; but comparatively few finished goods. Most of the American goods were in Western styles, as were also the Italian goods, which included quite a number of shirtings in similar designs to those popularly produced in Lancashire.

Mr. R. J. Gigli, a business efficiency expert, who has worked for some years with the Cotton Board on an experimental full scale mill employing all the latest ideas in improving efficiency, told a Cotton Board labour conference, last week-end, that with the existing labour force and existing plant and machinery, output of cotton and rayon textiles could be increased by 53 per cent. all round. His figure is based on plans for re-deployment of labour, and this improvement in production would be brought about with a substantial increase in earnings to the operatives and would, at the same time, mean a reduction in actual labour costs per yard of cotton produced. Amongst the handicaps to carrying out Mr. Gigli's plans are existing agreements on wages throughout the cotton industry and more especially the uniform list for weaving.

The annual report of the Cotton and Rayon Merchants Association, just issued, has much of interest to exporters. The full observations and recommendations by C.R.M.A. on the International Conference on Trade and Employment are published. These, on a long term basis, are optimistic; and the report points out the immense scope for development of trade in textiles when the United States consume per head 40/45 square yards of cotton per annum for clothing purposes, Britain 30/35 square yards and Africa only 5/10 square yards. The recommendations advocate a general lowering of tariffs on textiles which, they affirm, should be for revenue purposes only, and if used for protecting a domestic industry

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21	5 ins.	5 months !
27½	1½ ins.	4 weeks !
34	3 ins.	6 months !
40	1½ ins.	6 weeks !

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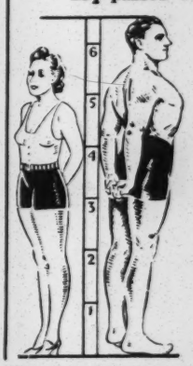

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There is no change to record in the raw cotton situation, American Middling continuing to be based on 20·2 pence per pound.

ROTTERDAM.

The results of the Dutch whaling expedition have been less disappointing than was expected. The tanker *Nacella* left the Antarctic at the end of February, with a cargo of 5,700 tons of oil; and the *Willem Barendsz* had a further 1,800 tons, making 7,500 tons available at the end of February. This compares with only 2,700 tons for the period December 18 to January 25.

The Royal Netherlands salt industry produced 200,000 tons in 1939 and 1940; and if coal supplies are sufficient, salt production for 1947 may reach 230,000 tons. An even higher production can be expected in 1948, if supplies of material and machinery are favourable. It is proposed to close the Boekelo salt factory as soon as production is concentrated at the Hengelo factory.

The restoration of the Dutch shipping yards continues and the quantity under construction continues to grow. The first quarter of 1946 showed 55 ships, of 142,000 gross registered tonnage under construction. Early March saw this figure raised to 250,000, of which 80 per cent. is for home needs. The other 20 per cent. is for foreign firms, including 30,000 tons for Norway. These are signs that the Dutch yards were capable of competing with overseas shipbuilders when these orders were placed.

West African Produce Prices

The prices which the West African Produce Control Board pays in West Africa for the various items enumerated are given in the following table. The prices are per ton, naked, ex scale (unless otherwise stated) at the points indicated: and are current prices except where otherwise stated.

		£	s.	d.
PALM OIL:				
Nigeria	Grade I	25	0	0
(bulk oil plant)	„ II	23	5	0
	„ III	21	15	0
	„ IV	20	12	6
	„ V	19	10	0
PALM KERNELS				
Nigeria* ...	... ...	16	15	0
Gold Coast† ...	... ...	14	0	0
Sierra Leone* ...	... ...	18	18	9
Gambia* ...	... ...	18	10	0
GROUNDNUTS (1946/47 Season):				
Decorticated Kanos‡ ...	...	16	0	0
„ Benues† ...	...	14	0	0
Undecorticated Gambia (Bathurst) ...	... ...	14	0	0
BENNISEED:				
Nigeria† ...	... ...	15	0	0
COCOA (1946/47 Main Crop):				
Gold Coast‡ per head load of 60 lb.		1	7	6
Nigeria (1946/47)*—				
Per ton Grade	I	50	0	0
„ „	II	47	10	0
COPRA:				
Gold Coast† ...	... ...	11	5	0

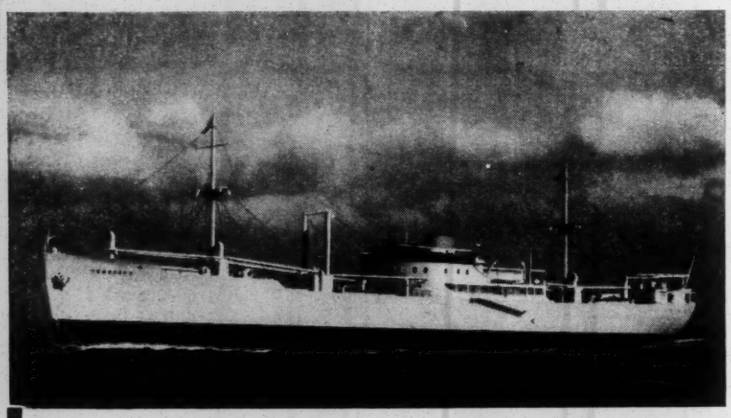
* Port of shipment. † Buying station.
‡ Railway buying station.

Oils and Fats Prices

From the Ministry of Food list of prices of oils and fats, for the period ending May 31, the following of West African interest, are given for reference. The prices are per ton, naked, ex works (unless otherwise stated) and concern only supplies allocated to primary wholesalers and large trade users.

	£	s.	d.
COCONUT OIL:			
Acid	97	10	0
Crude and crude oleine ...	106	0	0
Refined deodorized	112	0	0
Refined hardened deodorized...	116	0	0
PALM OIL:			
Acid	90	10	0
Softs, hards, semi's, Lagos and Red Sherbros. S.O.C.G.P.A.	*97	15	0
	†98	15	0
Contract No. 21 allowances	‡99	5	0
Refined deodorized	111	0	0
Refined hardened deodorized...	114	0	0
PALM KERNEL OIL:			
Acid	97	10	0
Crude and crude oleine ...	105	10	0
Refined deodorized	112	0	0
Refined hardened deodorized...	116	0	0
GROUNDNUT OIL:			
Acid	94	0	0
Crude	110	10	0
Refined deodorized	114	0	0
Refined deodorized hardened to 40°	118	0	0
Refined deodorized hardened to 50°/52°	119	0	0
SESAME/BENNISEED OIL:			
Acid	94	0	0
Crude	110	10	0
Refined deodorized	114	0	0
MAIZE OIL:			
Acid	92	0	0
Crude	110	10	0
Refined deodorized	114	0	0
COCOA BUTTER:			
Acid	51	10	0

* c.i.f. bulk. † c.i.f. in loan drums
‡ c.i.f. in returnable casks.



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WEST AFRICA

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Production of Wealth . . . . Africa's Move . . . . Hiving Off . . . . Growth

FILLING In The Gaps not previously covered by internal Colonial enterprise or by external initiative appears to be the truest interpretation of the proposed Colonial Development Corporation announced by MR. CREECH JONES last week. That is why the emphasis is on Africa—undeveloped Africa. If dollars are scarce, says the organ of Empire, Africa is ample. Allowing for the spirit of rejoicing which is happy when it sees its own pet plans adopted, *The Daily Express* is not only accurate in its choice of target for development, but is, as near as can be in this respect, a barometer of public opinion in the U.K. Government circles are unhappy that comment in the national Press has laid too much emphasis on "what can be got out of these activities for the benefit of the United Kingdom."

Self Interest

They are unhappy because they realize that such an attitude can do much harm in the Colonies, since it would be conveying a very false impression of the spirit which inspired the idea of a Colonial Development Corporation. As if it were a selfish attempt of this Government to get what it can out of the Colonies, instead of a desire to improve the production of wealth and therefore the actual enjoyment of wealth by Colonial peoples themselves. If one reads MR. CREECH JONES's announcement in the House of Commons, the Government's unhappiness can easily be understood. MR. CREECH JONES said what many before him have said—that the Colonial Development and Welfare Act though useful was not enough. "An instrument," he went on, "is also required whereby we can undertake individual productive projects likely to increase the wealth of the Colonies themselves and to stimulate the supply of products of which this country and the world at large stand in need."

Unfortunately for the Government, the peoples of the United Kingdom cannot be expected to make up overnight for that lack of interest in Colonies which has been widely prevalent for many years. Interest has been emerging appreciably only since the West Indian riots ten years ago. The public of the United Kingdom has such a vast field of activities competing for its interest that it should not surprise the Government if the U.K. Press seeks to focus public attention upon new Colonial developments by appealing to self-interest. After all the Colonial Development Corporation is going to be run on commercial principles and the public, like any other investor in a commercial enterprise, wants to know what it is going to get for the money which it invests.

Private enterprise is not going to be discouraged. It will only be subject to approval by the Colonial Office and Colonial Governments concerned. The idea of Africa being a "garden" waiting for capital to make it productive is a far greater incentive to the potential investor in the U.K. than the hard thought of paying yet higher taxes to raise the standards of life of peoples for whom he is responsible. At the same time, the U.K. Press can be acquitted of overlooking the needs and rights of the Colonial peoples.

Whether directly interested or not, the average inhabitant of the U.K. is free of the charge of wanting to maintain his own standard of life at the expense of Colonial peoples. He is largely convinced, on the other hand, that advancement of the Colonial is necessary, if markets are to be found for the articles which his own industrial country produces. What perhaps to the African reader may appear from the popular Press in the U.K. as the old story of exploitation dished up in modern dress must be understood in terms of the human resident of the U.K. The idea of the Colonial Development Corporation has to be sold to the public, if it is to become a reality through legislation passed in Parliament.

If the British tax-payer had been suddenly presented with a plan for spending an additional hundred million pounds in the Colonies to raise Colonial standards of life, he would not have viewed the proposal with favour. Since the same object can be achieved in a more practical manner by normal commercial methods, it is not surprising that newspapers with their facilities for charting public opinion should appeal to the readers' primary concern "how does this benefit me?"

So far from criticizing the Press of the U.K., the Government should be happy that so much publicity has been given to the proposed Colonial Development Corporation in this country that the main body of public opinion is wholeheartedly behind the scheme. For unless there was such a consensus of opinion from all parties in favour of the new Corporation, the idea would perish before the necessary legislation had been passed. As it is, the idea has been put across and nowhere more strongly than in the pages of the popular Press. So much for the U.K.!

* * *

In Africa itself and in other Colonial territories, another line of approach is necessary if local support for the Corporation is to be maintained. To the African whether he is an extreme nationalist or a cooperator with Government, it should matter little what methods have been used to capture British pounds for Africa. Africans may dig up all the invectives against imperialism that their young vocabularies have coined in the past 50 years. They may convince themselves of anything about which they want to convince themselves. It doesn't matter. Because whatever motives they care to attribute to the U.K., one clear fact remains—the gain is Africa's.

African Goal

It is impossible, under existing Constitutions which are all (some more slowly than others) moving forward towards unofficial majorities and towards increasing degrees of responsible government that any Colonial territory can be selfishly exploited by Britain today. Impossible even if the wish were there (which it is not, since the prevalent belief in advancing peoples for mutual advantage is a majority one). In addition, the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, the International Labour Office and the many organizations whose voices are heard at the highest level are guarantees against one nation exploiting any of its dependent peoples.

There may be other peoples of the world, notably from certain over-populated European countries, who may feel sorry for themselves and may envy Britain her possession of Colonies and her fields for development. To them, the cry: "Africa is ample," may resemble the pouring of salt into open wounds. But for Africans, there can be cause only for rejoicing. Africans, who deny stoutly that they are anti-British when they decry the achievements of Colonial Governments, never grow weary of saying that they have no objection to outside capital being drawn to Africa for purposes of development.

Today, they can see that capital coming, small perhaps at first, but with a vast potential if ever a concerted drive from all corners is made to place undeveloped Africa on a footing of equality with the northern and southern portions of that continent. If that day breaks (and there are unmistakable

signs of its approach) Africans may yet live to thank their Colonial Governments for the guidance which is indispensable when one civilization merges with another. The advocates of an early self-government for Africa (some of whom are actuated by the highest motives of charity) may soon begin to realize that until Africans have in their power the vast resources which only outside capital can produce, any effective permanent African Government is impractical.

Africans certainly have a choice which they and they only can make. It is whether to hurry along nominal government without power, or to cooperate with existing Government until they have effective power. In the first case, the new Colonial Development Corporation would be but one in a series of commercial propositions which would flow in from all the trade capitals of the world. In the second, it would be the first step towards the stabilization of an economy which has already achieved considerable stature, and through which alone undeveloped Africa can hope to attain the status which only hard spade-work on the part of Africans will make a reality.

"We work or want" is only a Labour Government's clumsy adaptation of a maxim shared for thousands of years by the peoples of many nations. Africans probably have heard it from many different sources, but never before have they had the opportunity which now is offered them, to work for the permanent advancement and recognition of their country.

* * *

More than Two?

Will the Board include Africans as well as Colonials and representatives from this country, MR. SORENSEN asked MR. CREECH JONES after his announcement of the proposed Colonial Development Corporation in the House of Commons. Since the Corporation is to be the subject of legislation by Parliament, it is not surprising that MR. CREECH JONES should have answered that discussion of personnel was premature. MR. SORENSEN'S question is, however, of particular significance to Africans who will be happy to know that their interests are being championed by individual Members of Parliament. The question is doubly interesting in view of a report which appeared in a Gold Coast newspaper of an interview given to the Gold Coast Press by MR. G. F. CLAY (leader of the mission now in West Africa).

In discussion of the possibilities of large-scale production in West Africa, MR. CLAY is reported as having said that "if a Corporation were formed, Africans would be on the Board, and after fulfilling its short-term policy, the enterprise might be handed over to a public corporation." There is nothing in this declaration which is opposed to the expressed intentions of the Colonial Office of associating Africans in the management of their own affairs. It is also in keeping with MR. CREECH JONES'S statement in the House of Commons that the "Corporation will 'hive off' as it were, certain concerns and enterprises and they will undoubtedly have their principal offices in the territories with which they are strictly concerned."

Since the results of the exploratory mission now in West Africa will undoubtedly be the concern of the new Corporation when it comes into being, there is good reason for believing that a principal officer of the Corporation will "hive off" to West Africa. And since the new Corporation is going to be the "brain" behind the initiation of schemes, and the parent as it were, of smaller Corporations, there is every likelihood of a subsidiary Corporation being formed in West Africa for the execution of any large scale production that is acceptable to local West African Governments.

It will be strange, indeed, if Africans do not find a place on the Board of a local Corporation of this nature. The cooperation of Africans in proposed schemes of development has been recognized on all sides and no surer sign of cooperation could be found than African participation in a local Corporation. As for representation on the Board of the parent Colonial Development Corporation, the circumstances are entirely different. The Colonial Development Corporation will be working hand-in-hand with the Ministries and organizations of the U.K. and it is most unlikely that African or Colonial participation on its Board would have any beneficial effect other than in an advisory role. Since the channels for such advice are already available through Colonial Governments representing local administrations, it is unlikely, although not impossible, that there will be any direct Colonial or African representation on the Board of the new Corporation.

DOMINIONS AND COLONIES

Four Cardinal Points

By OBSERVER

THE possibility of Dominion participation in Colonial development schemes has not received much publicity, although it was mentioned by Mr. Creech Jones the same day that he made known Government plans for a Corporation to raise capital for Colonial development. He said that, in all development work, close contact had been maintained with Dominion Governments and "we have received in some of our schemes very practical assistance indeed."

The Economist, of June 28, which commented: "At long last, it seems, the third Colonial system—which aims at raising the Colonies' standard of living—is well launched," also drew attention to "four channels" through which capital will now reach the Colonies. These are said to be: Ordinary private investment; the Development Corporations of Barclays Bank (Dominion Colonial and Overseas) and the Standard Bank; the Public Corporations owned by the Colonial Governments, such as that which is to run the ex-enemy plantations in the Cameroons: and the new Corporation with a capital of £100 million.

It did not mention the possibility of Dominion investment, although that could be fitted into some of the existing channels. The term "Dominion" is unspecific and it will be interesting to hear official details of what Dominions have been giving assistance in development schemes and where.

On the basis of geographical allocation, Colonies and Dominions are already grouped Canada—West Indies, Australia, New Zealand—Pacific, and South Africa—African Colonies. These are geographical groupings and it would be rash to draw conclusions without a full knowledge of the facts; but from a "long term" policy, which is now a current label of Colonial projects, geography cannot be ignored.

The possibility of South Africa playing a vital part in the development of undeveloped parts of Africa cannot be ignored, even though present spheres of influence in Africa make any immediate trade penetration into West Africa unlikely. It is true that South Africa is a long way from British West Africa; but with the growth of communications now being envisaged for many parts of hitherto undeveloped parts of Africa, it will be surprising if the expanding productivity of South Africa does not seek, sooner or later, an outlet for its trade in neighbouring markets.

Whole and its Parts

As undeveloped territories become more and more productive and as their internal economies strengthen progressively, their trade relations with neighbouring territories will necessarily develop. The pattern of any forecast into the future of Africa is subject to so many changes of potential that it cannot be determined with certainty, but what is already discernible is that the future of Africa is linked with its parts and that closer liaison must be established than previously between North, East, South and West.

London Log

Many West Africans will have read a statement in a London daily paper that Mr. H. J. C. Nelson-Williams, whose appointment as secretary of the Oxford Union was announced in WEST AFRICA recently, is the sixth coloured man to hold Union office and that the other five were Indians. This statement is misleading since Mr. Cameron Tudor, who was President of the Union during the war, was a coloured West Indian.

Revised air-mail collection times have now been published by the G.P.O. Air-mail for West Africa is collected from the Head Office in London at 11.30 p.m. on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays.

Mr. Aidan J. Jones who, during the war, was attached to the R.W.A.F.F. on the Gold Coast, obtained a first class Pass in the Historical Tripos at Cambridge and received his B.A. degree recently.

The Right Rev. D. B. Hall, who has been appointed Assistant Bishop in Nigeria, leaves Bishopston (Gloucester), after nearly seventeen years' service there.

Mr. A. R. Whitaker (a weaving instructor in Nigeria) will be joined shortly by his wife and two children who sailed from Britain recently.

Mr. H. F. P. Plumridge (of Worcester Park) whose wife was formerly Miss Edith Lister (a nursing sister in Nigeria) has been appointed Staff Manager of the Nigerian Railway.

Miss Dora Falconer, F.R.C.S., daughter of the late Dr. J. D. Falconer (formerly Director of the Geological Survey) Northern Nigeria, is leaving for Nigeria in October to take up an appointment in the Colonial Medical Service. Miss Falconer, who qualified in London in 1935 (later obtaining the F.R.C.S. of Edinburgh) served with the R.A.M.C. from 1941 to 1946 and was demobilized with the rank of Major (surgical specialist). Her final year of war service was spent in East Africa and, since her demobilization, she has been acting as Surgical Registrar at the Royal Free Hospital, London.

Empire Forests and West Africa

A reception was held by the King at Buckingham Palace on June 25 for delegates of the Empire Forestry Conference being held in London from June 16 to July 19. West African delegates are: NIGERIA—Mr. F. S. Collier (Chief Conservator of Forests), Mr. D. McIntosh (Senior Conservator of Forests) and Mr. T. I. Rees (Assistant Conservator of Forests); GOLD COAST—Mr. G. Vigne (Conservator of Forests) and Mr. D. Kinloch (Senior Conservator of Forests). Mr. W. McLaren represents The United Africa Company. The programme provides for a 15 days conference and much of the remainder of the time will be spent visiting State forests in Britain.

African Chief at St. Peters

Don Pedro IV., a 75-year-old chief from the Congo, was one of 500 pilgrims representing the Portuguese Empire at a triple canonization ceremony held in St. Peter's, in the presence of the Pope on June 22. Although ill from his long journey, the chief still carried two large elephant tusks which he presented to the Pope. Joao de Britto, the new Portuguese Saint, was born in 1647 and spent most of his life as a missionary in India where, after much suffering, he was beheaded.

Too Much Coal?

The use of coal in its present form may have entered a long-term decline, states the report of the first session of the U.N. Economic Mission for Europe. The implication of the uses of water-power, oil and electro-chemistry must be considered in the solution of immediate problems. In the not too distant future, atomic energy may deal another blow to the coal industry. It was possible that the basic situation in coal may change before such factors come into play. "In a foreseeable future, Europe may have to face an oversupply of coal instead of scarcity."

Government Lotteries Again

Government lotteries are still news at Westminster. Mr. Creech Jones told an M.P. that: "A Government lottery has been in operation in Malta for a good many years and one is to be introduced in Gibraltar. Premium bonds have been issued by the Governments of Palestine and Cyprus. No general instructions have been issued to Colonial Governments on this subject. I do not myself favour Government lotteries as an expedient of general application and where Colonial Governments can raise money on reasonable terms by straight loan I prefer that to premium loans. But I think each case should be considered on its merits in the light of local circumstances, including particularly, local opinion."

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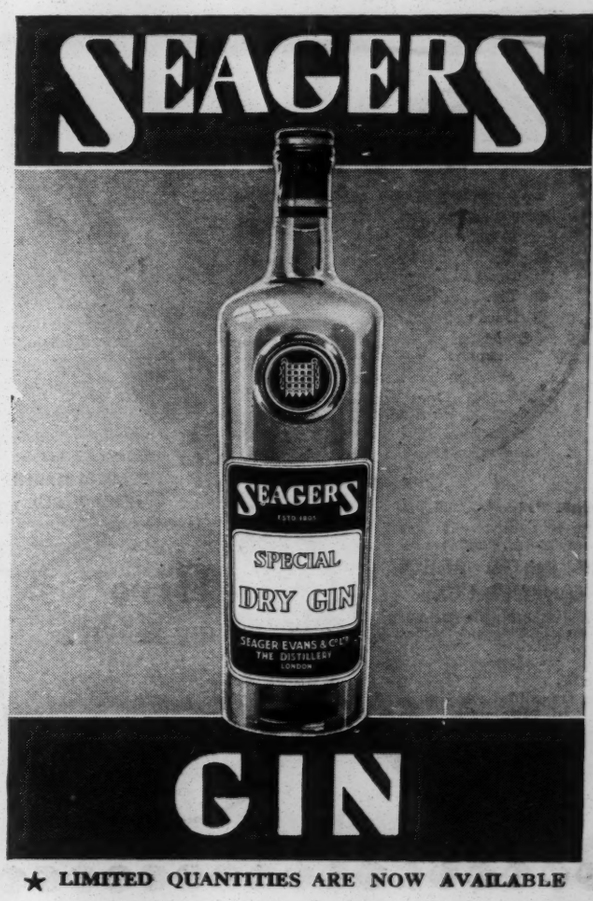

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Gold Coast Police Band

A recital by the Gold Coast Police Band will be broadcast in the Home Service Programme on July 11 at 2 p.m. Another broadcast is to be made on July 15. Both these programmes were recorded at the B.B.C. Maida Vale Studios on June 26. Two days earlier, the Africans gave a concert at the Cadbury Bros. factory, Bournville, where they were able to see bags of cocoa labelled "from the Gold Coast" being processed into chocolate.

Colonial Rubber

A British Colonial delegation, led by Sir Gerard Clauson (Colonial Office Assistant Under-Secretary of State) is attending the fourth meeting of the Rubber Study Group being held in Paris from July 1/8. Nearly twenty countries are represented as members or observers and include delegations for the United Kingdom and Ceylon.

Grants for West Africa

Among grants totalling £1,755,040 allocated to the Colonial Empire during April and May, were £763,154 (for Nigerian building programmes), £105,430 (for a nutrition field research station in the Gambia) and £565 (for pest infestation survey in West Africa).

Nigerian Cotton

The Empire Cotton Growing Corporation progress report for seasons 1945/46 indicates that land mulching at the end of the rainy season was attempted in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria to preserve moisture content in the soil. Although the difference in yield was not significant, it is thought that mulching increased the maturity of the lint. A survey is to be carried out at Ibadan to determine the effect of pink bollworm on yield.

Coloured Boxers

The Boxing Board of Control is to amend its rule preventing boxers of coloured parentage competing in British championships. Details of the revised ruling have not yet been issued but it is probable that coloured boxers born in in this country will be eligible for British titles.

Health Conference

The three-day Commonwealth and Empire Health and Tuberculosis Conference which is to open on July 8 at the Central Hall, Westminster, will hold a session on Colonial Tuberculosis Services on July 10 when speakers will include Dr. James G. Turner (Director, Medical Services, Accra). Dr. Wilson Rae (Deputy Chief Medical Officer, Colonial Office) and Dr. James A. Crocket (late Gold Coast Medical Service) are also expected to take part.

Exhibition Sequel

Author of *Pagan Life on the Nigerian Plateau*, a photographic exhibition held last February at Ilford Galleries, High Holborn, Mr. Joseph Denfield describes his Nigerian experiences in the June 18 issue of *The Amateur Photographer*. Apart from climatic difficulties, Denfield had to overcome the natural cautiousness of Pagan tribes in the north but found them excellent subjects once they had forgotten their fear of the camera. He hopes to return to West Africa some time with a cine camera and colour film to do justice "to this land of vivid colour."

Guianese Studies

A Felix Eboué Prize of 10,000 francs has been instituted by the Foyer Felix Eboué. It will be awarded each year for a work on Guianese folklore, history or geography.

New Deal for Colonies

The British Society for International Understanding has recently acquired premises in London in the house where Benjamin Franklin once lived. One of the first publications to be issued since moving into new quarters is *A New Deal for the Colonies*. Compiled as a part of *British Survey*, it is being sold for sixpence and gives a résumé of developments in the Colonial Empire since 1940.

Africans Represent Ireland and Scotland

Athletes in the tournament between England, Scotland and Ireland held in Edinburgh on July 5 included visitors from the Colonies eligible under the new rule requiring only

BIG ARMY PROPOSED FOR WEST AFRICA

Preparation For Life as Civilians

By our Parliamentary Correspondent

IN a Debate on Manpower in the Colonial Empire on August 5, Brigadier Mackeson said: "I believe that we should have an Army Corps in East Africa and an Army Corps in West Africa of about 100,000 each." Brigadier Mackeson, who stressed that "in any plan for the Colonies, we are working primarily for the Colonial people and only incidentally for ourselves," said he was surprised, as an old soldier, that Colonial troops had not been considered in relation to the policy of cutting down British Armed Forces. The Colonial Army was twice the size it was before the war, whereas the British Army was four times the size it was before the war. It was difficult to get recruits in the United Kingdom after a war and a great potential source of manpower was being lost by not using more African troops.

Would be Fully Trained

"I am envisaging a big African Army," said Brigadier Mackeson, "with about three years' minimum service, of which the last six months, at least, would be served in vocational training—learning the veterinary service, agriculture, methods that should be taken to stop soil erosion, simple sanitation, and things of that kind, and that the man should then go out. He would be fully trained and on reserve for six years and be, broadly speaking, a better citizen if intelligently handled."

Jobs Reserved for Volunteers

"We have," said Brigadier Mackeson, "a tremendous number of teachers to find, and buildings to erect, in this country and goodness knows how we can expect to find the necessary cash to increase education abroad. I believe that, by taking on the best of these men as volunteers for three, six, or nine years, we would be able to make them first-class junior administrators in the Forces and in civil life. I think that a certain proportion of the appointments in the Colonial Service might possibly be reserved for them."

Africa Self-Governing Commonwealth

"We want," concluded Brigadier Mackeson, "to see Africa eventually brought into the Commonwealth as a self-governing dominion or commonwealth—or whatever the word may be—we shall no doubt change our words as time goes on. I believe a great contribution can be made by us to the people of the Colonies and they can make a great contribution to us. I suggest that, in our present shortage of troops, we should recruit more soldiers in Africa, not for offensive purposes but simply for internal work and as potential reserves to support the U.N. later on, but at present to support the British way of life. We may also have the idea that, in some small way, that will help us in the problems which we have to face tomorrow."

"They are British Subjects"

Captain Gammans said: "Surely nothing could be more fantastic than that there should be 5,000 or 6,000 unemployed people in Malta and more than that in the West Indies, of men who went out during the war to help the United States in their labour shortage, when we want those people here. They are British subjects. They are keen to help us, and they are capable of doing so. We want to know whether the Government is thinking of those people in connexion with the labour shortage, which exists not only in the Armed Forces, but in industry, nursing and in many other jobs.

"I hope that the hon. Gentleman will really say something on these subjects. None of his honourable colleagues have said anything on the subject. I do not want to trespass upon what we may be talking about tomorrow, but I am absolutely convinced that we shall never be able to give a decent standard of living again to the people of this country if we merely think of our resources in terms of the manpower of this island. Only in so far as we think of our resources both in men and material of the whole Empire can we do that."

"What always strikes me as so fantastic is that if East and West Africa were joined to this country by a piece of land, even although that piece of land were only a sandy desert, we should think automatically of the problem as a whole, both in regard to resources and also in terms of defence. The United States do that and so does Russia, but merely because we—a great maritime Power—are divided by a piece of sea, how fantastic it is that we should treat Empire resources, and the resources of this country separately. Only in so far as we are prepared to regard them as one, can we get out of our own troubles and, at the same time, do our duty to the peoples of the Colonial Empire."

Nucleus of Productivity

Mr. Harold Davies said: "Rather than import foreign labour I would look in our own Colonies, I would look in the various parts of the Commonwealth to see where we have redundant labour and, if we have it, train it, bring it to this country so that, after serving a period of apprenticeship and having helped our productivity and output, that manpower or womanpower could go back to the Colonies and be a nucleus of productivity there. Consequently, I believe that the Colonial Office and our Minister of Labour should look more to our Colonial dependencies and to the Commonwealth to help us solve this manpower problem."

Neither Fish, Fowl nor Good Red Herring

Mr. Davis said he was "all agin" creating the babu in these Colonial areas, "men who are just pushing a pen, who are neither fish, fowl nor good red herring, who become declassed so far as their own people are concerned and so far as the white people are concerned."

Some Form of Labour Corps

"This is a slow process. When we attack the tribal customs, I believe it is by some form of labour corps under the Army that we can show them the mistakes of the tribal customs, maintaining the best of those customs without creating pen-pushers all over the Colonies. We must recreate, in the Colonies, Ruskin's dignity of labour, and that needs a first-class plan of mass education. While I want universities, do not let us begin with universities, but on a lower scale, where we can teach ordinary Colonial men and women, who have a fund of commonsense and, in some directions, a richness of knowledge often far beyond that of the white man, to build roads, simple methods of drainage, simple methods of the best use of their cattle and pasture."

Right at Top or Bottom?

"I know," said Mr. Davies, "that our Colonial Office is spending millions on this, but are they beginning right at the top or right at the bottom? We ought to create a corps of well-trained people to teach these elementary things about living before we think of the academic things so far as Colonial manpower and womanpower is concerned."

One Pound Change

Mr. Rankin said there was a time in the development of our African Colonies when it could be said with truth that for every £12 of wealth that we created in that part of the world, we took out £11 and left £1 for the Natives. That fact, to a large extent, contributes to the difficulties that face us in Africa today."

"I am perfectly prepared," said Mr. Rankin, "to welcome whatever help we may get in manpower towards the building up of this nation of ours and the Colonies, but I am not in the least keen on seeing us building up African or other Colonial physical fodder in order to provide troops for this country in carrying out, perhaps, policies in the

forming of which no consultation has taken place with the Africans themselves. I strongly reject that part of the hon. and gallant Gentleman's speech in which he suggested that the African might make a contribution to our military power."

Brigadier Mackeson: "Perhaps I did not make it clear that, in my view, all these men must be volunteers. In those circumstances, surely the hon. Member, whatever his views, might change that opinion?"

Full Right of Imperial Citizenship

Mr. Wilkes said: "Voluntary recruitment, from my own experience of the Colonial Empire, will be much accelerated and increased if we make it clear to the Colonial peoples that they come into the British Army, if they come in at all, with a full responsibility and a full right of Imperial citizenship, and that no position, no course, no establishment should be barred to them should they show the necessary initiative and ability to benefit by it."

Train Manpower in Colonies

Major Legge-Bourke said: "One of the things on which we must concentrate more than anything else is not so much to bring manpower from the Colonies to this country, but to try to train the manpower in the Colonies and, indeed, in the Dominions as well, so that they may become skilled technicians alongside our own men and, if necessary, that we should be prepared to send out our technicians to help train them, so that they can build up industries in the Colonies, so that we can base regional defence, not merely on manpower, but also on the great industries to keep them fully equipped."

"We are a First-Class Power"

Mr. Ivor Thomas (Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies) in his reply, said: "We should be a third-class Power if we had to rely solely on these islands. If we had to rely solely on the 47 million people in these islands, great as I believe are our natural virtues and great as is the fertility of our soil and the riches underneath it, we might indeed sink to the level of a third-class Power. But we are, and shall remain, a first-class Power, because we are more than this Island. We are the centre of a great Commonwealth and Empire, and as long as the United Kingdom remains the centre of that great Commonwealth and Empire, our voice will never fail to command attention in the councils of the world."

Colonial Office Theme

Referring to the proposed increased development of the Colonial Empire he said: "There is, at this moment, a double interest and the theme to which we are working in the Colonial Office is that Great Britain's need is the Colonies' opportunity. It is a unique opportunity for us to help ourselves and, at the same time, to lead the Colonial Empire to standards that have not hitherto been thought possible."

Great Untapped Assets

Turning to the question of using the manpower in the Colonies "which has rightly been described as one of our great untapped assets," Mr. Thomas said that, in the West Indies, there was unemployment, and supply and demand were practically in equilibrium in West Africa. In East Africa, there was competition for labour and many industries were finding it quite difficult to obtain labour. In the Far East again, there was a shortage of labour in particular directions. Some people, in moments of forgetfulness or petulance, accused the African of being lazy. "I do not think," said Mr. Thomas, "that that is the position."

African Not Lazy

"The African is easy going but not, I think, lazy. The heart of the problem is that ages of disease and undernourishment and malnutrition have weakened his capacity for work, and one of the main problems before us is to restore that capacity for work by medical measures and by better nutrition and, as the House well knows, many steps are being taken in that direction."

Two Pillars

Mr. Thomas said: "There could be no real self-government if a country were forced to look elsewhere for its local defence, any more than there could be real self-government if it had to look elsewhere for its finance. Therefore, these are two of the main pillars of British Colonial policy—there must be self-finance and self-defence."

Africans Home-Loving People

"Africans, no less than other persons and, in some ways, more than other persons, are home-loving people. Like everyone else, they wish to get back to their wives and children, and I have no doubt that, if the British Forces were placed in the same situation, they also would have diminished in the same ratio. At the present time, Regular Units are maintained in East and West Africa under the control of the War Office—to whom, of course, detailed questions should be addressed—each of about divisional strength, trained in modern warfare and capable of expansion in time of war."

Colour Bar Not Tolerated

"I can say now that, wherever the Colonial Office are responsible, we do not tolerate a colour bar. From time to time, I have had to deal with such questions arising in the Colonies, and we have never countenanced a colour bar."

Troops of Particular Colony

"Self-defence and self-finance must go together and that does impose a limiting factor on the number of troops that can be raised. Until we can raise the economic standards of the Colonies, it is impossible to raise the Forces to the level desired by the hon. and gallant Member who opened the Debate.

"My final word must be to say: We must never think of these troops as being of benefit to the United Kingdom alone. I am sure the hon. and gallant Member for Hythe (Brigadier Mackeson) would agree. We must think of them as the troops of the particular Colony."

England in August

Dry ditches and ripening berries. Thistle and tansy, and the first gleams of gold among the bracken. Burnt furze at the cliff-top and a whirr of wings above the stubble field.

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PRESIDENT TRUMAN PICTURED WITH CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE—*Second from left is Dr. Channing Tobias of New York; standing at the President's right, Mrs. Sadie Alexander of Philadelphia; and between Mrs. Alexander and President Truman, Charles E. Wilson, chairman of committee and president of General Electric.*

32,30,8

CIVIL RIGHTS

President Truman's Committee Reports: One of the most straight-spoken documents to be issued under government auspices is the report of The President's Committee on Civil Rights, presented by the committee to President Truman on October 29, 1947. "To Secure These Rights," the title of the report comes from a phrase in the Declaration of Independence, gives a careful analysis of the extent of the violations of civil rights in the United States and then offers a series of practical suggestions as to how the American people can best cope with these infractions. The report is epoch-making not for any originality of discovery or interpretation, but because of the stature of the committee which drew it up and because is has the official endorsement of the president of the United States.

"I am going to read and study this report with great care and I recommend to all my countrymen that they do the same thing . . . The need for such a charter was never greater than at this moment . . .," said Mr. Truman.

Thurgood Marshall, NAACP chief counsel, has pledged fullest support of the recommendations of the committee, and adds that the NAACP is naturally gratified since the suggestion for such a committee was made to President Truman at a conference in the White House, September 19, 1946, by a committee of citizens assembled by the Association following the Columbia, Tennessee, disturbances and the Monroe, Georgia, lynchings of last year. President Truman created the fifteen-member committee by executive order on December 5, 1946. In a wire to President Truman, Walter White, on behalf of the Association, characterizes the report as "beyond all question the most forthright governmental pronouncement of a practical program for assurance of civil rights . . . to all Americans which has yet been drafted." And the New York *Herald Tribune* stated editorially in its issue of October 30, 1947, that the recommendations of the report when "Consolidated into a single program make up a massive attack upon prejudice itself—an attack on the blindness, the barbarisms, the denials of right and opportunity still marring our democracy . . ."

The 178-page report is divided into four sections: (1) "The American Heritage: the Promise of Freedom, Equality," (2) "The Record: Short of the Goal," (3) "Government's Responsibility: Securing the Rights," and (4) "A Program of Action: the Committee's Recommendations."

Among the failures the report notes: "Too many of our people still live under the harrowing fear of violence or death at the hands of a mob or of brutal treatment by police officers." Though the report calls attention to the decline in lynchings, it states that "lynching remains one of the most serious threats to the civil rights of Americans."

Police brutality "against Negroes . . . is a serious reflection on American justice." "It is particularly unfortunate that the jury system has not always served to protect the rights of the minority to a fair trial."

Peonage is a threat to the uneducated and the underprivileged, and "If economic conditions deteriorate, a more general recurrence of peonage may be anticipated." "The most striking mass interference since slavery with the right to physical freedom was the evacuation and exclusion of persons of Japanese descent from the West Coast during the past war."

"The denial of the suffrage on account of race is the most serious present interference with the right to vote. . . . The poll tax has curtailed the size of the entire electorate, white and Negro."

Negroes suffer from discrimination in the armed services and bias in the national guards. Discrimination in hiring policies are "most acutely felt by minority group members in their inability to get a job suited to their qualifications."

The South's segregated school system directly discriminates against the Negro and opportunities for Negroes in public institutions at the professional and graduate level in the South "are severely limited."

"The District of Columbia should symbolize to our own citizens and to the people of all countries our great tradition of civil liberty. Instead, it is a graphic illustration of a failure of a democracy."

Among remedial measures the report suggests:

"The reorganization of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice to provide for: the establishment of regional offices; a substantial increase in its appropriations . . .; an increase in investigative action in the absence of complaints; the greater use of civil sanctions; and its elevation to the status of a full division in the Department of Justice."

The establishment of a special civil rights unit within the FBI; the establishment of a permanent commission on civil rights; action by the states and Congress to end poll taxes as a voting prerequisite; establishment of local self-government in the District of Columbia as well as abolition of racial discrimination and segregation; abolition of discrimination in the armed services; enactment of a federal FEPC act; enactment by the states of laws outlawing restrictive covenants; the enactment by Congress of an anti-lynching law; and elimination of segregation based on race, color, creed, or national origin, from American life.

JIM CROW

North and South: Among recent cases of jim crow which have been brought to the attention of the national office are the following. In White Plains, N. Y., the attempt of the YMCA to set up a jim-crow branch has been denounced by prominent Negro civic and community leaders. The fight against the segregated YMCA is being led by the White Plains branch, which is calling for an "end of the preposterous claim that Negroes of White Plains want a jim-crow YMCA." Negroes want integration in the present YMCA.

Because of the segregated housing policies of the FHA at Willow Run, Michigan, the board of education in that township has found it possible to

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP DRIVE *of Baltimore, Md., branch was endorsed by Henry A. Wallace as he took out a personal membership. Clarence Parham, executive secretary branch, Mr. Wallace, and Marion O. Bond, campaign director.*

set up a system of partially segregated schools. Irate Negro parents and other groups picketed the jim-crow school in September when colored children were transferred from the mixed Ross school.

Fletcher C. Waller, director of the office of organization and personnel of the Atomic Energy Commission, pledges to NAACP labor secretary Clarence Mitchell that the AEC will not permit discrimination in its hiring policies on the basis of race.

In Atlanta, Georgia, the suit to equalize the salaries of the Atlanta Negro teachers began trial in the U. S. District Court in that city on November 10. As result of a series of contrived postponements, the case had been pending since 1943.

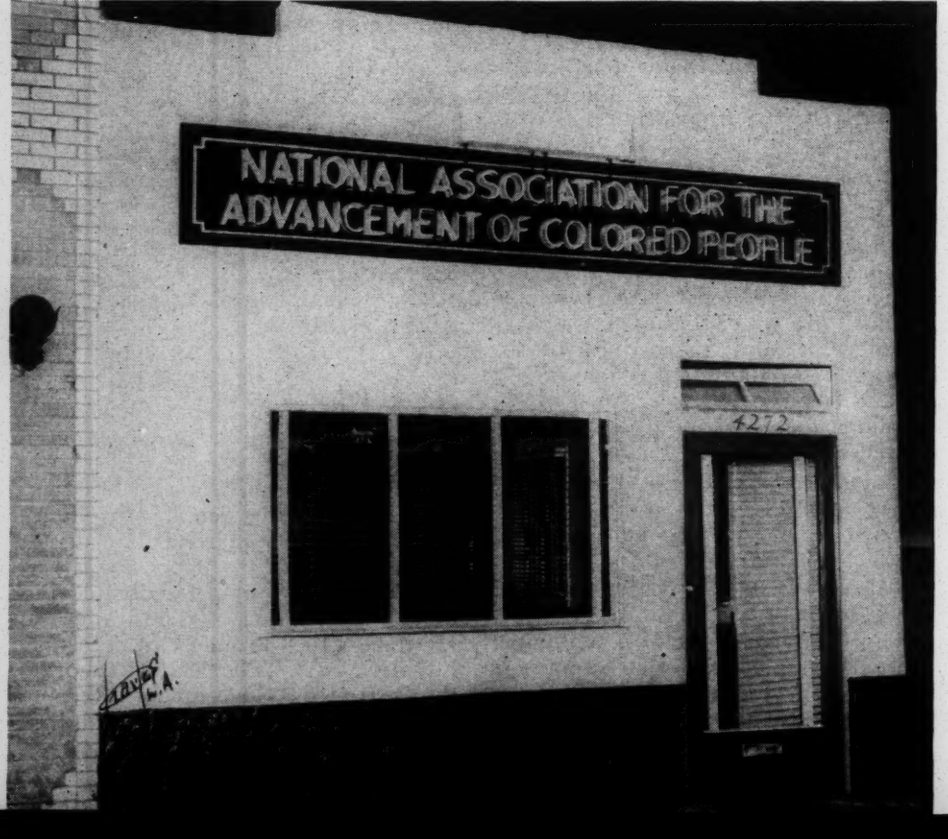
MEDICINE

Medical Program Suggested: The Association has urged that President Truman give consideration to the following eight-point medical program:

(1) Opening the doors of existing medical schools to properly qualified Negro candidates. (2) Strategic location of new medical schools, if constructed, where they can serve all qualified students regardless of race. They should not be constructed as exclusively Negro schools and none should be located in the South unless the federal government is willing to protect attending Negro students at all times from physical violence. (3) Expansion of Howard and Meharry by federal funds should be contemplated only in proportion to the expansion of other medical schools and not as a major contribution to Negro medical education. (4) Improvement on all levels of present substandard premedical training for Negroes in the South.

(5) Federal scholarship aid to needy students of all races in standard medical schools through the Federal Security Agency. Jim-crow scholarships

NEW OFFICE—*Exterior night view of new office of Los Angeles, California, branch at 4272 South Central Avenue showing neon sign.*



are neither desired nor wanted. (6) Non-discrimination in awarding interneships and residencies in accordance with the non-discrimination provision of the Hall-Burton hospital construction bill.

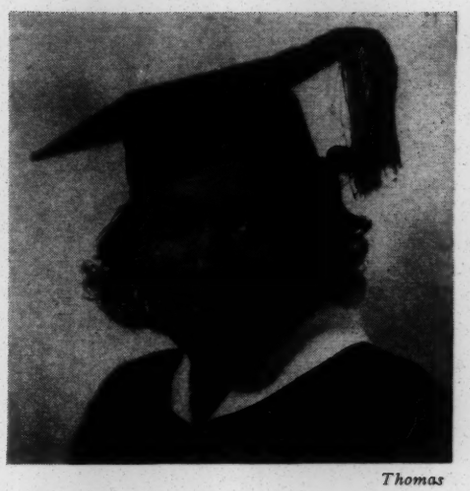
(7) Extension of the program of the Public Health Service to whites and Negroes in the South where it is most needed. Integration of Negro professional personnel at all levels. (8) Making rural and semi-rural areas of the South habitable for trained physicians and their families, since the need for medical care of both whites and Negroes is most acute here.

COURT CASES

Patton Appeal: The case of *Eddie ("Buster") Patton* v. *Mississippi* was argued before the U. S. Supreme Court during the last of November. Patton was tried and convicted by the circuit court of Lauderdale county, Mississippi, for the alleged murder of Jim Meadows, a white man, and sentenced to death by electrocution. Upon appeal to the highest court of Mississippi, the conviction was affirmed and the sentence ordered executed. By a writ of certiorari the Association brought the case before the U. S. Supreme Court on the grounds that Negroes have been systematically excluded from grand and petit juries in Lauderdale county and that force and duress was used in extracting the alleged confession from Patton.

Richland Appeal: Members of the Democratic executive committee of Richland county, S. C., and the election managers of Ward 9, precinct of that county, who are appealing the recent decisions of U. S. District Court Judge J. Waites Waring, restraining them from refusing to permit qualified Negroes from voting in the Democratic primaries of South Carolina, argued their appeal in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, meeting in Baltimore, Md., on November 18.

The original suit was filed by the NAACP on behalf of George Elmore and other Negroes similarly situated in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina on February 21, 1947. Judge Waring ruled on July 12, 1947, that the Democratic primary conducted by these defendants was not an activity of a private voluntary association as contended by the defendants, and held further that although in 1944 the state of South Carolina had repealed all of its state statutes regulating primary elections, these defendants were still performing the same state function as had been performed prior to this repeal,



Thomas

CHARTER MEMBER *Montgomery, Alabama, youth council, Jimmie L. Robinson.*

since they were continuing to conduct the only effective election in the state.

What the Branches Are Doing

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: First complete-membership fall meeting of the WASHINGTON branch was held on October 19 in the John Wesley church, 14th and Corcoran Streets, N.W. Main topics of discussion were the suit against the board of education for complete integration of colored pupils in the school system and discussion of local police problems.

A concerted drive for funds to support the suit against the Washington board of education has already been launched by the branch. The suit was filed by the legal staff, headed by Dr. Leon A. Ransome, and represents the case of Marguerite Daisy Carr, who "brings this action not only in respect of her own complaints, but on behalf of all such others so similarly situated," versus Hobart M. Corning, as superintendent of the public schools, and all members of the board of education.

The complaint asks for a "mandatory injunction and for a declaratory judgment" and requests that the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia advance "this cause upon the docket of the court" for a speedy trial of the issue, said issue being that neither the laws of the United States nor the laws of the District of Columbia make the establishment or maintenance of separate schools for the white and Negro races in the District of Columbia mandatory; that the defendants have exceeded their power and authority and have acted without even the color of the law, requiring the plaintiff and those on whose behalf she sues to attend separate and segregated schools solely on account of their race and color.

Marguerite Daisy Carr, the plaintiff, is a student in the Browne junior high school, located at 24th Street and Benning Road, N.E., which has a rated student capacity of 888 pupils. Yet the actual student body consists of 1,707 pupils, with the result that the period of instruction in Browne is divided into two part-time sessions of four and one-half hours of instruction each as contrasted with the standard six-hour period of instruction required by the rules and regulations of the board of education.

Denied the type of instruction, and the hours, demanded by law, Miss Carr asked the principal of Browne to give her the full-time course of instruction for junior high-school pupils as demanded by law. When he refused, she asked the superintendent and the board of education to transfer her from Browne to the junior high school "next most adjacent to

INTERIOR VIEW *new offices Los Angeles, California, branch: Mildred Sanders, office secretary; Lorenzo Bowdoin, chairman housing committee; standing, Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., branch president.*

her residence"—the Eliot junior high school. This transfer was refused on the ground that Eliot is for the use of white students only. Then Miss Carr applied directly to Eliot for admission, and was again refused. And now her cause is in the hands of the branch and the court.

IOWA: A report-meeting of the DES MOINES branch was held October 19 in the Bethel AME church, with reports from the national convention by Charles P. Howard, Mrs. James B. Morris, and Ike Smalls. Musical selections were rendered by the Songfellows of the Corinthian Baptist church and the Crescent Chorus of the Crescent Beauty School.

NEW JERSEY: Rev. Spurgeon Harmon, pastor of Quinn Chapel AME church, and Stanford Welcker, president of the LONG BRANCH unit of the NAACP, spoke on the proposed new state constitution at an open forum on October 15. Milton Lipton explained the new cooperative movement in Long Branch and urged members of the audience to join.

In recognition of the important role of club women in the life of the community and in appreciation of their support of the NAACP, the ATLANTIC CITY branch on October 6 sponsored a "Ladies Night." The four club women who addressed the group were Mrs. Amy Noble Geiwitz, regional organizer for the civil liberties department of the South Jersey Elks; Mrs. Edith P. Marshall, president of the Ladies medical auxiliary of New Jersey; Mrs. Margaret L. Caution, newly elected president of the Federation of Women's Clubs of New Jersey; and Mrs. Naomi Hatcher, president of the South Jersey District of Women's Clubs.

Branch-president James E. King presented corsages to the guests of honor, to the women workers in the membership drive, and to all standing committees headed by women.

OHIO: Membership meeting of the CINCINNATI branch was held on October 26 at the Lincoln Community Center, with Joseph Hall, executive secretary of the division of Negro welfare, community chest, as guest speaker.

The continued protestations of the branch against police brutality and irregularities in Cincinnati finally bore fruit when a committee of city councilmen was appointed in October by the mayor. They have held a meeting and outlined a method for reviewing police cases.

There are eighteen of these cases to be heard, sixteen of which were filled with the Cincinnati branch. Lester P. Bailey, new executive secretary of the branch, has been appointed by the council committee to work with the office of the city solicitor in getting in touch with witnesses and in compiling information for the hearings.

Mr. Bailey, the new executive secretary, succeeds Harold Snell, who resigned on October 1 to take a job as assistant to William Townsend, president of the UTSE-CIO.

The nominating committee of the CLEVELAND branch met in historic Triedstone Baptist church on November 14 to elect officers and board members.

For several months prior to the State of Ohio PTA conference in Cincinnati, there was the question as to the treatment that would be accorded Negro delegates with respect to hotel accommodations and eating facilities. The Cleveland branch communicated with the Cincinnati office and the state conference relative to equal treatment of all delegates and was assured weeks in advance that all delegates would be accorded equal treatment.

NEWLY ORGANIZED YOUTH COUNCIL *of the Statesville, N. C., branch. Front row, L. to R: Mrs. I. M. Stockton, assistant counselor; Venice Hall, Secretary; J. C. Chambers, president; Mrs. Bessie Lawrence, counselor. Second row, Maude Thomas, assistant secretary; Louise Browner, third vice-president; Anna L. Walker, second vice-president; Vera Scott, first vice-president; and Betty Jean Allison, treasurer.*

William J. Rodgers, director department of industrial relations for Ohio, has been requested by the branch to adhere to the recommendations of the Hotel and Restaurant Minimum Wage Board.

The membership campaign of the Cleveland branch came near maintaining last year's record in a "clean-up" report meeting on October 24. Two hundred and fifty-nine memberships were reported and there is every indication that the 10,559 of last year will be attained. It is interesting to note that leaders in the campaign are maintaining their positions in memberships and money secured.

On October 9 the branch petitioned the safety director, the mayor of Cleveland, the chief of police, and the deputy inspector to include a thorough study in race relations, as well as Negroes in the classes, in an announced police-course study in race relations. Both of the recommendations received favorable consideration.

What the Regions Are Doing

WEST COAST REGION, SAN FRANCISCO: N. W. Griffin, regional secretary, has urged branches in Region I to immediately secure voting and registration information in their particular localities if they have not already done so, and to concentrate branch activities on an intelligent and continuing program designed to induce all people to register and vote.

He called the attention of branches to the fact that they are charged with the responsibility of examining proposals affecting the total community, and specifically the Negro community.

Noah W. Griffin returned in October from an extensive tour of branches in Arizona and southern California, his itinerary including visits with branches in Flagstaff, Tempe, Prescott, Winslow, Tucson and Phoenix in Arizona, and Blythe and Imperial in California.

At Blythe, California, Mr. Griffin addressed the newly formed Palo Verde Valley branch at their first meeting since charter was granted. This community includes many Negro owners of ranches and a progressive program is anticipated by the energetic officers selected. Mr. Charlie Jones is president of the branch; Mrs. Martha McCorkle, vice-president; William Jones, secretary; and Sam White, treasurer.

At Flagstaff, Arizona, on October 5, Mr. Griffin was principal speaker at a meeting held to reactivate the branch, originally chartered in July, 1919. Reverend S. Thornton was elected president and Wilson C. Riles, principal of the local elementary school, vice-president.

In Tempe, the Okema branch (on the outskirts of Phoenix) is composed largely of relative newcomers to the community. Mr. Abe Taylor is president; Mrs. Connie Braxton, secretary; and M. G. Mitchell, treasurer.

At Prescott, public schools are completely integrated, differing from the majority of

An African Republic Approaches its Centennial

By Hilyard R. Robinson

A report on Liberia's centennial victory exposition to be held in Monrovia, 1947-1949, with a brief sketch of the founding of the Republic of Liberia

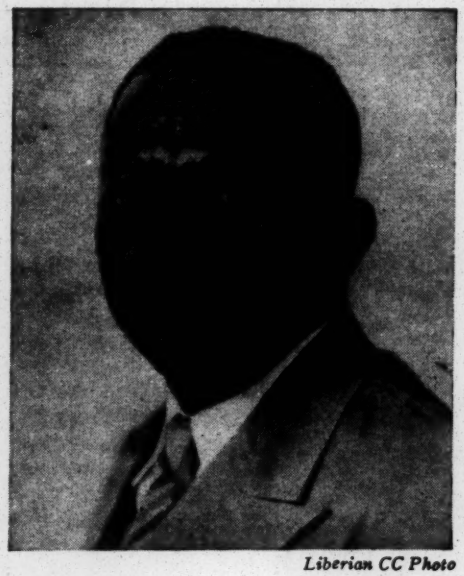
FEW governments have achieved an uninterrupted near-century of existence as a republic; such, however, is the record of the West African Republic of Liberia.[1]

Apparently recognizing this most singular position of his country, President William V. S. Tubman, of Liberia, recently declared, "One hundred years of national sovereignty is an event which the Government and people of Liberia will observe and celebrate with just and modest pride." In these words President Tubman introduced the Liberian Centennial and Victory Exposition now being planned by Liberia as a major event in its Centenary to be observed July 26, 1947.

Devoted to the theme, *Liberia in the World at Peace,* this International Exposition—to be held in the capital city of Monrovia, 1947-1949—will present to the world a unified and comprehensive demonstration of Liberia's planning for its improved social and economic development and to focus attention upon that nation's program to link itself with other peoples in achieving a sustained world peace based on cooperation, mutual understanding and progressive enterprise.

Members of the world family of nations in the Americas, Europe, Asia and Africa have been invited to join Liberia in the celebration of its century of nationhood. Many of these nations will participate in the Exposition. Cooperating foreign governments will contribute exhibits to be housed in buildings especially designed for effectve display.

In accord with the theme of the Exposition major Liberian exhibits will present agriculture, transportation and communications, industrial arts and handicrafts, commercial and industrial concessions. Special attention will be given by the Government to exhibits covering items of historic and commemorative interest together with economic and social programs in the field of health, education and town planning. Native art in African culture, viewed together with its foreign extensions, will vie with entertainment best described as uniquely African.



Liberian CC Photo

President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia, inaugurated January, 1944, to serve eight-year term ending 1952.

The responsibility for the development and promotion of the Centennial and Victory Exposition rests in the "Liberian Centennial Commission" appointed by the President of the Republic. Officers of the Commission are Dr. G. W. Gibson, former Liberian Secretary of Public Instruction, Commissioner; Dixon B. Brown, Deputy Commissioner; Hilyard R. Robinson, architect and city planner, Technical Director; and Joseph F. Dennis, Secretary. Committees of prominent Liberians and a national advisory body complete the administration of the Commission.

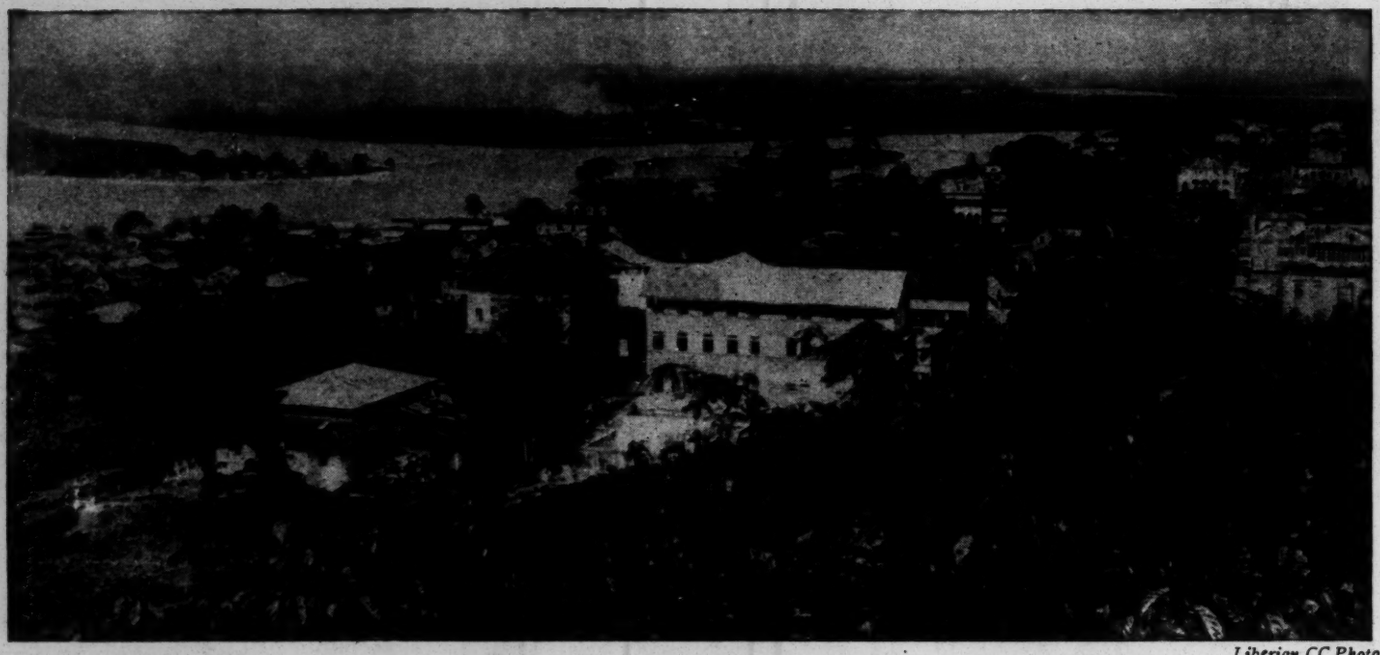
Liberian Centennial

Commenting on the Centennial of the Republic of Liberia, President Tubman recently declared, "We shall jubilently celebrate our Centenary first: in grateful recognition and acknowledgement of the countless blessings vouchsafed unto us as a government and people by deity, whose sustaining and all protecting might has supported our efforts to maintain our national standard at full staff amidst terrible odds and vicissitudes; secondly, with full realization and complete agreement with the only axiom that serves as the mighty bulwarks of Democracy: *the Independence of nations as of individuals is essential to continued peaceful and resourceful existence.* It will be most gratifying to have, along with others, the people of the United States of America whence the Pioneers of Liberia came to participate with us in the celebration of our Centennial."

A review of the history of Liberia brings into sharp focus the close relationship that has existed between the United States and this small West African Republic. It is noteworthy that similar moral forces form the bedrock for the foundation of both the United States and Liberia—each being products of a people's search for freedom, though encouraged and sustained by quite divergent circumstances.

The United States and the Republic of Liberia, together with England, have provided a uniquely linked extension of English speaking people into the continents of Europe, North America and Africa. The good that has slowly filtered through the tortured but tough historic roots of these nations—the great and the small—helps build, in this internationally sensitive postwar era, a

[1] Located on the West African coast southeast of British Sierra Leone, west of the French Ivory Coast and south of French Guinea, Liberia covers an area of about 43,000 square miles (considerably larger than the combined areas of Holland and Belgium), and extends inland 200 miles with a 350-mile coast line on the Atlantic Ocean. Her population of approximately 2,500,000 Negroes is divided politically into three large provinces, five counties and one territory.



Liberian CC Photo

Water front view of Monrovia taken just prior to evacuation of the area for the port development currently under construction. The new harbor is to be located on Bushrod Island across the Mesurado river from the city and will be connected to the capital by bridge. A small portion of Bushrod Island may be seen at the extreme left of photo, with historic Providence Island to the right completely surrounded by water. At the right is seen the city's main street on which are situated several of the buildings which comprise Liberia's current government center. The city of Monrovia was named in 1824 for President James Monroe of the United States.

world unity based on mutual cooperation and respect gained from enlightened understanding. The spark of political kinship between Liberia and the United States has never glowed brighter, over the near century span, than today.

Almost every school child in the United States knows the story of the Pilgrim Fathers who in 1620 anchored the "Mayflower" off the New England Plymouth Rock, thus ending the first leg of their search for religious freedom. Few school children know, however, of the black Pilgrim Fathers who, two hundred years later, sailed aboard the "Elizabeth" from America to West Africa in search of a freedom, the meaning of which we today find described in the universally broadcast "four freedoms."

Birth of a Nation

Here is a thumb-nail sketch of the birth of an African nation whose early settlers were led by eighty-eight inspired American Negro emigrants who had quit the temperate Eastern Coast of the United States in the early 19th century. This new African republic followed the usual evolutionary steps noted in the growth of many a pioneer nation. First, there was the period of colonization, followed by the era of the commonwealth, which was dramatically ended when the people declared themselves a free and independent nation.

Impetus for the founding of a West African home for freed Negroes may have had its inception as early as 1773 when Dr. Samuel Hopkins and Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College, suggested the colonization of freed persons of color in Africa. By December, 1816, when American citizens Henry Clay, Elijah Caldwell and Robert Finley assembled a group in Washington, D. C., to discuss plans for the colonization of freed persons of African descent, "by their consent," public opinion was quite fertile for such a venture. The "abolition movement" had gained considerable popularity in the northern United States and was to reach a new high in 1821 when Benjamin Lundy, a New Jersey Quaker who adopted Negro emancipation as his life mission, suggested the establishment of colonies of freed slaves in Haiti and started a supporting weekly periodical under the title, *Genius of Universal Emancipation.*

Consequently, the proponents of colonization experienced little difficulty in organizing the American Colonization Society in January, 1817, with, among other important functionnaires, U. S. Supreme Court Justice Bushrod Washington, a nephew of George Washington, as president; Robert Finley, a former president of the University of Georgia, and Francis Scott Key, author of the "Star Spangled Banner," vice presidents; and Elijah Caldwell, clerk of the United States Supreme Court, secretary. In the first three-quarters of a century of the Society's stimulated activity, approximately three hundred auxiliary societies were organized throughout the United States, with about one hundred and fifty of the societies being located in southern and border states.

The "Who's Who" character of the official membership roster of the American Colonization Society, together with the nationally broad coverage of its auxiliary branches hardly invites question as to the popularity in the United States of that Society's colonization program. Motives for support, however, were not all esesntially humanitarian.

Number of Emigrants

According to tabulations compiled from American Colonization Society *Annual Reports,* during the period 1820 through 1900, the Society and its affiliated auxiliaries sponsored the emigration of slightly over 15,000 persons to Liberia from thirty-two states, the District of Columbia, and British Barbados. The largest annual emigration figure recorded by the Society was for the year 1832 when it sponsored the emigration of 796 persons to Liberia.

To implement early Afro-American colonization in West Africa, the American Colonization Society[2] was made the

[2] The Washington and New York branches of the American Colonization Society still maintain a cooperative interest in Liberia through support given to an educational project in that country.

Liberian CC Photo

On the occasion of the opening of the bridge connecting the port facilities on Bushrod Island to the mainland, President William V. S. Tubman and officials of his government participated in ceremonies sponsored by his administration and officials of the U. S. government. President Tubman is shown eighth from left with vice-president C. L. Simpson at Tubman's left. On extreme left is Commander Trimble, port construction officer, U. S. Navy. Vice-president McMinimer of the Raymond Concrete Pile Company, contractor for the port, is shown at extreme right. The harbor is being constructed under the supervision of the U. S. Navy.

quasi-official and principal instrument. However, before the American Colonization Society completed plans for founding a colony in Africa, a zealous American black man of means, Paul Cuffe succeeded in organizing a group of colonists and set sail for West Africa where they finally established homes in Sierra Leone.

In 1820 the first American Colonization Society–sponsored emigrants left the United States for Sierra Leone. Dissatisfied with the site, the small body of pioneers and their Colonization Society agents sailed south to Sherbro Island, where they made further attempt to settle. At Sherbro, twenty-two members of the party, including all white persons of the group, of whom three were Colonization agents, died of fever.

Discouraged, the remaining settlers led by Negroes, Daniel Coker and Elijah Johnson—the latter a veteran of America's War of 1812, returned to Sierra Leone. Late in 1821 these colonists were joined by Eli Ayers, American Colonization Society agent, and Lt. R. F. Stockton, who formed an expedition which traveled south along the coast of Africa and acquired land contingent to the present city of Monrovia on Cape Montserrado. This purchase was negotiated with native Kings Peter, George, Yoda and Long Peter of the Dey Tribes, and included a strip of coastal land extending 130 miles along the sea and forty miles inland.

Early in January, 1822, the settlers arrived at the site of their new colony where they attempted settlement on Bushrod Island, a small island just off the Cape. Although this territory had been "legally" acquired from the "lords of the land," the newcomers were attacked by hostile natives and driven to nearby Providence Island where they were given refuge by John Mill, a mulatto English trader, who operated along the West African Coast, Providence Island was so named because the colonists were confident that here providence had designated a spot where they would be "free to serve God as they chose and would no longer suffer at the hands of oppressors." It was here that Elijah Johnson, determined to establish a new home, voiced his opposition to the retreat by his now famous statement: "Two long years have I sought a home; here I have found one; here will I remain." This persistence has characterized the determined will to survive of this lone small West African Republic.

When Colonization Society Agents departed for America, Johnson took over leadership of the colony and remained in that capacity until the arrival of another agent, Jehudi Ashmun, in August, 1822. Ashmun became truly a great leader—sympathetic, resourceful and energetic to the extreme who after losing his wife through "the fever" finally exhausted himself in behalf of the colony and cause in which he so completely believed. Should an individual be nominated as founder of the Liberian Commonwealth, Ashmun would rate high, if not on top. During the eight months prior to Ashmun's arrival, the settlers fought off hostile natives, moved to the mainland, and started the settlement which is now Monrovia.

While the settlers, under the leadership of Ashmun and Johnson worked and fought to survive on the difficult West African coast, the American Colonization Society continued to promote and expand itself as an instrumentality for colonization and sent more emigrants overseas. The national organization met each year in Washington to receive reports of the progress of its settlement and project plans for the colony's further development.

When the Society assembled on February 20, 1824, in the Supreme Court room of the Capitol Building at Washington, General Robert Harper of Maryland, addressing the body advised it that its settlement as of that date had no name. "In reflecting upon this circumstance," announced General Harper, "I have thought of a name that is different, short, familiar and expresses the true object and nature of the establishment. I propose to call the colony *Liberia*, because it denotes a settlement of persons made free." So, the nameless piece of territory became *Liberia*, symbolizing freedom. And since President Monroe had been instrumental in encouraging the colonization movement, the principal city of the colony was named *Monrovia* in his honor. It is now a city of about 10,000 inhabitants.

New Constitution

In 1838 the American Colonization Society drew up a new constitution for Liberia, which gave commonwealth status to the colony, thus enabling its people to gain experience in organized representative government. Later a movement was launched which termi-

nated in a convention which on July 26, 1847, issued a document declaring the Commonwealth a free and independent nation designated as the *Republic of Liberia* with a form of government and flag similar to that of the United States. Justifying Liberia's demand for nationhood, the draftsmen of its Declaration of Independence wrote in part:

"We the people of the Republic of Liberia, were originally the inhabitants of the United States of North America. The western coast of Africa was selected by American benevolence and philanthropy for our future home. Removed beyond those influences which depressed us in our native land, it was hoped that we would be able to enjoy those rights and privileges which the God of nature has given us in common with the rest of mankind.

"Therefore, in the name of humanity, and virtue, and religion; in the name of the Great God, our common creator and our common judge, we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask them, that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly consideration, to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us, and extend to us that comity, which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities."

As governor of the Commonwealth and first president of the Republic (taking office in 1847), the Virginia born Negro, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, worked tirelessly and resourcefully to set the course of Liberia's early national destiny. In 1844 he visited the United States and during the years of his presidency toured the capitals of leading European nations prompting diplomatic recognition of his country. Liberians today look upon former President Roberts as the father of the Republic, whose subsequent history reveals other statesmen who rose to comparable distinction.

During World War I Liberia was a member of the Allied Nations. Casting her lot with the United Nations in World War II, she holds membership in the United Nations Organization for International Peace and Security. During the War the Republic furnished more crude rubber to meet the distressed Allied need than was available from any other source except Ceylon, India. United States aircraft bases in Liberia figured significantly in the United Nations' counter offensive strategy against the enemy's North African and Mediterrenean warfare.

As the Republic of Liberia approaches its Centennial, the Nation takes account of its past and prepares for a future in which it must meet the acid tests of a dynamic civilization. Fortified with a heritage, enriched by its one hundred and twenty-four years as a colohy, commonwealth and republic, Liberia keeps faith with its past and moves forth into the new era in a manner characterized by accelerated internal progress and significant international intercourse.

This REPRINT is released by the CENTENNIAL COMMISSION of the Republic of Liberia, 1927-11th Street, N. W., Washington 1, D. C., through courtesy of THE CRISIS, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Gold Men and Silver Men

By George W. Westerman

American jim-crow masquerades in the Panama Canal Zone under the guise of "gold" and "silver" employees. How this system functions in an administrative area of 552.8 square miles with a civilian population of some 60,000 people is described herewith

MEN are not white, brown or black in the Panama Canal Zone—they are gold and silver. For forty-three years they have been measured by these units of metals, but things are now changing. Some of the stigma attached to this classification of "superiority" and "inferiority" is gradually being removed and a new day is visible on the horizon. At least that is the hope of more than 35,000 workers on the Canal Zone who are not American citizens.

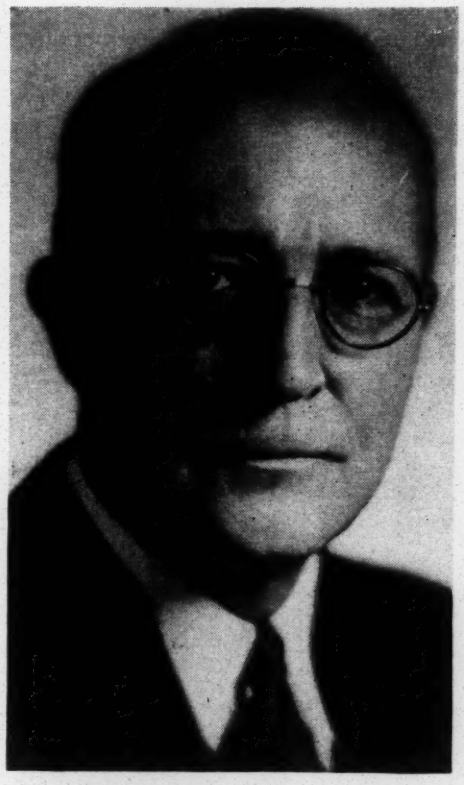
The terms "gold" and "silver" divide into two classifications the working force employed by the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company of the United States Government on the Isthmus of Panama. In common parlance an employee is cited as belonging to the "gold roll" or the "silver roll." These classifications originated in 1904 during the construction of the Panama Canal, one of the world's most gigantic engineering feats. Several versions have been advanced to account for the origin of these terms.

One explanation is that the West Indian immigrants who comprised the bulk of the laboring forces which built the Canal preferred to receive their pay in large silver dollars instead of the small gold coins demanded by white Americans. Another viewpoint is that since designation of workers by color was offensive to the republics of Panama and Colombia and since the West Indians were unaccustomed in their island homes to such differentiations, the local representatives of the United States' interests devised this novel standard of stratification.

The official position, held to this day, is that this unique terminology differentiates between the common laborers and the unskilled or semi-skilled craftsmen and those occupying executive, professional, and similar positions on the other.

The Gold Payroll

The gold employees, however, that is, those carried on the gold payroll, comprise those workers who are engaged in the skilled trades and in the executive, supervisory, professional, subprofessional, clerical, and other positions where education, training, and special qualifications are required. The force of silver employees is composed almost entirely of natives of the tropics in unskilled positions, 75 per cent of whom are Panamanians. The other 25 per cent are citizens of other Central and South American countries and the Caribbean Islands.



GOVERNOR GENERAL *of the Canal Zone, tall, affable Major General Joseph C. Mehaffey. During his administration, silver employees have experienced their most notable improvements in working and living conditions.*

Although all employees are now paid in United States Currency, the original terms used to designate the two classes of employees have been retained. Many American authorities on the Canal Zone have heretofore contended that necessities of the situation make it imperative to follow the policy of differentiating between races and classes; but the present governor of the Canal Zone has had the courage to break with this tradition and has publicly shown his contempt for this philosophy.

By applying the "gold" and "silver" standards to housing, commissaries, clubhouses and other public facilities operating on the Canal Zone, the terms have not merely had an economic connotation, but have become synonomous with superiority and inferiority. This gold and silver contrast was extended to the posting of obnoxious and humiliating signs in public buildings such as post offices, railroad stations, pay windows, and the offices of other public utilities. All urinals and toilets, water fountains, and working places carried "gold" and "silver" signs indicating where employees in the two categories should be accommodated.

Annual Wages

The average annual wage of the "silver" employees is $806, while that of the "gold" American employee exceeds $3,000. Recent comparative figures showed that 3,800 "gold" workers received an annual salary of $15,000,106 while 12,000 "silver" workers received only $10,000,313 for the same period.

SORTING MAIL *in the Canal Zone. Monthly wage of this gold worker is* $250 . . .

The economic philosophy of 1900 was really the cause of this dual standard of living. American economists then applied the "treasure concept" in economics, in which the importer kept as much as he could and gave as little as possible to the exporter. In other words, the employment of the "tropic laborer" was a form of importation for which as little as possible should be given.

This was a period of bimetallism when the gold and silver currency of the United States was used throughout this hemisphere, if not the world. Because this principle was applied to normal trade the importation of the foreign laborer suggested too great an advantage for him if he were paid in American gold; and it was regarded as an advantage to the importer—in this instance, the United States Government, to give as little "treasure" as possible to the imported non-white laborer.

Since these were defenseless people it was easy to apply the principle of no gold at all, paying them in silver. The large silver coins were difficult to carry, and consequently to save, as contrasted with the smaller gold ones which were more highly treasured. In order, then, to stimulate spending among the non-whites, wages were paid in silver. Twenty-five years later the records show that these "silver" employees who had been paid in bulky and inconvenient currency, having spent a disproportionate amount of their silver dollars, were then and thereafter called wasteful and improvident.

While this principle was being applied throughout the years, the economy of Panama and neighboring states was not placed at a disadvantage because of the unbalanced spending. On the other hand, this double standard tainted the social picture of the entire area, developing meanwhile an association in which "gold" was attached to English-speaking whites and "silver" to all others. When Panamanian laborers became the majority and were then in a position to demand employment under the same system, and because of treaty obligations were entitled to equality of employment status, it was found that the English-speaking white Americans resented the extension of the "gold" tribute even to them.

Political Wrangling

This refusal to grant equal employment status on the Canal Zone to Panamanians, Costa Ricans, Ecuadorians and others, has today resulted in considerable diplomatic and political wrangling among the governments affected. Under these circumstances the Republic of Panama stands in the forefront of this fight for equal employment status and the complete abolishment of the "gold" and "silver" standards, with their undemocratic consequences.

The United Public Workers of America, CIO, aligned itself with the fight last July, and it introduced remedial legislation in the present United States Congress.

Within recent months the "gold" and "silver" signs have been removed from public places, and employees working on the "silver" rolls were immediately relieved of a tremendous psychological strain.

Although the Panamanian government, the press of Panama, and numerous liberal forces on the Isthmus have joined from time to time in the struggle against the gold and silver discriminatory practices, it is doubtful

NEGRO PUMP OPERATOR *on 400-ton U. S. Army barge gets* $135 *a month . . . white operator receives* $400.

. . . monthly wage of this silver worker is $85.

if the present changes would now be under way were it not for the sympathetic understanding and democratic attributes of Governor J. C. Mehaffey, his executive secretary, Frank Wang, and several other high-minded Americans.

These top Canal officials give the impression that they are in open disagreement with the narrow and provincial concept which dictates that in this enlightened era economic and social conditions between two classes of workers of the United States Federal Government should be so manifestly unequitable. They have agreed upon a program of future improvements which augurs well for the underprivileged "silver" workers; a program which, if supported by Washington, should lift an entire army of working people from the depths of demoralization.

In those instances where social conflicts were expected by the removal of the signs inaugurating the use of non-separate facilities, none has developed. Gold and silver employees — white and non-white — now mingle naturally. This is a hopeful trend, for it points up the fact that the entire discriminatory pattern enforced these many years under the aegis of the United States Government can be ultimately eliminated without fear of social upheaval.

It must be noted, however, that in spite of changes designed to provide unrestricted public services, as long as this dual system of *gold* and *silver* is permitted to obtain the pattern of segregation will continue to exist, as is now evident in connection with the commissaries, clubhouses, schools and recreational facilities.

When we consider the vital importance of the Panama Canal in the system of hemispheric defense, it is obvious that the peoples inhabiting this area should live in constant harmony with one another. The responsibility

of the United States Government in this respect cannot be too heavily underscored. The peoples of these United States cannot minimize the role of the Western Hemisphere in the development of world unity. This unity might best be served through the development of mutually helpful relations among the peoples who must live and work together on the strategically positioned Isthmus of Panama.

American-Panamanian Treaty

Although since 1908 the United States had expressed a policy of harmony between our two nations, and equality of opportunity of their working forces, it was not until the 1936 United States-Panama Treaty that a policy was actually enunciated assuring to Panamanian citizens employed by the Canal Administration equality of opportunity and treatment with American employees.

The extent to which this policy has NOT been carried out, however, can be observed from present statistics which show that of the 5,000 gold roll positions only 54 are filled by citizens of Panama.

President Truman's Executive Order 9830 of last April made Panamanians eligible for Civil Service positions as of May 1, 1947, thereby opening up certain semi-skilled and skilled positions heretofore closed to them. At the same time it will make secure the better type positions which many of them hold but which are now unclassified.

President Truman's liberal ruling was bitterly opposed by white American labor unionists of the AFL in continuation of their 32-year old agitation against the alien silver employees on the Canal Zone.

Came June, 1947, and a total of 380 Panamanians sat among the 1,300 candidates for the Civil Service examinations held in the Canal Zone, marking the first time in the history of the Panama Canal organization that United States citizenship requirements were waived for civil service applicants.

Of the three major agencies conducting the affairs of the United States Government on the Isthmus, the Army has always been the most liberal in its policy toward non-Americans. Army headquarters have already announced that if all Civil Service requirements are met, Panamanian citizens will be eligible for clerical positions with that branch of the service. The Panama Canal and Navy remain hesitant in their willingness to favor Panamanian civil service applicants who might have successfully complied with the provisions of the Executive Order.

Panamanians, and silver employees in general, view EO-9830 as evidence that the White House would have all workers on the Canal Zone share the American freedoms limited only by those truly relevant qualities of ability, industry, and character, of which he spoke at the 38th Annual Conference of the NAACP.

Equality of employment opportunity and improved living conditions in line with progressive American labor and social standards must be immediately enforced on the Canal Zone. Here every act of the United States is measured by other Latin American countries in terms of goodwill and hemispheric solidarity. Time spent in winning friends in Latin America will pay greater dividends than time spent in excoriating enemies in Europe. Now is the time for the United States to adopt policies in the area of the Canal Zone which will create conditions for the practice of a dynamic and positive democracy.

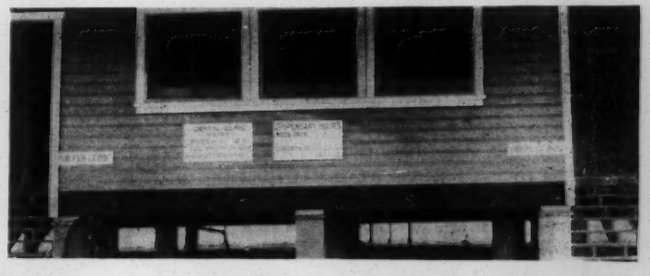
You Can Help

This sorrowing bit of news comes from W. J. Granberg, author of "Dream's End" in the October Crisis:

" 'Dream's End' almost became 'dream's end' literally for the Robert Leonard family. But neighbors and Seattleites rallied to their aid and the dream goes on. Hardly had *The Crisis* reached its subscribers when fire struck the Leonard family, on October 12, destroying their home and everything in it, including $183 in cash.

"Public response to their plight was quick and gratifying, revealing the regard with which that hard-working family is held. The Leonards still have their farm, of course, and will now work toward a new home."

Donations for the Leonard family may be sent to the *Post-Intelligencer,* Seattle, Washington.



DISPENSARY *at Cocoli, C. Z. Shown here is a pattern of gold and silver signs ("Silver Clinic" on left; "Gold Clinic" on right) formerly painted on public buildings throughout the Canal Zone.*

CIVIL SERVICE CLERICAL EXAMINATIONS—*First examinations conducted under new Civil Service Regulation 2.103, Balboa, C. Z., admitting citizens of Panama to examinations for employment on the Panama Canal-Panama Railroad as of May 1, 1947.*

Books As Ambassadors

By Cedric Dover

MORE than ten years ago the Rosenwald Fund, advised by Charles S. Johnson, sent me a small "Negro library" on which a decade of close interest in Aframerica has grown. I was studying "race and color" problems at the time, but my knowledge of Negroes was general and scientific: it had no intimate perspective. That little library, shrewdly comprising both sociological and creative work, gave me the foundations of a personal approach which developed quickly and expressed itself first in *Half-Caste* (1937) and then in later books. *Half-Caste* is not remarkable for its critical understanding of Negro culture, but it is the first book in which another man of color [*Dover is Eurasian—Ed.*] tried to get his comrades in America into focus—and the attempt began with a parcel of books intended by its senders only to give pleasure and information.

This is a facet from one man's experience of the influence of books. It is an influence which gathers its own momentum. I grew acquisitive and enlarged the collection, I pursued Negro culture and affairs to the limit of my ability; and the books, photographs and information I acquired have in turn influenced others who felt that the rise of Negro achievement had a wide significance which they should investigate. But the development of this interest needs more help than a few individuals can give. Therefore it remains keen and well- intentioned, but largely uninformed and sometimes misleading. For example, in two recent anthologies which have had wide currency in Britain, Waring Cuney's poem "Hard Times" is printed as a folksong discovered by Joshua White. Again the Workers' Musical Association published a best-selling pamphlet by Iain Long entitled *Background of the Blues,* which satisfies the hunger of our jazz enthusiasts, but gives them a very ordinary meal.

There have been innumerable articles, too, in our progressive magazines,

Books may be the unofficial ambassadors for American Negro achievement in cultured English circles

which show enthusiasm and sensitiveness but little background. Try if you can, for instance, to see Denis Preston's "No Such House" in *New Road* 1944 (Grey Walls Press, London, W.C.1.). It is subtitled "A Short Survey of Afro-American Folkart," but you will look in vain for such a survey. It quotes Gobineau, Herbert Read and Roger Fry and deals with "fundamentals." The author has been driven, because he had no survey to give, into himself and has accordingly produced a highly colored, staccato piece of personal writing which reads like a film script.

Meagre Background

There is equal penetration but less color in "Promise of Victory: A Note on the Negro Spirituals" in A. L. Morton's *Language of Men* (Cobbett Press, 2 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1) a discerning, finely chiselled book which writers in particular should read. But here also one feels that the author could have told us so much more, given us a meal instead of *hors d'oeuvres,* if he had found the opportunity to study the spirituals carefully.

Finally there is *Marxism and Poetry* (Lawrence and Wishart, Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.) by George Thomson, professor of Greek at Birmingham University and a well-known authority on English, Greek and Irish poetry. Anyone, Marxist or not, will agree that it is probably the best short survey of the development of poetry that has been written. Its thesis, of course, is the connexion between poetry and labor—a subject literally crying out for consideration of Aframerican folk poetry, especially the worksongs. Yet there is no more than a passing reference to "the negro spirituals, which inculcate Bible teaching at the same time as they soothe the laborers at their task." The use of the lower case, the misinformation, and the complete ignorance of Negro folksongs contained in these few words is made all the more shocking by the author's learning and grasp in other directions.

Yet one cannot blame these writers. Much of the interest in Negro culture has grown since the War, when American books were almost impossible to get. Today the bookshops offer no American books other than a few approved as "educational." They cater mostly to those who wish to "brush up on their U.S.A.", while those who are interested in creative writing may not even send money out of the country to purchase what they want individually. The result is a situation inimical to America generally, which Washington should seriously consider.

The libraries do not help much. They are full of vetted and exchange books which disregard the needs of specialist students, simply because they do not have the money to buy American books and would not be allowed to buy outside the restricted limits even if they had. The finest library in the country, the British Museum Library, has always been surprisingly poor in Negro material and has naturally grown worse in the last ten years; the main reason being that it receives British books free, while it has to buy American books or receive them as donations.

Gaps Depressing

The gaps are depressing. There is no copy of *Slave Songs of the United States* by Allen, Ware and Garrison, to cite only one of many omissions in the older collections. Among the recent poets Claude McKay is represented by his novels, the book of poems published in England and Jamaica, and *Harlem,* but not *Harlem Shadows,* or *A Long Way From Home.* Langston Hughes

peters out in the catalogue with *The Dream Keeper* (1932). Sterling Brown's *Southern Road,* the most important book of Negro poetry yet published, is not included. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' *Dusk of Dawn* is unobtainable there or anywhere else in England. One could go on enlarging the list. Countee Cullen, on the other hand, is fully represented, because he was popular with English intellectuals and Harper's, his publisher, is energetic on this side of the Atlantic.

What is the remedy? Much can be done and it is important to the Negro and to world culture that it should be done urgently. Books *are* ambassadors and it is up to us to see that they function as fully as they should. The first consideration, of course, is for the British and American governments to remove the restrictions on books, and Negro organizations should cooperate in representing the matter. There should also be a collective effort to establish working Negro libraries in three or four important centres outside America, certainly in London, Paris, and Calcutta. In London, the best place would be the American Library attached to the American Embassy.

But when this is done there still remains the individual responsibility of authors and publishers. I suggest that every Negro author should write to The Director, British Museum, London, W.C.1., asking for a list of his or her books available in the Library and stating the intention to try and complete it. Next, publishers should be instructed to send complimentary copies at least to the British Museum and the Imperial Library in Calcutta, though some other national libraries might also be included.

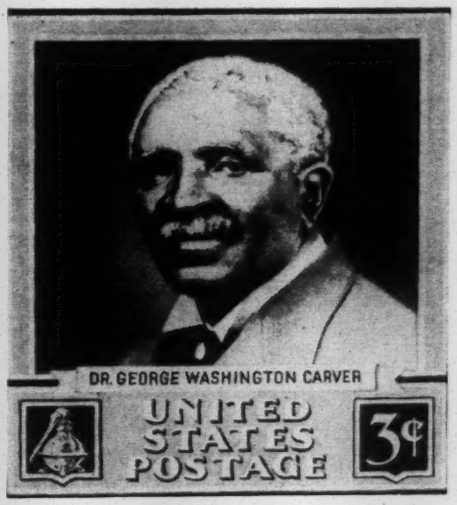
English Publication

And, of course, Negro authors should make an effort to be published in England. The enormous success of Richard Wright's books in their English editions, and of James Weldon Johnson's *Along This Way* as a "Penguin," suggests that it would be well worth the trouble. Many books could be published as printed in the States, others might need some rearrangement for the British market. In the latter respect I am thinking mostly of poetry. It would be impossible to get Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen or Sterling Brown merely reprinted here, but selected editions of all their poetic output could easily be published. It would be useful, too, if the books and periodical writings of men like W. E. B. Du Bois, Alain Locke, Walter White, Charles S. Johnson, James Weldon Johnson, and others who have served the Negro cause for a life time, were carefully sifted and built into "omnibus" volumes carrying the spirit and essence of their work. [*A book embodying some of the features suggested here is* The Negro Caravan, *edited by Sterling A. Brown, Arthur P. Davis, and Ulysses Lee.—Ed.*]

All this will, I hope, be regarded as a basis for further discussion and consideration. My purpose has been to provide a pointer and state a need that we who are outside America feel very badly. And if I can help Negro writers in any way, I should be happy if this note will make them feel that I am completely at their service.

Acme

EVICTED FOR DATING NEGRO—*Iris Alexander, of New York City, was evicted from her rooming house in Madison, Wisconsin, on October 30 because she returned home from a party with a Negro student. A junior at the University of Wisconsin, Miss Alexander is chairman of the social relations committee of the University Student Board. Constance Felton, of Brooklyn, was also evicted by the rooming house proprietors, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur H. Rupe, for supporting Miss Alexander.*



Acme

NEW STAMP *to honor Negro scientist, Dr. George Washington Carver. Stamp will go on sale at Tuskegee Institute, January 5, 1948.*

PROGRESS IN LAS VEGAS

LAST year I wrote about Las Vegas, Nevada. Since that time I think Las Vegans have made great progress, and the NAACP under the presidency of Wm. H. Stevens Jr. has done much to facilitate that progress. Stevens is a graduate of Chapman college in Los Angeles and he has also done graduate work at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles. At present he is supply pastor of the Zion Methodist church here.

In September, 1946, a Negro teacher, Mrs. Mable Wimms, a graduate of Virginia State, was added to the faculty of the Las Vegas public schools, and this September two more Negro teachers were added, Henry Moore and H. P. Fitzgerald. Moore, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin with a M.S. degree, has been employed by the United States Government in the chemistry department of the Bureau of Mines at Boulder City, Nevada, for the past four years. Moore's family is the only colored family living in Boulder City. Mrs. Moore taught home economics in summer school one year there; although there was some difficulties over her teaching, ill-health was the only thing that prevented renewal of her contract. She is now doing seamstress work for the leading stores of Boulder City. Fitzgerald is also a graduate of Virginia State.

A boy scout troop and a girl scout troop have been organized and are taking part in all activities with other scout troops of Las Vegas. Four boys and ten girls from the two groups went to scout camp this summer.

Emily Wheatley, who worked with the USO during the War, has remained in Las Vegas and is now director of the Westside Community Center, housed in the USO building. Miss Wheatley studied at Columbia university in New York, Morgan college in Baltimore and the Chicago School of Art in Chicago. Sarah Murell, from Fayette, Maine, assists Miss Wheatley in the community-center program. Miss Murell studied at Hunter college in New York and at

BEAUTIFUL HOME *of Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy Christensen, Las Vegas, Nevada.*

BOASTER

Chain me not with your rules, they were made for a clod;
Chide me not if I laugh, if I shout, if I sing;

I am more than a beast, I've the soul of a god
And as light as the wind, or a bird on the wing.

As deathless as stars, and deny if you can

There's glory Eternal, for I am a man.

—Lelia M. Thornton.

QUESTION OF FAITH

Give me a little time to think,
A little time to reason;
I cannot satisfy my need
By mere acceptance of a creed:

To do so would be treason.
Give me a little time to test
The truth of what you're saying,
Words piled on words can little mean:
I must have time to look between;
I must have time for praying.

—Lelia M. Thornton.

the American university in Washington, D. C. During the War she served with the American Red Cross in the Philippines, Japan, and other Pacific areas.

A swimming pool was added to the Community Center this summer; William Boswell and James Gay, who took a Red Cross life-saving training course at Lake Elisnore, Calif., are now employed as life guards at the pool. Gay, a graduate of the University of Arkansas, is also a licensed embalmer. Boswell is a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley.

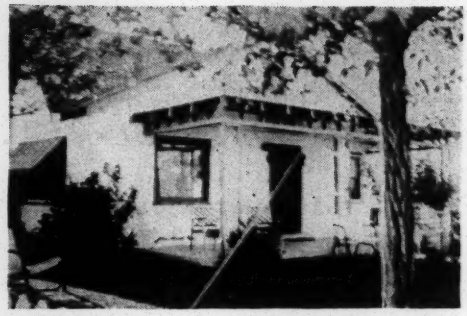
A doctor has come to live in our community, Dr. Roy G. Hay, a native of Panama City, Panama. He received his Ph.B. degree from the University of Panama, studied one year at Edinburgh university, Scotland, and received his M.D. degree from the University of Kansas, School of Medicine.

Four young veterans of World War II have been added to the Las Vegas police department: Herman Moody, David Hogarth, Walter Childers and Mack Fincher. These men are not just on a beat on the Westside, but drive one of the patrol cars. A Negro girl was employed in the County Assessor's office as typist clerk during the automobile tag renewal period.

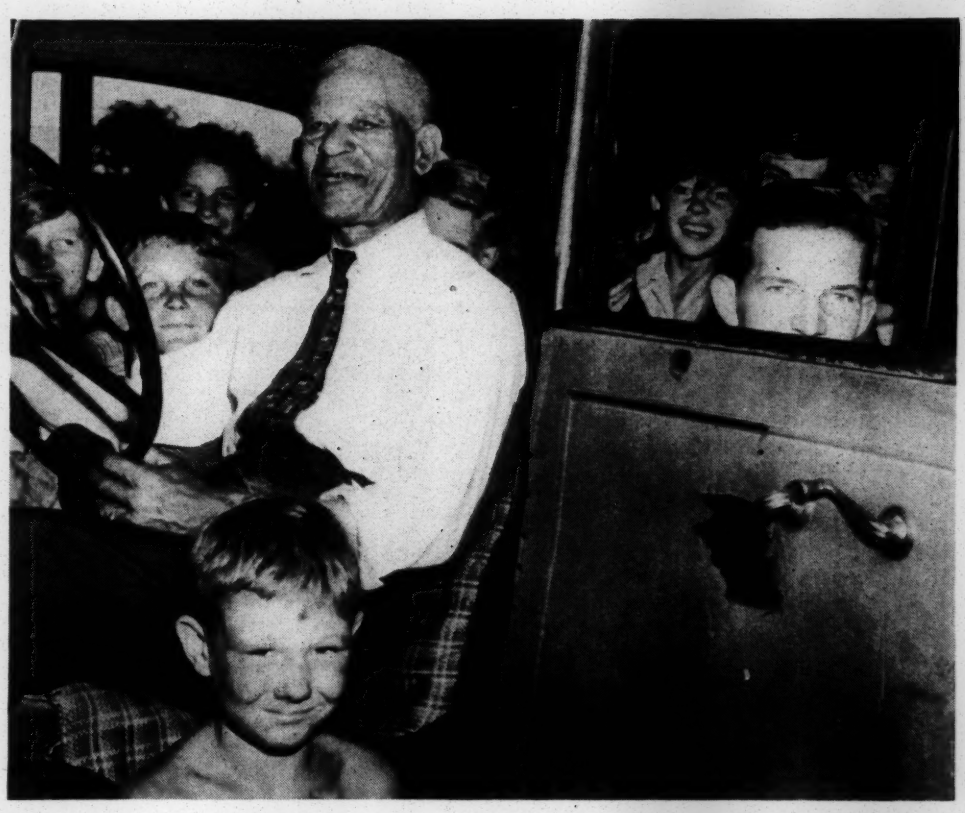
Mail is now being delivered on the Westside, and street lights have been placed on practically all Westside streets. More and better homes are being built, though it will take time to eliminate the hastily war-built shacks erected when it was impossible to get building material, but they will eventually disappear. Las Vegas is growing and many people are coming here for their health, since the desert is very healthful.

At present the NAACP is working on swimming pool discrimination, since there are two pools: one for colored and one for white. It also investigated the condition of workers at Davis Dam last spring.

VERLENE STEVENS.



BUNGALOW *belonging ot Miss C. Harrison, Las Vegas, Nevada.*



Wide World

NEGRO FOUNDER *of all-white boys' club, Albert Merritt, 75, of Martinsville, Indiana. Merritt takes a group of his boys for one of the pleasure trips financed by his tips at the Martinsville Sanitarium.*

"OLD CLOTHES TO SAM: THE NEGRO MEDICAL GHETTO"—SEE PAGE 201

The CRISIS

15¢

JULY, 1947

32-21-32

DOLORES MARTIN OF "FINIAN'S RAINBOW"

dohn S. Brown

1947

HISTORY CALLS FOR APPOINTMENT OF NEGRO TO BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Past history justifies the appointment of a Negro to the Board of Education. Few New Yorkers know that Negroes have served on the board.

In 1885, Mayor Seth Lowe, of the old City of Brooklyn, appointed Dr. Philip White, a physician of repute, to the Board of Education. Some of his living relatives dwell in Brooklyn. They are Mrs. Katherine Gregoire, nee Mars, a school teacher, and other members of the Mars family.

35-1-55

Dr. White was succeeded by T. McCann Stewart, an attorney. These two, with Dr. Rufus L. Perry, Brooklyn pastor, and George Wibecan appealed to the Legislature to end segregated schools. The segregated schools were abolished.

Some time in the 90's, Mr. Samuel Scottron was appointed in Brooklyn. He was an inventor and businessman, with 13 patents for making imitation onyx, etc. Some department stores sold his products. During his terms, Dr. William L. Bulkley became principal here. When the faculty of P. S. 65, to which he was assigned, threatened to resign rather than serve under a Negro principal, Dr. William H. Maxwell, the City Superintendant, promptly said he was ready to accept any resignations offered. None were offered. Among Mr. Scottron's relatives are two daughters, the Miss Scottrons, the well-known screen star, Lena Horne, Dr. Cyril Waller, his wife and others.

In 1898 came the consolidation of the five boroughs into Greater New York and Mr. Scottron lost his seat on the board.

In 1917, Mayor Mitchell appointed the well-known and popular physician, Dr. E. P. Roberts, of Manhattan for a term of five years. Dr. Roberts had been connected with the Board of Health for some years, as well as chairman of the Committee of Management of the Fifty-third Street Y.M.C.A. The board then consisted of 46 members. The legis-

lature reduced it to 7. In the shrinking process, Dr. Roberts suffered the loss of his seat after only one year of service.

A vacancy will occur among the Brooklyn members of the board in May. A movement has developed to induce the Mayor to appoint a Negro. The project has received the indorsement of the N.A.A.C.P., the Brooklyn chapter of the National Alliance of Postal Employees, Alpha Phi Alpha, Carlton "Y", teachers' organizations, and American Jewish Congress.

There are other sound reasons for the appointment of a Negro. The population of New York City in 1940, according to the Tuskegee Negro Year Book for 1947, was 458,444 or 6.1 per cent of the total population. This, with the lapse of 30 years since an appointment, indicates that an appointment is long overdue.

35-1-56

There are pressing school problems in the Negro communities that require more than the perfunctory attention that follows "taxation without representation." This is the universal experience of the Negro throughout the country. We acutely need improved facilities in some sections. Antiquated school buildings, uncovered classes, discriminatory zoning practices and prejudiced treatment of Negroes and other minorities in text and library books should be remedied. A Negro member would, in short, help develop a school system to fit the needs of all the people of the City of New York.

Other cities and states have Negroes on their boards.
Chicago: Sydney P. Brown.
Cleveland: John F. Morning.
Pittsburgh: Homer S. Brown.
New Rochelle: Clarence M. Long.
State Board of Education, Kentucky: O. M. Travis, Sr.
State Board of Education, Missouri: J. E. Mitchell.
Board of Higher Education, New York City, which controls the city colleges: Rev. John M. Coleman.

John S. Brown, Jr.,
1370 Dean St.,
Brooklyn 16, N. Y.

35-1-57

Education

Ph. B. Brown University, Prov., R. I.
M. A. Columbia University, New York City.
Courses in Playwriting at City College and at Columbia University.

Teaching Experience

P. S. Manhattan. Teacher and Asst. Prin
Thos. Jefferson High School, Bklyn. Science and English.

Writing

1. Play on Broadway.
2. Musical, INTERNATIONAL FOOTBALL, on list of Federal Theatre.
3. School play in SCHOOL ACTIVITIES MAGAZINE and in SCIENCE LEAFLET, of American Institute.
4. Two articles in CRISIS MAGAZINE.
5. African story in AFRICAN MAGAZINE.
6. Historian Negro Actors Guild of America.
7. Contributor to 700-page Tuskegee Negro Year Book for 1947.
8. Lectured in intercultural course sponsored by Board of Education for teaching staff.
9. Read excerpts from my poem, OWOLUSON, lighting up the culture of the Africans, at John Haynes Holmes' Church, at Henry Street Settlement, at Pittsburgh, and at Mosque Theatre, Newark.

Other Activities.

1. Relief Commissioner New York State Veterans Bureau for 21st A.D. Man. Paid out $15,000. to veterans.
2. Trustee, Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, Man., for some years.
3. First chairman, Board of Managers of 53rd St. Y.M.C.A., now the Harlem Branch.
4. Vice President Society Against Intolerance in Thos. Jefferson High School and was co-director of the play, Pan Americana, with a mixed cast, which raised $2,800, for Student Aid Fund of the school.
5. Chairman, School Committee Dean St. Community Association, George Perkins, President, which cooperated in making improvements in neighboring school.

Colonial Secretary announces (25 June, 1947) £ 100 million "Colonial Development Corporation", to finance all kinds of enterprise, private and public. Also announces that title of Groundnuts Corporation changed to "Overseas Food Corporation", with capital of £ 50 million; inter-departmental committee still working out details, but Food Ministry made premature announcement. Other plans include Summer School at Cambridge on Native Administration; African Governors' Conference in November, Conference of Unofficials next Spring; and Lord Hailey to East, South, and West Africa on mission to study Native Local Governments.

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When, in July 1946, the Colonial Secretary announced his intention to implement the Minority Report of the Elliott Commission, on Higher Education for West Africa, very strong feeling was aroused in the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, whose existing institutions (Achimoto and Fourah Bay Colleges) would thereby be relegated to secondary roles or inglorious liquidation, while the proposed centralized West African University would be established in Nigeria. Since funds for the project are not unlimited, and Nigeria has by far the largest population, this proposal seemed fully justified from practical considerations. Nevertheless, such was the storm of protest that the Colonial Secretary has relented to some extent; Achimoto (founded in 1926) is now to be a University College but maintained largely by local funds; and Fourah Bay College (120 years old, and for over 70 years affiliated with Durham University) is, apparently, to continue for the present. The Church Mission Society, owners of Fourah Bay College, hope to perpetuate it as a territorial College, but with degree courses, receiving part at least of its support from Government.

Dr. Kenneth Mellanby, a young medical entomologist, has been named head of the College at Ibadan. Oxford University is organizing extra-mural studies.

The Bible Society reports translations published in three more West African languages - Bassa, Baouli and Mano.

Lecture by Dr. Du Bois.

Dr. William E. B. DuBois, educator, author, and editor, will speak on "The Economic Plight of the American Negro" Monday evening in Harris hall on the Evanston campus of Northwestern university. Dr. DuBois is now professor of sociology at Atlanta university.

12-35a

During December (1946) and January (1947) a delegation of distinguished educators, representing the Secretary's "Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies" spent three weeks visiting Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone to look into matters of Higher Education.

It will probably surprise hon. Members to know that there are no fewer than 1,500 colonial students in this country at present, most of them attached to our universities, who are preparing for their life in their own colonies. That means, of course, that there is a considerable demand for higher educational facilities in all our territories, and we have to hasten forward with the provision in the territories if the people are to make a satisfactory contribution to the developing life about them. I want to refer also to another aspect of education which is of particular importance at this stage in colonial development. We have had in this country for colonial peoples a study scheme of further education and vocational training, and no fewer than 1,530 colonial people, men and women, have availed themselves of these facilities and are studying professional subjects, trades, and other studies in order to return to their country better fitted to join in the economic life.

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August, 1947 COL

development corporations. It would clearly be out of Order for me to discuss them in detail, as they are the subject of legislation, and no doubt we shall have a proper opportunity of doing so in the next Session. At the same time, it is very difficult to discuss—and most of us want to—the economic problems of the colonial territories without some reference to them. There are only one or two quite broad matters to which I want to refer.

WCB 22a-3

Du Bois Honor Of 'Brooklyn's Worst School' To P.S. No. 3

BROOKLYN — It's only a ramshackle building with a number—Public School No. 3—but it holds a citywide record. It is the worst school structure in all Brooklyn and one of the city's most dangerous firetraps.

This collection of ill-arranged classrooms, perilously housing 1700 pupils, is proof that all inferior educational facilities are not the property of the South. The children, all Negroes, except 25, have only one hall in the main building by which to enter and leave. This main building is 56 years old, its rear section is 92 and an adjoining frame structure which houses some of the classes is an even 100.

Because of the main building's dangerous arrangement, only seventh and eighth grade pupils—of which there are 500— are allowed to use the single hall. These 500 are only permitted its use in shifts.

4 Fires In One Day

The school contains a number of "blind" classrooms, that is rooms that can only be entered and left by way of adjoining rooms. In one instance, pupils go from one class to another through a basement boiler room, eight feet from two roaring furnaces. Guard rails cannot be installed because the room is so narrow.

Samuel Ettinger, principal of the school, reveals that the entire faculty is constantly checking to eliminate any fire hazards it possibly can. In one day, four wastebasket fires were extinguished in different classrooms, all ablaze at the same time.

The teachers are pretty much put out with the whole situation, but they do not relax vigilance because of this. In fact, they are exceedingly proud of the snappy way their pupils respond to surprise fire drills in the classrooms, the doors of which, in some instances, measure only 18 in. across.

CONGO URANIUM SHIPMENT

U. S. Bought 3,650 Tons of Ore in 1946, Belgian Paper Says

BRUSSELS, Jan. 3 (Aneta)—The United States bought 3,650 tons of uranium ore from the Belgian Congo in 1946 and paid $5,332,000 for it, the newspaper La Derniere Heure reports.

The second largest shipment of Congo uranium ore was to Britain, which bought 2,600 tons for £1,060,000 (about $4,250,000), the report states. Up until 1946 the United States had been practically the only buyer of the ore from the Belgian Congo.

Total uranium ore exports of the Congo in 1945 were 9,666 tons, compared to 1,500 tons in 1939.

42/pc/271

Mining, Commerce and Finance in Nigeria

P A. Power, Dr. A. J. Brown, Dr. C. Leubuscher, J. Mars and Sir Alan Pim, edited by M. Perham. (Faber & Faber. 1948. pp. 386. 35s.)

Political aspirations of dependent peoples almost invariably result in emphasis upon constitutional factors with little real concern for commercial and economic elements in the local situation. Some of the reasons for this are obvious, not the least being the comparative simplicity of the fundamental constitutional elements in the situation compared with the complex and frequently obscure economic features. The publication of this, the second part of a study of the economics of Nigeria (see *The Colonial Review*, Vol. IV, No. 8, for review of the first part: *The Native Economies of Nigeria*, D. Forde and R. Scott) removes the greatest difficulty in the way of assessing the economic problems of the development of Nigeria. The study examines the great exporting industries, the conduct of foreign trade, public finances, the monetary system and the balance of payments. As the general editor, Miss M. Perham, points out in her introduction, the book was finished towards the end of the 1939–45 war, and important economic events have occurred in the last four years which have not been brought within the range of this survey. Nevertheless, it offers an invaluable guide to the fundamentals of the Nigerian economic structure and reveals "four groups of problems—of difficulties actual or potential—which confront Nigeria, and, by implication, other non-sovereign tropical countries. The first consists of those due to sheer poverty, *i.e.* to the low level of material output per head of the population; the second arises from the insecurity which faces all (or nearly all) producers of agricultural or mineral products for the world market; the third is due to the situation in which the economic life and policy of the countries concerned is so largely directed from outside them; and the fourth from the fact that these countries are not only in a state of economic and social transition (as practically all countries are), but are in the peculiarly difficult stage of passing from old and relatively stable ways of life to more plastic and changing conditions that are familiar in economically advanced countries". The editor and the individual contributors in their several ways have been at pains to emphasize the preliminary character of this study, but this must not be allowed to obscure the primary importance of the work as a contribution to the understanding of the economics of the country and the integration of political and economic advancement. A book of this nature should be given wide publicity in Nigeria and should be read by all local leaders and members of the Legislature. Unless the cost of the distribution of the book can be subsidized from Development and Welfare funds, the price may prove prohibitive. But it should at least be possible and would be well worth-while to reproduce selected material in pamphlet form for wide distribution.

A number of minor strikes broke out in Lagos during February, 1947.
At Makurdi 100 houses were burned in rioting between Hausa laborers and Munshi.
Publication of the Harragin Report caused another wide-spread wave of agitation among workers not covered by its increases.
Electrical Dept. workers, in defiance of law, staged a 5 hr. strike - and no action has been taken against them.
The gold and base metal miner's strike was still on, going into its 5th week. United Africa Co. workers at Burutu, who struck unconstitutionally, when new terms of service were announced, were discharged by the company for breach of contract. The Printers Union (mainly in Lagos) demands 100% to 400% increases to bring them up to level of Government wages.
The F.U.N.A.S. (Federation of Native Administration Staffs) demands application of Harragin scales to them.

WEST Africa

42/90/261

42/90/239

Nov. 1947
1947

Transvaal farmers are having difficulty to get laborers from the 1,250,000 Natives on the Transvaal Reserves, since the Natives had exceptionally good crops this year and are in no immediate need of cash.
The Johannesburg Municiple African Workers Union has secured a minimum weekly wage of 29/, which will cost the city £ 1 million per annum.

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42/90/238

West Africa
Nov. 1946-47

At Dakar Labor Conference, April 1947, Nigeria's delegation complained of lack of labor representation on Legislative Council, outlawing of Government strikes, and use of tear gas to disperse demonstrators.
(b) Nigeria: - The Tudor-Davis Commission awarded 50% increase in cost-of-living allowance, which was accepted by the workers who struck in August, 1945. Wide - spread agitation for wage increases result among workers not covered by the Commission's Report.

...more in certain jobs according to our needs..."
White workers are divided in their attitude towards Native Trade Unions. At the Port Elizabeth Conference, a number of Unions withdrew because the Trades and Labor Council decided to support Native trade unionism, and where necessary permit Natives to join "White" unions.
Although not officially recognized, there are about 120 Native trade unions, claiming 160,000 members. In secondary industry alone, the official estimate is 162,716 Native employees. Mining has many more, but largely migrants from outside the Union. The average rate of pay for Natives in secondary industry runs £ 12 to £ 3 per week, from which they must house and feed themselves. The mines pay less,

Nov. 1946-1947

42/90/253

6

Nov. 1946-47

6. Western Africa
(a) General: - Too few jobs for demobolized soldiers are causing unrest and minor disturbances, but also easy recruiting for the new R.W.A.F.F. re-enlistment drive.
Results of demobolization, as of early 1947:

Territory	Demobolized	Registered	Jobs found
Nigeria	89,761	56,137	17,056
Gold Coast	37,364	21,827	8,165
Sierra Leone	15,899	7,922	3,262
Gambia	3,000	1,250	400

42/90/251 146024

Mr. Creech Jones stated in Parliament that no Africans in Northern Rhodesia are at present members of Trade Unions, although there are elected committees representing Africans in all major industries. Formation of trade unions there is object of policy and an officer with trade union experience had been added to staff of Labor Department. On his arrival a direct approach would be made to the African workers on this question.

46-7

42/90/255

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The 3 NCNC members elected by Lagos boycott Nigerian Legislative Council (met in March, 1947). However, the attending members participated fully - most spoke, usually to criticize administration for something or to demand improvements. Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, member for North, mademost significant speech of session - he attacked NCNC, opposed strikes, and promised early resumption of Hausa march to sea just as soon as British withdraw.
In June, 1947, acting chairman of NCNC, Magnus Williams, ("Zik" absent on tour abroad), made in a press article this remarkable statement: "We must lie to the uninformed and the illiterate, and the tragedy of the whole thing is that the people believe us".
"Zik's" tour abroad brought him before many audiences in America and Europe - such as Mrs. Roosevelt, the African Academy, press of Britain, and Secretary of State (whom he saw on 13 Aug., 1947). His emotions varied to suit audience, according to reports, but principals remain the same: a 10-year Condominium, 5 years home rule by 1000 trained Nigerians, then independence. Failing at Colonial Office, he suggests appeal to UNO; if that fails, then direct action (couched in vague, menacing terms). His delegation to Britain was short two trusty lieutenants - Akitoye is serving 12 months for receiving, and Enahoro 18 months for attempting to "seduce" the police at Warri.

42/90/111

Nov. 1946-47

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Question and answer

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"the consolidation and coordination of the several systems
for the purpose of securing greater efficiency and equality?"

Mr. Creech Jones circulated a detailed answer to the first part of the question in *The Official Report*. As to the second point, he said: "The Courts in the four territories are already organized on generally similar lines: and no advantage appears likely to result from further consolidation and coordination."

Ewe Commission to Meet in May?

A statement on the Ewe people was made by Mr. Creech Jones in reply to a question from Mr. Dumpleton. He said: "A series of petitions, the substantial claim in which was that the Ewe people should be united under a single administration, was submitted to the Trusteeship Council from April until November, 1947. Discussions between representatives of the British and French Governments took place during the latter part of 1947 and, as a result of these discussions, a joint memorandum by the British and French Governments was submitted to the Trusteeship Council in November, 1947.

"This memorandum made it clear that the two Governments do not accept the plea of the petitioners for the unification of the Togo territories and it gave the reasons for this view. The memorandum did, however, recognize that the division of the territories inhabited by the Ewe people and other tribes is a source of certain difficulties and it described the economic, fiscal, educational and administrative measures which the two Governments intend to take with the object of reducing and eventually removing these difficulties.

"The memorandum also informed the Trusteeship Council that a Standing Consultative Commission for Togoland Affairs would be set up to secure coordination between the two administrations and to give the necessary impetus to the carrying out of these measures. The Commission will consist of the Governor of the Gold Coast and the *Commissaire de la Republique* for French Togoland as co-chairmen, with two African representatives of the inhabitants of each of the two territories as members.

"The Trusteeship Council unanimously adopted a resolution welcoming the measures which the two Governments proposed to take and inviting the administering authorities to proceed with further measures in the same spirit. It is hoped that the first meeting of the Commission shall be held in West Africa during May."

42/90/28

"World Federation of Trade Unions" holds conference at Dakar in April, 1947; 18 delegations attended. All standing and prospective grievances aired. Conference drew up recommendations to be considered at Prague in June,

Anglo-French Communications Conference held at Dakar

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42/90/263

April 19
1947

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BS TO FIGHT INQUIRY

Ask U. N. Assembly for mpt Palestine Settlement

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

KE SUCCESS, N. Y., April 18
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FRENCH UNION PLAN STUDIED BY CHIEFS

Disposition of Military Forces in North Africa Is Principal Problem at Paris Meeting

By LANSING WARREN
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, April 18—Premier Paul Ramadier presided today at a special meeting of governmental and military experts, at which problems of the French Union and the French colonial policy were examined.

Many leading French officials, including President Vincent Auriol, were absent because they were investigating the situation in former colonies.

The formation of a French Union and the task of holding it to metropolitan France in time to get the new constitutional experiment under way is becoming the first problem in France. Today's meeting was attended by Gen. Alphonse-Pierre Juin, chief of staff for National Defense; Lieut. Gen. Georges Revers, army chief of staff, and Jean Mons, Resident General in Tunis.

Military Force Is Problem

The principal problem was the disposition of French military forces in North Africa. French forces are thinly scattered over the empire, with a large part in occupied Germany. A reduction of the occupation force to release men for service overseas is under consideration. The entire class of 1947 has been called to service to increase the effectives.

While President Auriol is bound for Dakar and West Africa the Ministers of Navy and War will start soon for Tunis and Indo-China.

Air Minister Andre Maroselli visited the air base at Sidi Ahmed in Tunis today. In a speech to the troops he stressed the role of aviation in maintaining the French Union militarily and commercially.

The French press prints much comment on the situation in the colonies. Raymond Aron, writing in Combat today, says events in the French Union will be the dominating factor in French policy.

M. Aron deplored the weakness of a four-party government, seeing it hampering decisive action on colonial issues.

"Hypocritical System" Seen

"Blood is flowing in Indo-China and Madagascar, and the question of North Africa has been raised," he says. "The hypocritical system that permits the Minister of Defense to remain in office while proclaiming his disapproval of the policy that is sending Frenchmen to their deaths is positively inadmissible.

"That each one of the parties within the Cabinet lends support to one of the native parties, including even those against whom our troops have been ordered to fire, is increasing the risks of a general explosion and calamity for all."

M. Aron declares that Ministers who disagree with the Government policy cling to their posts not so much to keep in the Government as because "nobody sees any other possible Government combination and they have not the courage to end this contradictory situation."

Franc-Tireur, voicing the Communist point of view, blames the Government for failing to create a French Union and for reviving the outworn policies of "colonialism."

François Mauriac in the Figaro sees forces outside French control forcing issues in the world.

"There is no use in blinding our eyes," he says. "Our internal policy and all the rest are strictly dependent on a game that is being played over our head between two inexorable adversaries."

Jaluit Commander Convicted

GUAM, April 18 (U.P.)—Maj. Hidesaku Furuki of the Japanese Army today was found guilty by a war crimes military commission of the murder of thirteen Jaluit atoll natives and of violations of the laws and customs of warfare. He had admitted putting natives to death while he commander of the atoll in

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RIGHT KIND OF HELP TO AFRICANS URGED

British Colonial Official for 40 Years Asks Americans to Find Out What Natives Want

Americans who want to aid the African people "must learn to go the slow way and not make bad matters worse," Sir Alan Burns, former Governor of Accra, British Gold Coast, West Africa, told a group of church representatives and businessmen here yesterday.

At a luncheon called by Dr. Emory Ross, executive secretary, North Africa Committee, Foreign Missions Conference of North America, at the National Arts Club, 15 Gramercy Park, South, he reviewed his forty years in British colonial service with the warning that "there is no need to rush to Africa to change the current of events unless we first find out what most of the people of that continent want."

Sir Alan, who is now vice chairman of the United Nations Trusteeship Council's working committee on Jerusalem, listed the African's "fear of the supernatural" and his "inferiority complex" as major problems that obstruct efforts for the general improvement of his conditions, but called them "not unsurmountable if you build your plans wisely."

"There is no such thing as a blameless Ethiopian," he declared, charging the Africans with a tendency to blame social forces and other people for many errors that lie within their own power to correct. "Either they blame the slave-trade, or exploitation or misgovernment by the administration, which actually is the refusal to admit many faults of their own," he said.

Sir Alan declared that British rule had not been perfect in every respect, but added: "It is the best that could have been developed under the circumstances. We know that we have failed, but we do not know who could have done better."

The future of Africa is "bright," especially since the whole world is beginning to consider the African as being "men the same as we are," he said. This must be viewed "realistically," mindful of the possibility that "a small group of not too well-educated persons clamoring for self-government" will confuse issues and set the clock back even more, Sir Alan declared.

He denied that "the Communists" could gain a foothold in West Africa among the black people, "although there is a lot of money being spent there by people who represent a certain nation that I will not mention." He thought that "there can be no large Communist party in West Africa because the people just have too much sense for that."

He proposed that further attempts be made to educate the African people for self-rule, agreeing with a member of the audience that many persons educated for white collar jobs do not wish to return to tribal affairs.

Dr. Ross praised Sir Alan for his work as administrator of the affairs of the African people, calling him "the best the British people developed in handling the affairs of West Africa."

SPEAKS OF AFRICA

Sir Alan Burns
The New York Times Studio

Memo from November 13
MARIAN WYNN PERRY

To Dr. DuBois

Mr. William Spofford, Jr.
The Church League for Industrial Democracy
155 Washington Street
New York City

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Lawyers Press, Inc.
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Memo . . . LIBERIA

To Dr. Du Bois [1947]

from

MARIAN WYNN PERRY

From The Herald Tribune

September 27th.

Stettinius to Help Form Firm For Development of Liberia

Formation of a new company designed to develop the natural resources of Liberia through the use of American technical skill and private Liberian and United States capital was announced yesterday by Gabriel L. Dennis, Secretary of State for Liberia, and Edward R. Stettinius, former Secretary of States for the United States.

The new organization, to be called Liberian Co., is being formed at the invitation of William V. S. Tubmen, president of the republic, and with the full knowledge and consent of the United States Department of State, Mr. Stettinius said. Its capitalization will consist of 1,000,000 shares and actual capital paid in will amount to about $1,000,000.

The Liberian government will receive 250,000 shares free and another 100,000 shares will be given to a new organization to be known as the Liberian Educational Foundation. Both the new company and the foundation are being formed "to raise the living and educational standards of the people of Liberia through development of natural resources and of industry, and through the founding of a university and schools for the training of the nationals of the country," Mr. Stettinius remarked.

Actual dollar capital for the new company will be contributed by Mr. Stettinius and his associates. American directors of the company will include, in addition to Mr. Stettinius as chairman, Blackwell Smith, counsel for the company; Fleet Admiral William F. Halsey, U. S. N. (retired), and Joseph C. Grew former United States Ambassador to Japan.

Operations of the company will be entirely exploratory and administrative. For the task of actually exploiting Liberian resources companies skilled in the various specialized fields will be invited to operate and administer separate subsidiaries of Liberian Co. Capital for the specialized subsidiaries will be obtained from private sources in Liberia and the United States and even from other countries so long as majority control is held by either Liberian or United States citizens or companies .

In order to develop the country's natural resources a transport system must be set up, Mr. Stettinius pointed out. At the present time a group of experts is studying the question of whether rail or highway transport will be the more desirable.

Among the resources awaiting development are iron ore, lumber, cocoa, gold, diamonds, manganese, platinum, water power, tropical fruits, vegetable oils, it was disclosed. The company also will attempt to develop a consumers' goods industry for the country.

Formation of the company and operations of the projects cannot start until the Liberian Legislature gives its consent at its next session.

1946

PARTIAL LIST OF CONVICTIONS FOR LYNCHING

According to Chadbourne[1], careful study of the lynching records kept by the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute disclosed that for the period 1900-1930 there were 13 instances in which a total of 67 individual convictions for lynching were secured. In this period, only about .8% of the lynchings committed were followed by convictions. For the states which obtained convictions, the percentages were as follows:

Alabama	4%
Georgia	.8%
Oklahoma	3%
Virginia	4%
Minnesota	33%
Texas	.7%
Illinois	7%
Missouri	3%

In addition, in the same period, there were a number of convictions obtained for attempted lynching:

Convictions for Attempted Lynching, 1900-1930[2]

Year	State	Number Convicted	Sentence
1914	South Carolina	2	Unknown
1920	Tennessee	8	$50 and costs
	Virginia	2	$25 and 10 days
1921	North Carolina	1	4 years
	Tennessee	3	Unknown
	Virginia	1	$100 and 1 year
1924	Georgia	4	3 to 4 months
1925	Illinois	1	$100 and 30 days
	North Carolina	11	4 to 8 years
	TOTAL	33	

1. James H. Chadbourne, Lynching and the Law, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1933, p. 13.
2. Ibid., p. 15.

Convictions for Lynching, 1900-1930[3]

Year	State	Number Convicted	Sentence
1900	Alabama	3	10 years to life
1903	Missouri	?	10 years
	Illinois	11	Indeterminate
1919[4]	Alabama	28	$100 to 15 years
1920	Alabama	3	$100 and 3 months
	Alabama	3	15 years to life
	Minnesota	1	Unknown
	Texas	3	2 years. Suspended.
1922	Georgia	3	1 to 4 years
	Oklahoma	7	Life
1923	Virginia	2	1 and 2 years
1924	Alabama	1	18 years. Reversed on appeal. (Lancaster v. State, 106 Scu.609, 617, 618, Ala., 1925.)
1926	Georgia	2	4 years to life
	TOTAL	67	

Convictions for Lynching, 1930-1946

Year	State	Number Convicted	Sentence
1930[5]	Texas	2	2 years
	Georgia	2	Life
1931[6][7]	Ohio	1	1 to 10 years
1934	Missouri	1	1 year
	Tennessee	8	3 to 5 years
1941[8][9]	North Carolina	4	14 to 25 years
1942[10]	North Carolina	5	12 to 18 months
1943	Georgia	3	3 years and $1000. Later freed in retrial after case remanded to lower court by U.S. Supreme Court.
1946[11]	Illinois	9	$200.
	TOTAL	35	

3. Ibid., p. 14
4. There are no records for the years 1903-1919.
5. Arthur Raper, The Tragedy of Lynching, Chapel Hill, Univ. of N.C. Press, 1933, p. 16.
6. Commission on Interracial Cooperation, The Mob Still Rides, Atlanta, Ga., 1936, p. 11.
7. Ibid.
8. Negro Yearbook, 1947, Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1947, p. 310.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.

Total Convictions, 1900-1946

Convictions for attempted lynching, 1900-1930	33
Convictions for lynching, 1900-1930	67
Convictions for lynching, 1930-1946	35
TOTAL	135

46-7-4

May 7, 1948

Dr. W. E. B Du Bois
c/o N.A.A.C.P
New York City

37-18-88

Dear Sir,

I am preparing a doctoral thesis on the general topic of the role of the Negro in the Agrarian and Populist movements and am writing you in the hope that you will assist me in locating some materials.

My principal problem is the location of the proceedings of the meetings of the Colored Farmers' Alliance and the state and national Peoples Party organizations.

Do you know where these proceedings may be found, or can you suggest someone who might possibly help me? I have tried the National Archives and Library of Congress without success.

I am also anxious to contact living ex-populists and would appreciate any contacts you may send me.

Please be assured of my deep gratitude for any aid you may give me.

Yours truly,

Jack Abramowitz
1008 Hopkinson Ave.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Reg. for Sept.

June 29, 1948

Mr. Jack Abramowitz
1008 Hopkinson Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

My dear Sir:

You will find difficulty in following the role of the Negro in the Agrarian and Populist movements. There is something in the LIFE OF TOM WATSON, by C. V. Woodward. Daily Southern newspapers of the time might help, but they are hard to get.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Req for Info Dec. 2, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Evergreen Ave
New York, N.Y.

22-38-10

Dear Sir,

I am preparing a doctoral paper on the topic of the history of the Negro people 1876-1916. Naturally, you and your work must figure largely in such a study.

I would deeply appreciate an opportunity to interview you regarding your work, your break with Dr. Washington, and the entire movement rising out of the Niagara Conference. If you will consent to an interview I can meet you any Saturday after 1:30 p.m. or any Sunday or any day between Dec 24 and Jan 2nd

I shall await your reply in the hope that you will find it possible to meet with me. I can meet you anywhere in New York that you may find convenient.

Permit me to thank you in advance for any help you may give me.

Yours truly
Jack Abramowitz
1008 Hopkinson Ave
Bklyn. N.Y.

22-39-11

[Abramowitz]

December 8, 1948

Mr. Jack Abranowitz
1008 Hopkinson Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Sir:

I am so busy at this time that it would be impossible for me to arrange an interview; but you can find what I have to say concerning Mr. Washington and the Niagara Movement in my autobiography, DUSK OF DAWN , Chapter IV. You will find this book in any public library.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

re The Nation

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH

2 September 1948

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

You are familiar, I am sure, with the action of the Board of Superintendents of New York City in closing the school libraries to The Nation. You may also know that a number of individuals and organizations, disturbed by the implications of this action, have formed a temporary committee for the purpose of opposing the ban and correcting the precedent it establishes. The broadly representative character of the committee is indicated by the fact that it includes Samuel Hopkins Adams, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Henry Seidel Canby, Cass Canfield, Grenville Clark, Bartley C. Crum, Mark Ethridge, Lewis Gannett of the New York Herald Tribune, Bishop Charles K. Gilbert of New York, Dr. Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina, Arthur Garfield Hays, Dr. Bryn J. Hovde of the New School for Social Research, Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, Professor Robert S. Lynd of Columbia University, Dr. John A. Mackay of Princeton Theological Seminary, Dean Ernest O. Melby of New York University's School of Education, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, the Right Reverend Edward Lambe Parsons, retired Bishop of California, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Arthur B. Spingarn of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

23-38-1

The Committee has drafted - and I enclose herewith - a statement which defines the issue as we see it. Because the issue is broader than the act of suppression which has raised it - because it involves the defense of the American tradition of intellectual freedom which is under attack on many fronts - we wish to give national circulation to this statement in the hope that it may precipitate a serious and conscientious discussion of the underlying questions. To this end we are asking a small number of citizens whose concern for the American tradition is well known throughout the country to join as initial signatories of this document. A list of those to whom letters such as this are being sent is enclosed.

I am particularly anxious that you should be one of the originating signers of this call to conscience. If the difficult, and often inflammatory, questions which are involved in cases of this kind are to be discussed coolly and objectively and a wise conclusion reached, it is important that they be presented for public consideration by those in whose fairness and understanding the people generally have confidence.

I should be grateful if you would let me hear from you at your earliest convenience. The enclosed envelope and card may relieve you of the burden of a letter.

Faithfully yours,

Archibald MacLeish

[Enclosure]

INVITATION LIST OF INITIAL SIGNATORIES

AN APPEAL TO REASON AND CONSCIENCE

In Defense of the Right of Freedom of Inquiry in the United States

Dean G. Acheson
Franklin P. Adams
Samuel Hopkins Adams
Fred Allen
Mrs. Arthur Forrest Anderson
Bert Andrews
Dr. Henry A. Atkinson
Hugh Baillie
Bernard Baruch
William Benton
Adolf A. Berle, Jr.
Mary McLeod Bethune
Sarah Blanding
Dr. Isaiah Bowman
Pearl S. Buck
Charles C. Burlingham
Henry Seidel Canby
Cass Canfield
Edwin B. Canham
Eddie Cantor
Dr. Oliver C. Carmichael
Robert K. Carr
Zechariah Chafee, Jr.
Grenville Clark
Henry Steele Commager
Arthur H. Compton
Karl T. Compton
James Bryant Conant
Kent Cooper
Bartley Crum
Howard S. Cullman
Virginius Dabney
Jonathan Daniels
Bette Davis
John William Davis
John Dewey
Irving Dilliard
W. E. B. Du Bois
Irwin Edman
Albert Einstein
Dwight D. Eisenhower
Mark F. Ethridge
Clifton Fadiman
Mrs. C. Vaughan Ferguson
Marshall Field III
Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Robert Fitzgerald
Harry Emerson Fosdick
Gilbert Gabriel
Paul Gallico
Lewis Gannett
Lloyd K. Garrison
Dean Christian Gauss
Bishop Charles K. Gilbert
Virginia Gildersleeve
Frank Goldman
Dr. Frank P. Graham
Martha Graham
Philip L. Graham
William Green
Erwin Nathaniel Griswald
Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin
Dr. Alice Hamilton
Oscar Hammerstein II
Moss Hart
Helen Hayes
Dr. George E. Haynes
Arthur Garfield Hays
Bishop Henry Wise Hobson
William E. Hocking
Mrs. Douglas Horton
Charles H. Houston
Dr. Bryn J. Hovde
Palmer Hoyt
Charles Evans Hughes, Jr.
Walter Huston
Robert Maynard Hutchins
Dr. Samuel Guy Inman
Dr. D. V. Jamison
Dr. Charles Spurgeon Johnson

330 - 38 - 2

Howard Mumford Jones
Alice Keliher
Helen Keller
John Kieran
Dr. William H. Kilpatrick
Alfred A. Knopf
Serge Koussevitzky
Leon Kroll
Mrs. Fiorello H. La Guardia
Herbert H. Lehman
Monte M. Lemann
Sinclair Lewis
Walter Lippmann
Dr. Alain Locke
Henry R. Luce
Robert S. Lynd
Dr. John A. Mackay
Thomas Mann
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Anne O'Hare McCormick
Ralph McGill
Dean Millicent Carey McIntosh
Alexander Meiklejohn
Dean Ernest O. Melby
Karl Menninger
Charles Edward Merriam
Eugene Meyer
Clyde R. Miller
Perry Miller
Henry Morgenthau, Jr.
Lewis Mumford
Philip Murray
Edward R. Murrow
Allan Nevins
Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr
Howard Washington Odum
Eugene O'Neill
J. Robert Oppenheimer
Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam
James G. Patton
Joseph Pulitzer
William Paley
Bishop Edward Lambe Parsons
Gregory Peck
Frances Perkins
Dr. David de Sola Pool
Mrs. Ogden Reid
Justice Owen J. Roberts
Nelson Rockefeller
Eleanor Roosevelt
Mrs. Anna Rosenberg
Mrs. Helen Crocker Russell
Mrs. Pauline Morton Sabin
Carl Sandburg
David Sarnoff
Rose Schneiderman
Charles Seymour
Bishop Bernard James Sheil
Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill
Robert Sherwood
Mrs. Harper Sibley
Paul C. Smith
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Edgar Snow
Cardinal Francis Joseph Spellman
Arthur B. Spingarn
Robert Gordon Sproul
George Dinsmore Stoddard
Judge Kimbrough Stone
Anna Lord Strauss
Arthur H. Sulzberger
Herbert Bayard Swope
Charles Phelps Taft
Deems Taylor
Lawrence Tibbett
Arturo Toscanini
Harold C. Urey
Carl Van Doren
Mark Van Doren
Bishop William Jacob Walls
James P. Warburg
Thomas J. Watson
Sumner Welles
Dr. Gene Weltfish
Thornton Wilder
Mrs. Edith Wilke
Charles E. Wilson
Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Mrs. Louise Wright

AD HOC COMMITTEE
TO LIFT BAN ON THE *Nation*

BArclay 7-1064

ROOM 1010, 20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Archibald MacLeish, *Chairman*

- - -

Membership in Formation

INDIVIDUALS

Louis Adamic
Samuel Hopkins Adams
Dr. James Luther Adams
Dr. Henry A. Atkinson
Dr. Wade Crawford Barclay
William Rose Benet
A. A. Berle, Jr.
David K. Berninghausen
Leonard Bernstein
Mrs. Francis Biddle
George Biddle
Dr. L. M. Birkhead
Earl Brown
Henry Seidel Canby
Cass Canfield
Grenville C. Clark
Bartley C. Crum
J. M. Dawson
Rev. Dale DeWitt
Muriel Draper
Dr. Philip P. Elliott
Mark Ethridge
Clark Foreman
Waldo Frank
Lewis Gannett
Ray Gibbons
Bishop Charles K. Gilbert
Frank P. Graham
Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg
Harold K. Guinzburg
Oscar Hammerstein II
Arthur Garfield Hays
John Hersey
Hamilton Holt
Bryn J. Hovde
Samuel Guy Inman
Alvin Johnson
Dorothy Kenyon
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Herbert H. Lehman
Max Lerner
E. C. Lindeman
Robert S. Lynd
Marshall MacDuffie
Kenneth Macgowan
Dr. John A. Mackay
Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Dean Ernest O. Melby
Perry Miller
Richard L. Neuberger
Bishop D. Ward Nichols
Dr. Ernest G. Osborne
Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam
Bishop Edward Lambe Parsons
Mrs. Ruth Bryan Rohde
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Budd Schulberg
Lisa Sergio
Dr. Guy Emery Shipler
Lillian Smith
Albert Spalding
Arthur B. Spingarn
Johannes Steel
Rex Stout
Clarence K. Streit
Harold Taylor
Dr. Norris L. Tibbetts
J. Raymond Walsh
W. L. White
Stephen S. Wise

October 9, 1948

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I am glad to be able to send you today An Appeal to Reason and Conscience, which has now been signed by 107 representatives of the American community.

The Appeal has been sent to Mr. Rall I. Grigsby, Acting Commissioner of the United States Office of Education, Dr. Francis T. Spaulding, Commissioner of Education for New York State, Mayor William O'Dwyer, members of the New York City Boards of Education and of Superintendents, and to State Commissioners of Education throughout the United States as well as other leaders in the educational field.

The document will be released for publication in the press on October 11. In submitting the memorandum to educational authorities throughout the United States we invited comment and expressed the hope that the principles set forth might present a basis for the development of a general educational policy in this regard. We are now endeavoring to secure wider support from individuals and organizations in the hope of translating these principles into positive policy.

You will be interested to know that the Massachusetts Board of Education has unanimously disapproved the ban on The Nation, in a decision in which the Board says that while it "in no way gives its approval to the contents of the several articles which have appeared in the magazine The Nation," nonetheless "it is the uniform policy of the Board to support at all times the four fundamental freedoms of the American republic and at the same time it supports with equal vigor every means of promoting good will and understanding among those of every race, creed and color."

May I take this opportunity of thanking you once again for your participation in our effort, and of expressing the hope that together we may be successful in resolving the issue in the American way.

Faithfully yours,

Archibald MacLeish

ORGANIZATIONS

Amalgamated Clothing Workers — American Booksellers Assoc. — American Civil Liberties Union, Committee on Academic Freedom — American Education Fellowship — American Jewish Congress — American Library Association — American Veterans Committee, N. Y. — Americans For Democratic Action, N. Y. — Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters — Congress of American Women — Council Against Intolerance — Council For Democracy — Friends of Democracy — Harvard Teachers Union — Laundry Workers Joint Board — League For Industrial Democracy — League of Women Shoppers, Inc. — Liberal Party — Methodist Federation for Social Action — National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions — National Council of Jewish Women, N. Y. — National Council On Freedom From Censorship — National Lawyers Guild, N. Y. — National Women's Trade Union League of America — Newspaper Guild, N. Y. — Northern Baptist Convention — Protestants and Other Americans United — Stop Censorship! — Teachers Guild, N. Y. — Teachers Union, N. Y. — The Episcopal League for Social Action — Voice of Freedom Committee

An Appeal to Reason and Conscience

In Defense of the Right of Freedom of Inquiry in the United States

On June 8 the Board of Superintendents of New York City schools closed the schools to *The Nation,* the oldest liberal magazine in the United States. This action was taken without advance notice to *The Nation* or to the people of the city, without hearing, and without announcement of any kind, either to the magazine or to the public. The only opportunity afforded to the magazine to defend itself, or to citizens to be heard, was at a meeting of the Board from which the press was excluded, and which was called as the result of public protests some weeks after the decision had accidentally become known. Following this proceeding, the Board reaffirmed its decision by unanimous vote. Other communities thereupon followed suit by similar unilateral action. In Massachusetts, *The Nation* was banned from the State's teachers' colleges by a public official who admitted he had not, at the time of the banning, himself investigated the reason given by the New York Board for its action.

230-38-1

That reason was the publication by *The Nation* in 1947 and 1948 of a series of articles by Paul Blanshard, for many years Commissioner of Investigations and Accounts of the City of New York in the La Guardia Administration. Mr. Blanshard's articles described and criticized the official position of the Catholic Church in such matters as education, science, medicine, marriage and divorce, democracy and fascism. The Board stated that there were passages in these articles which a Catholic would find objectionable on grounds of faith.

It is the opinion of the undersigned that the action of the New York Board of Superintendents raises an issue of the greatest gravity to the people of the city and of the country. It is not an issue between Catholics and non-Catholics. There are Catholics among us and none of us, whether Catholic or not, have been moved to protest by reason of hostility to the Catholic faith. Neither is the issue raised a mere issue of fact with regard to the articles themselves. We agree with the Board that there are sincere Catholics and men of good will who object on grounds of faith to certain statements in Mr. Blanshard's articles. Indeed, some of us who are not Catholics disagree with certain of Mr. Blanshard's statements.

The issue as we see it is the issue of principle which the Board's action, and the Board's statements in defense of its action, present. The question before the Board was not the question of the suitability of *The Nation* as a text book in the City's schools. The question was whether *The Nation,* which had long been one of the periodicals available to New York City students, should continue to be available to them. In ruling that it should not, and in giving its publication of the Blanshard articles as justification, the Board in effect enunciated two propositions both of which in our opinion are contrary to American ideas of freedom and destructive of American principles.

The first is the proposition that any published material regarded, or which could be regarded, as objectionable on grounds of faith or creed by any group in the community should be excluded from the community's schools and school libraries.

The second is the proposition that the appearance in any publication of material of this kind justifies the suppression in schools and school libraries of the publication as a whole. In the case of a periodical this means that the past publication of such material justifies the suppression of future issues regardless of the general character and record of the periodical.

The vice of the second of these two propositions is apparent upon its face. The exclusion from public institutions, by public officials, of future issues of newspapers, magazines or other periodicals on the basis of particular material published in the past, rather than on the basis of the character of the publication as a whole, cannot be defended even as censorship. It is extra-judicial punishment pure and simple, and it involves a power of intimidation and possible blackmail in officials of government which no free society can tolerate and which a free press could not long survive. To permit public officials, in their unlimited, extra-judicial discretion, to stigmatize an established and respected magazine or newspaper as unfit for students to read because of the publication of a specific article or series of articles, or of particular paragraphs in a specific article or series, is to confer an arbitrary and dictatorial power which is wholly foreign to the American tradition and to the laws and Constitution in which the American tradition is expressed.

The first proposition—that any publication objectionable on grounds of faith to any group in the community should be suppressed in the schools—though more plausible on its face, is equally vicious in fact. It is a repudiation, on one side, of the principle of freedom of education; on the other, of the principle of the separation of church and state. The meaning of that latter tenet, so far as education is concerned, is that no church may use the public schools as instruments of its propaganda. To give the churches of the country, or any of their members who might seek to exercise it, the power to determine by simple veto what shall *not* be available to students in the public schools, or, worse, for public officials to exclude automatically anything any group might be expected to wish excluded, is to do by negative action what the Constitution and the Courts forbid by positive action.

The argument offered in defense of this revolutionary proposal is apparently that religion cannot be criticized in American education. There is nothing in American law or in the American tradition which says that religion cannot be criticized in education, nor does the principle of the separation of church and state involve any such consequence. On the contrary, the American Republic was founded, and the American continent was settled, by people whose actions were in large part an expression of their criticism of certain established religions. Criticism of religion can certainly take forms which are unsuitable to schools, just as political controversy can take forms which are the opposite of instructive. But the doctrine that the criticism of religion must be outlawed *as such* in American education is a proposition which has no justification in American experience. Ignorance is notoriously the worst foundation for tolerance, and the American people have never felt that it was the purpose of education to teach their children to be blind.

The truth is that censorship and suppression in all their forms impoverish human life and warp the human mind in an increasing and progressive sickness. Those who

practice them are led by the logic of one exclusion to the tragedy of the next. If the suppression of *The Nation* for having published the Blanshard articles is allowed to stand, and if the propositions upon which it is justified are accepted, the consequences to the schools, to the press and to the vitality of American freedom may well be very serious indeed. Newspapers and periodicals will be obliged to omit news and comment which any group in any denomination, Catholic or other, regards as objectionable or run the risk of being suppressed in the public schools, with all that such suppression means in terms of the loss of good name and good will. The standard of education will become the teaching, not of the truth, but of that part of the truth to which no group objects—with the result that the bigotry and ignorance of minorities will dictate the knowledge of the whole people. Scientific works containing accepted scientific facts about the shape of the earth, the history of the universe and the functions of the human body, objectionable to various denominational groups, will be withdrawn. The whole of American Puritan literature, a principal source of our spiritual tradition, will be expunged for its criticism of the Church of England and the Church of Rome. Books of history which tell the truth about the persecution of Catholics by Protestants, the hanging of Quakers on Boston Common, the sufferings of Baptists in Massachusetts Bay, the reasons for the Protestant Reformation and the practices of the Spanish Inquisition will be censored as objectionable to one church or another. Jefferson with his attacks on the priestcraft of Massachusetts and Rome will be proscribed. Tom Paine will disappear. Jonathan Edwards will be silenced.

The events of the last ten years should have taught us all—the New York Board of Superintendents included—that there is no escape from the difficult problems of our time by suppression. Neither teachers nor librarians nor anyone else can devise a formula of caution which will free responsible officers from the exercise of judgment or protect them from the passions of those who, whatever lip service they may pay to freedom, do not approve of freedom when their own beliefs are challenged. The only test with books and periodicals as with men is the individual test—the decision of each case on its merits. Is this book or this periodical, *regarded as a whole,* a serious and responsible exercise of the right of free inquiry and free report? If it is, and if it deals with matters within the general interest of the citizens, in terms which students can understand, then there is no justification for its suppression because an article, or a group of articles, or several passages scattered through various articles, are objectionable to special groups, whatever the grounds of the objection. If it is not a responsible exercise of the right of free inquiry and free report—if, for example, a publication, considered as a whole, is found to be an attempt not to get at the truth but to disseminate hatred of a race or a faith or a group by the distortion or suppression of the truth or by forgery and lies—then it should receive the special handling that such material is generally accorded by American libraries. Certainly the fact that religious questions are often controversial is not a reason for suppressing them in the nation's schools. One of the principal purposes of American education should be to see to it that no generation grows up in ignorance of the controversial issues it will have to face.

In our opinion the solution of this entire problem requires that the school authorities in the City of New York give up forthwith their claim to dictate what the children of New York shall *not* read. In place of issuing a permissive list of books and periodicals, as they now do, they should return to the democratic practice of issuing an advisory list. That list should be drafted with the counsel of a group representing the best and most disinterested judgment available in the city, carefully chosen so as to avoid

dominance by any special interest and expressly protected from special influences however exercised. Both the advisory group and the school authorities, moreover, should give up the notion that there are any subjects which are verboten to the children of America or that the likes and dislikes of any group in the community can be permitted to dictate the limitations of the knowledge of the rest.

Had these fair, decent and democratic considerations been applied in the case of *The Nation* the suppression would have been unthinkable. *The Nation* is one of the most respected periodicals in the world today. For more than eighty years it has been a courageous champion of minority rights and democratic causes. No one has questioned and no one can question the record of its total achievement under its present editor or under her predecessors. The Blanshard articles, however objectionable certain passages may have been to certain readers, deal with subjects which most Americans regard as matters of public concern, and deal with them in a serious and responsible way. If they are in error the error can be demonstrated in the same spirit of free examination of the facts, not by the condemnation and punishment of the magazine in which they appeared.

To bar from the schools of New York future issues of one of the country's leading periodicals with a history of responsible journalism since 1865 because a past issue or issues contained paragraphs which one of the many groups which compose this country found objectionable seems to us a violation of the most fundamental principles of American equality. We believe the wrong should be righted at once, not so much in the interest of *The Nation* as in the interest of the people of the United States.

File The NATION

** C O P Y **

LAW SCHOOL OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Office of the Dean

October 28, 1948

Mr. William Jansen
Superintendent of Schools
Board of Education of City of New York
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Mr. Jansen,

I have received your letter of October 27th together with the copy of your Statement.

Since you ask for my comments, I will undertake to set them down.

When this matter first came up, I was somewhat hesitant about joining in Mr. MacLeish's statement because it seemed to me, at first blush, to be a local matter into which an outsider should not venture. However, I shortly learned that similar action with respect to The Nation had been taken here in Massachusetts, and I then joined with many others in protesting the action taken in New York. Since that time, as you doubtless know, the action in Massachusetts has been reversed.

I have carefully read the printed statement which you sent me with your letter. It leaves me with an increased conviction that the action which you have taken is both improper and dangerous. It proceeds on the assumption that anything that can fairly be called "religion" cannot be commented upon or criticized in anything made available to students in schools. I would agree fully that religion should not be taught in schools. But it is a wholly different matter to say that students must not even see a periodical of national standing and long history, as The Nation clearly is.

Our history is full of criticism of actions taken and views held, in entire good faith, in the name of religion. To take the position that such criticism, presented frankly and thoughtfully, must be withheld from students strikes me as wrong, and the sort of thinking which responsible persons must protest against lest our precious liberties, including freedom of religion, be whittled away.

It was for that reason that I joined with Mr. MacLeish and others. Your statement strongly confirms me in the necessity and propriety of that action.

Very truly yours,

Erwin N. Griswold
Dean

** C O P Y **

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
Washington Square, New York 3, N.Y.

Statement by George E. Axtelle,
Chairman, Departments of History and Philosophy of Education

November 1, 1948

The Board of Superintendents have made a sober, carefully reasoned statement explaining their action in excluding The Nation from the New York City schools. Careful study of this statement and of The Nation Ad Hoc Committee's statement impresses one with the deep sincerity of both.

One is also impressed with the fact that in this case fundamental values in the American tradition appear to be in conflict. The Ad Hoc Committee is rightly concerned with safeguarding the basic freedoms of expression and of inquiry and learning. The Board of Superintendents is concerned, and rightly so, with promoting tolerance and inter-group amity, good will and understanding.

Both values are fundamental to our democratic tradition. However, in spite of apparent conflict, both can and must be preserved. Wisdom in this situation demands that spokesmen for each meet together to study and analyze the situation, to explore the possibilities of reconciling the conflict, and to prepare a joint statement of principle and policy.

They would perform a great service to American democracy should they do this. They would establish a significant principle for the guidance of public policy and of liberal journalism in such matters. At the same time and equally important, they would set a high precedent of a constructive manner for dealing with controversial matters. Such action would greatly strengthen our democratic tradition.

23-28-22

File The Nation

31-3-27

SHOULD RELIGIOUS BELIEFS BE STUDIED AND CRITICIZED IN AN AMERICAN PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL?

A Statement by William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools, City of New York, and Chairman of the Board of Superintendents, concerning the elimination of The Nation from the list of publications authorized for use in the high schools.

At its meeting on June 8, 1948, the Board of Superintendents, a legally constituted board charged by the State Education Law with the responsibility of listing books and other reading material for use by the pupils in the public schools of the city, withdrew The Nation from the list of authorized publications on which it had appeared for a number of years. The action was taken by the Board of Superintendents after a careful study of twelve articles on the Catholic Church published in The Nation. Publication of this series of articles on the Catholic Church was begun in November 1947. The last of the twelve articles was published in June 1948.

The action of the Board of Superintendents has been criticized by a considerable number of associations and also by individuals who, no doubt in most instances, have acted in good faith and believed that in supporting The Nation's contentions they were supporting a just cause.

Though the issue in the case is simple and clear, it can readily be misrepresented or evaded. Misrepresentation in a case of this kind is fairly easy because many of the individuals and associations called on to support the protests of The Nation admittedly have not read the articles in question or have read only some of them. Then again, the issue can be misrepresented or evaded rather readily because a controversy of this kind may arouse religious prejudices which, unfortunately, influence the opinions of a considerable number of people.

The Board, therefore, presents for the careful consideration of citizens interested in the cause of public education a statement of all the relevant facts in the case and an outline of the policy that guided the Board.

THE NATION WAS NOT ELIMINATED BECAUSE IT CRITICIZED THE POLICIES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH CONCERNING POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Until June 1948, The Nation was for a number of years on the list of publications which could be purchased for circulation in the libraries of the public high schools of New York City. That list contains about 300 items and includes such publications as The New Republic, The Atlantic Monthly, Harper's, Consumer's Research, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy Reports, Life, Saturday Review of Literature, Survey, Survey Graphic, Time.

Readers of The Nation know that for years there have appeared in The Nation criticisms of the Catholic Church or the Catholic hierarchy for its stand or policy with respect to a number of problems. The Nation has repeatedly criticized the policy of the Vatican with respect to Franco, Peron, the recent Italian elections, and other situations of international import that have arisen from time to time. The Nation has also criticized repeatedly the policy of the American Catholic hierarchy with respect to such issues as birth control legislation, uniform divorce laws, federal and local campaigns to reduce the incidence of venereal diseases, and legislation to give federal aid to the states for public education. During all the years that these criticisms appeared in the columns of The Nation, the Board of Superintendents took no action whatsoever concerning them, nor were The Nation's editorial policies so much as discussed by the Board of Superintendents.

It is obvious that these facts have an important bearing on the present controversy. They constitute a prima-facie case for the pronouncement of the

Board of Superintendents that The Nation was not eliminated because it criticized the political and social policies of the Roman Catholic Church. It is taken for granted that when the Catholic hierarchy or any other organization takes a stand on public issues, its policies and points of view are open to legitimate criticism. It is because basic facts like these have not been called to the attention of the individuals asked to support The Nation that misrepresentation of the issue becomes relatively simple.

It must be evident to everybody that if the Board of Superintendents resented criticisms of the Catholic Church in the fields mentioned, it probably would never have listed The Nation, or would have eliminated it from the list some years ago. Again, these facts refute The Nation's contention that the Board's action on June 8, 1948 was taken at the solicitation of the Catholic hierarchy. Throughout all the years in which criticism of Catholic policies appeared in The Nation, the Catholic hierarchy did not try to influence the Board of Superintendents. It is a fact that neither directly nor indirectly has a single member of the Board of Superintendents been asked by anyone representing or pretending to represent the hierarchy, to eliminate The Nation.

31-3-28

THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

In the following columns are tabulated the dates of publication during the last school year of the articles in question, and the dates of the actions taken by the Board of Superintendents. This sequence of events has an important bearing on the controversy.

Date of Publication	Title of the Article	Action by the Board of Superintendents
Nov. 1, 1947	"The Roman Catholic Church in Medicine"	
Nov. 8, 1947	"The Sexual Code of the Roman Catholic Church"	
Nov. 15, 1947	"The Roman Catholic Church and the Schools"	
Apr. 10, 1948	"The Roman Catholic Church and Fascism"	
Apr. 17, 1948	"The Roman Catholic Church and Fascism"	April 20, 1948 Discussion of The Nation's articles by the Board of Superintendents . High School principals authorized to withdraw from circulation any issue containing criticisms of religious practices.
April 24, 1948	"The Roman Catholic Church and Fascism"	
May 1, 1948	"Roman Catholic Censorship"	
May 8, 1948	"Roman Catholic Censorship"	
May 15, 1948	"Roman Catholic Science I. Relics, Saints, Miracles"	
May 22, 1948	"Roman Catholic Science II. Apparitions and Evolution"	
May 29, 1948	"The Catholic Church and American Democracy"	June 1, 1948 Discussion by the Board of Superintendents of The Nation's articles.
June 5, 1948	"The Catholic Church and American Democracy"	June 8, 1948 Discussion by the Board of Superintendents followed by the adoption of a motion to eliminate The Nation from the list of approved publications.

INFERENCES FROM THIS SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Five of the articles had been published before any one of them was discussed by the Board of Superintendents. The minutes of the Board of Superintendents for the meeting of April 20, 1948 state that a member of the Board brought up for discussion recent articles in The Nation series.

It was pointed out that in some of the articles dealing with subjects of general interest, the author did not always keep within the limits of his subject but introduced a discussion of religious questions. For instance, in the November 1, 1948 issue, "The Catholic Church in Medicine," there is this sentence on page 466:

> "The priests of the church impose upon all Roman Catholics a ritual for the dying and a code of medical etiquette which makes the scene of death in both Catholic and non-Catholic hospitals an effective opportunity for proselytizing."

Are the prayers in the Book of Common Prayer "imposed" upon Episcopalians? Does the author really believe that one of the purposes of administering the sacrament of Extreme Unction is to obtain proselytes?

The issue of April 10, 1948 has another article on a subject of legitimate public interest, "The Roman Catholic Church and Fascism." But here again it seemed to the Board of Superintendents the author went at times beyond the limits of his subject. On page 391, will be found these sentences:

> "Moreover, no one can say legitimately that the majority of American Catholics have ever been fascist or that the American hierarchy is fascist at the present time. (There may have been legitimate doubt about the hierarchy in the thirties.) The Coughlins, the Currans, and the Christian Front are not representative of American Catholicism today. American Catholics who fought in the last war were just as heartily anti-fascist as their comrades and no one can question their loyalty or their heroism. Unfortunately, it must be pointed out, at the risk of seeming ungrateful, that there were more Catholics who fought against the United States in the last war than for it, and the Church blessed them all with equal unction. Naturally, the Pope as the Primate of Italy, blessed his own people with considerable warmth when they fought against our armed forces."

What is the relevancy of these sentences to the topic, "The Roman Catholic Church and Fascism?" Does the author mean to imply that fascism is based on Catholicism, or that only Catholic countries are fascist? Does he not know that our greatest totalitarian enemy, Germany, was more than two-thirds Protestant? Why does he drag in the fact that the Roman Catholic clergy on both sides blessed the Roman Catholic soldiers going into battle and perhaps to their death? Does he suppose that the Lutherans in the opposing forces were not blessed by the Lutheran clergy in their countries? Just what is a high school student, or for that matter, an adult who reads these sentences to think?

The minutes of the Board further state that the Superintendents recalled the agreement that "where a magazine that has been approved for listing contains in a certain issue an article or articles which the Board feels should not be called to the attention of pupils, that issue only shall be withdrawn from the library shelves without affecting the magazine's place on the official list."

WHY THE LISTING OF THE NATION WAS DISCONTINUED

At its meeting on June 1, 1948, the Board of Superintendents discussed the then recent articles appearing in The Nation on the policies of the

31-3-29

Catholic Church. It gave particular and careful consideration to the article published in the May 15, 1948 issue, entitled "Roman Catholic Science I. Relics, Saints, Miracles," and the article appearing in the May 22, 1948 issue, entitled "Roman Catholic Science II. Apparitions and Evolution." It should be noted that when The Nation and its supporters describe the entire series of articles, they do so by mentioning the titles of practically all the articles except the two just mentioned. They are very careful not to state that two of the articles dealt with relics, saints, miracles, apparitions, and evolution. And yet, it was the publication of these two articles that led to the action taken by the Board of Superintendents.

The Nation was eliminated by the Board of Superintendents because the two articles just mentioned did not deal with the policies of the Roman Catholic Church with respect to public questions. Those two articles are devoted to a criticism of Catholic beliefs, dogmas, and religious practices. Catholic beliefs and religious practices are not only criticized but are ridiculed by innuendo.

The Board of Superintendents is of the opinion that it is contrary to the American public-school tradition to bring religious controversies into the classrooms of the public schools. Every responsible school superintendent and every responsible Board of Education will state that criticism of religious beliefs should not be carried on by our teachers or pupils because the American public school is and always must be a unifying factor in American life.

31-3-30

The function of the public school in this field is well stated by Justice Felix Frankfurter in his recent opinion in the "McCollum Case":

> "The sharp confinement of the public schools to secular education was a recognition of the need of a democratic society to educate its children, insofar as the State undertook to do so, in an atmosphere free from pressures in a realm where pressures are most resisted and where conflicts are most easily and most bitterly engendered. Designed to serve as perhaps the most powerful agency for promoting cohesion among a heterogeneous democratic people, the public schools must keep scrupulously free from entanglements in the strife of sects."

WHY DID NOT THE BOARD OF SUPERINTENDENTS ADHERE TO THE POLICY OF AUTHORIZING THE WITHDRAWAL OF SINGLE ARTICLES THAT ARE OBJECTIONABLE?

The question whether or not to adhere to this policy was discussed in the Board of Superintendents. It was decided that this policy of withdrawing single issues could no longer apply in the case of The Nation. It was obvious that, with the publication of the two articles referred to, the editorial policy of The Nation had been modified to permit the publication of articles that are an attack on the Catholic religion.

If, after the publication of these two articles, The Nation were continued on the list of authorized publications, the Board of Superintendents would have to direct the principal of each school subscribing to have each issue of The Nation reviewed before permitting its circulation in the library. The Board of Superintendents does not care to list publications that require a scrutiny of this kind.

THE NATION'S ANSWER TO THE CRITICISM OF THE ARTICLES

In the issue of The Nation of August 7, 1948 there appeared a two-page appeal for funds to support The Nation's campaign against the decision of the Board of Superintendents. In this appeal appeared the following paragraph characterizing the series of articles in question:

> "They were not anti-religious articles. They dealt critically - but soberly and responsibly - with the attempts of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to exert influence in matters outside the religious sphere."

As he reads the following excerpts from the two articles in question, the reader should carefully bear in mind the above characterization of the series. The two articles in question constitute one sixth of the series.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE TWO ARTICLES ENTITLED:

(1) "Roman Catholic Science I. Relics, Saints, Miracles"
(2) "Roman Catholic Science II. Apparitions and Evolution"

The articles should, of course, be read in their entirety. However, a sufficient number of quotations from each will be given to enable the reader to obtain a fair idea of how the two topics were developed.

Quotations from the Issue of May 15, 1948

Page 521

"In its relations with science the Roman Catholic Church operates on three levels - the upper level, the priestly level, and the level of popular superstition."

Page 522

"The general effect of this supervision is to create a special kind of ecclesiastical anti-science in the church, which the educated Roman Catholic does not dare to criticize. The special effects of this anti-science may be summarized briefly as follows: (1) The system permits the continued exploitation of the poorer and more ignorant Catholic people by practices which have been described as medieval superstitions by nearly all other religious groups in the West, etc."

"The most important and lucrative form of anti-science in the church is the exploitation of miracles and relics. Many non-Catholics imagine that relics are used by Catholicism merely as symbols of faith and devotion. Nothing could be further from the truth. The church, even the American church of the present day, still operates a full-blown system of fetishism and sorcery in which physical objects are supposed to accomplish physical miracles."

Page 523

"Although relics themselves cannot be sold, there is a brisk trade in articles associated with certain relics."

"For many years the Western Hemisphere had a shortage of relics, but this deficiency is being rapidly eliminated by the device of creating new saints. Pope Pius XII created eight new saints in the first seven months of 1947; Pius XI had at least 531 beatified and at least 31 canonized, including 136 English Catholics, martyrs of Protestant persecution. Through a curious oversight the popes did not canonize a single United States citizen until 1946, and the one then chosen - Mother Cabrini - was born in Italy. In view of American Catholicism's new financial and moral importance in the church, this neglect is likely soon to be remedied."

"The manufacture of a saint is a prodigiously expensive business and is surrounded with much formality and fuss."

Quotations from the Issue of May 22, 1948

Page 574

"Slightly more respectable than relics worship and the manufacture of saints, is the supernatural marvel known as the apparition of the Virgin Mary."

"The various shrines visited by the Virgin Mary have become enormously profitable financially and spiritually. Unfortunately, for the American hierarchy there has never been such focus for adoration in the United States. Although Mary Immaculate is the official Roman Catholic patroness of the United States, and although American Catholics have already raised more than $1,000,000 for a National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, the Virgin Mary has not yet visited this country."

Page 575

"In recent years priestly promotion in the field of Mariology has centered on Fatima. Fatima is a hamlet in northern Portugal where the Virgin Mary made six appearances to three peasant children in 1917 just before the Bolshevik revolution. The messages she delivered to these children were most timely; in fact, they showed a considerable comprehension of the delicate position of the Vatican in European politics."

"While parish priests are operating in the underworld of superstition, the church is attempting to hold the allegiance of educated Catholics in the world of science."

The reader can judge for himself the truth of the statement made in The Nation that "they were not anti-religious articles." Let the reader ask himself whether these two articles, constituting one sixth of the series, deal "critically - but soberly and responsibly - with the attempts of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to exert influence in matters outside the religious sphere."

ARE THESE QUOTATIONS "OUT OF CONTEXT"?

When some of these quotations were first published in a release, the editor of The Nation was quoted in a New York City newspaper as stating that they were taken "out of context."

Surely, one of the ways of determining whether a quotation is out of context is to interpret it in the light of the title of the article from which it is taken. The reader has only to recall the two titles in question to make up his own mind as to whether or not these quotations give a wrong impression. As a matter of fact, they are quite in line with the titles. It is a fact that these quotations constitute a part of the very context of the articles.

31 - 3-32

IS A SUPERINTENDENT OR A BOARD OF SUPERINTENDENTS THAT EXERCISES ITS RIGHT AND DUTY TO SUPERVISE THE READING MATERIAL OF PUPILS GUILTY OF CENSORSHIP?

It was to be expected that the cry of censorship would be raised. The term is useful for name-calling purposes. But obviously, the Board of Superintendents does not want to censor The Nation. As far as the Board is concerned, The Nation may publish what it pleases. However, the editor of The Nation must not permit herself to believe that she will determine what shall be read in the high schools of New York City. It is the Board of Superintendents that has the legal responsibility and duty to determine what books and magazines are to be used. If this is censorship, then well and good.

Every responsible citizen realizes that somewhere in a school system, large or small, there must be placed squarely on the shoulders of an individual or of members of a board, the difficult business of selecting reading material for the students. The only fair demand the public can make is that the responsible individual state what standards he applies in making his decisions. Such standards were promulgated some time ago by the Board of Superintendents. Two of these standards stated in question form read as follows:

> Does the book contain any derogatory statements concerning racial or religious groups?
>
> Does the book contain matter which is so interwoven into the text as to give rise to misunderstanding and prejudice?

THE FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

The Board of Superintendents issues this statement because it is necessary to do away with the misrepresentations and evasions that have prevented the friends of public education from seeing the real issue. Once the facts are known, the action taken by the Board of Superintendents must be considered not only right but necessary. That action is in accord with the highest traditions of public education in America. Guided by those traditions, the Board will continue to see to it that there shall be no criticism of the religious beliefs of any groups in the schools of New York City.

31-3-33

Louis. Adamic [Louis Adamic, 1948]

WE *RESIST* — OR WE CEASE TO BE

This first 1948 issue of T&T — the RESISTANCE number — comes to you as a gift from a mutual friend of yours and T&T's. You are requested to read it carefully as soon as possible. And you are invited to subscribe.

Individually and in groups, Americans must begin to *resist* the un-American, reactionary-fascist developments evident everywhere. How? This RESISTANCE number of T&T states the problem and suggests some answers.

32-34-8

You will probably agree that this special RESISTANCE number deserves — calls for — special distribution. Ten thousand copies over and above the paid subscriptions have been printed. You are requested to help distribute them. It is suggested that when you send in your subscription for '48, you also —

Order a batch of copies of the RESISTANCE number, to be sent to you, for your personal distribution in your community and elsewhere, among your friends and others; for discussion purposes in organizations to which you belong; for classroom use, etc.

Or/and send a list of addresses of your friends and others to whom copies of the RESISTANCE number will be mailed from the T&T office.

Or/and send a contribution to the T&T Sustaining Fund, to be used for mailing the RESISTANCE number to the lists of people who should see it.

Or/and send in T&T subscriptions for your friends, your public and college libraries, etc., beginning with this RESISTANCE number.

An American *resistance* movement must get underway in '48. T&T is spearheading it. T&T needs and asks for your support.

[OVER] ⟶

T&T—"PAMPHLETEERING IN THE TOM PAINE TRADITION"

Trends & Tides (T&T) is now in its fourth year. It is being issued to *resist* the lie — to counter the present practice of the general press and the radio to misinform the people or keep them uninformed.

T&T publishes information and opinion not available to busy people who want to keep up with the subtle, underlying aspects of the furious developments now whirling us toward a depression here and an atomic-bacterial world war.

T&T's point of view pivots around the basic human impulse to move forward, the blocks which frustrate that impulse, and the search for intelligent ways and effective means to overcome that frustration.

As in the past three years, so in '48 T&T will concern itself with foreign policy; with our labor, immigrant, White-Negro, Gentile-Jewish, and other economic, social, ethnic, cultural and political problems and situations; with the Soviet Union as a great power and the postwar position of the Slavs in general; with the Orient and the Colonial questions; with the predicament of small nations; with Yugoslavia as a positive example of a small country in this period; with atomic energy and the insanity of another war; with Vatican's temporal politics; with —

"Keep on sticking out your neck," wrote a subscriber to Louis Adamic in '47; "somebody has to. I can't speak out loud against lies; I can't afford not to knuckle under, *outwardly,* to the subtle terrorism going on over the country. In a way I save my Americanism, my soul, by getting T&T and showing it to friends. . . . T&T is pamphleteering in the Tom Paine tradition."

T&T is a non-profit publication, to put it mildly. As editor-publisher, Mr. Adamic derives no income from it. (He's been paying the deficits at the end of each year so far. He hopes to break even in '48.)

There will be between 4 and 6 issues in '48, depending on the budget, which will depend on income from subscriptions and contributions to the T&T Sustaining Fund. It is hoped that it will be possible to issue the paper monthly during the Presidential election campaign (Aug., Sept., and Oct.).

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[Louis Adamic]

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Ten thousand additional copies of this number were printed. Now the problem is to distribute them where they will do most good. Will you help? See the box on page 17.

TRENDS & TIDES — A Paper of Information and Opinion

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Vol. 4, No. 3 July-September, 1948 *50c a copy*

HENRY WALLACE IS "IN IT" — HE'S ALREADY WON

"I guess I didn't put myself into this. I guess I'm in it." . . . Henry Wallace said this during the hectic early New Deal days when he was the new Secretary of Agriculture and under attack from all sides. The words,* with their layer under layer of meaning, give the answer to his detractors today.

For months gossip columnists were saying that Wallace announced his candidacy for President out of spite of Truman. They measured him by a projection of their own meanness and opportunism.

Labor leaders and ex-liberals, gone too fat at the belt-line and between the ears, discredit their earlier struggles by parroting the lie that Wallace has been duped by Communists working for their own ends. (*See p. 7.*) What strange hour is this when our best—long and generally recognized as such—who clearly were not duped by the Republican and Democratic organizations, nor by the bi-partisan combination of the two, suddenly are "dupes" of one of the smallest political formations in the country and the uninformed man in the street is persuaded that he knows things they don't suspect? Those who persuade him spare no effort to keep him from finding out what "Communist" means—they use the word as a synonym of "s.o.b."

The shrewdly vicious, the *press*titutes, the smug, the guilty, the self-righteous, the uninformed, the timid, the weak, the frightened—these have swelled the force of attacks on Wallace. *These attacks are yet to attain their climax. Dewey's and Truman's operators are yet to pull out all the stops.*

What Sustains Him?

How has Wallace stood against the blast? What sustains him in the face of the most powerful propaganda that machine-made ideology has ever produced? Only the miracle against which all machines for delusion and death must finally crack—the defense in depth provided by the best in the nature of Man.

Wallace knows he is "in it" — in the vanguard of the common man's impulse toward light and freedom, toward science and reason not divorced from faith. His friends and allies are "exultations, agonies, and love, and Man's unconquerable mind" — the same friends and allies that were with him in '42 when he made his Century of the Common Man speech, which rang around the blazing world and became a main factor in building the morale necessary to win the war. Speaking the real aspirations of Americans, Wallace knows that if Phil Murray and Bill Green, Pacelli and Spellman, Henry and Clare Luce, Barney Baruch and Winston Churchill, Hearst and McCormick, Westbrook Pegler and Dorothy Thompson, are arrayed against him, still the American voices of Jefferson, Thoreau, Whitman, Lincoln, Altgeld and Debs ring terribly in his cause. He knows that through the din of propaganda some Americans still hear those voices, and that many others will again hear them . . . some when the leaves begin to brown next October . . . others in 1950 . . . in 1952 . . . *if* time and the world go on that long.

THE RED ISSUE. . . . Said Henry Wallace in his acceptance speech in Philadelphia on July 24: "I am committed to stopping the creation of fear; to using all my powers to prevent the fear-makers from clogging the minds of the people with the 'red issue.' *The American people want and deserve fewer red issues and more red meat.* Millions know and millions more must see that it is not the Kremlin, not the Communists who have sent milk to 24c a quart and meat to $1.30 a pound; that it is the 'red issue' [which the monopolists use as a smokescreen for their profiteering] and not the Reds who did this to us."

A Visionary? . . . Yes, Yes!

There are snide hacks who call Wallace a visionary, meaning to discredit him. And we say: Yes, yes! Wallace has seen the simple vision of men and women living on a land, seeking to make it a free land. There is truth in this sentence by Matthew Arnold: "Liberty is a good horse to ride, but to ride somewhere," and Wallace is leading a search for meaning and direction. Is this visionary the way you on the Right mean it? . . . Here is a yellowed clipping of an editorial entitled "We Need Dreamers Who Will Bring to Pass the American Dream" which appeared, perhaps in the mid-1930's, in an unidentified paper, and has a pencilled line drawn around these paragraphs:

We gave up dreams and visions, as a nation, about the time Grant's guns began to hammer down the defenses of Vicksburg. We put our trust in finance, in industry, in our ability to move mountains without the aid of faith: and for half a century or more we seemed to be doing right well.

But while we were doing that, something happened to us. The old American dream — that on this continent men would be able to turn what *ought to be* into what *is* — somehow got mislaid. In its place we went hook, line and sinker for the idea that the pursuit of riches was the end of wisdom. And the mad dance of the 1920's boom, culminating in a crash that almost wrecked us, was the logical consequence.

Now the point about our fumbling efforts to rescue ourselves from that crash is that materially we lack nothing. We still have the ability to produce wealth: the soil, the mines, the factories, the transportation systems, and all the rest, which would automatically guarantee prosperity if human life were anything that could be reduced to a simple profit-and-loss statement. What we do not have is the ability to use these things in a way to attain

*Quoted on p. 443 of Russell Lord's book *The Wallaces of Iowa;* originally published by Sherwood Anderson in a piece entitled "No Swank" in the Nov. 11, 1933, Today magazine.

human happiness. And what is that lack but the lack of the old ability to dream dreams and to make them come true?

The very word "America" used to have a high and holy sound in men's ears, because it stood for the embodiment of such dreams. It bespoke a nation of people who were never satisfied with imperfect reality, a nation in which the tomorrow that might be was always before men's eyes, worth risks and sacrifices and unstinted effort.

We need to get back to that today. Being "practical" has landed us in the ditch. Can we get out of it, until we regain the habit of finding a vision . . . and making it our goal?

In spite of the "record national income," we are still "in the ditch" even if many don't realize it: the Depression was not solved in the FDR period. When World War II began in '39, there still were 10 million jobless to be then pulled into war production and the armed forces; and our present high employment is part of the "boom" bearing on the likelihood of World War III that is a result of policies developed by "practical" people — the hard-faced NAM-fools, the preponderantly Jim Crow and anti-semitic crowd, the hysterically anti-Red and war-ward element, that made up the delegations to the Republican and Democratic conventions this year.

The Progressive Party Gives Meaning to "America" Again

The meaning of the word "America" was felt again in the convention called by the National Wallace-for-President Committee, which formed the new Progressive Party and nominated Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor for President and Vice President. That meaning is felt again nowadays at any Wallace-Taylor conference or rally. Americans of all races, creeds, backgrounds and identifications—old-stock and new Americans, Whites and Negroes, Gentiles and Jews, workers and farmers, business and professional people, men and women, young and old — mingle significantly on a basis of complete equality and of common responsibility for their country, and with the fullest opportunities for leadership. Negroes and immigrant groups have a sense of belonging as never before. The Wallace movement has made America — the Revolution-born, anti-imperialist America — live meaningfully again.

There are political gamblers who can think of politics only in terms of deals in smoke-filled rooms and convention-hall blitzes, and who say that Wallace will quit before the end of the campaign. Because their own political maneuvers have never amounted to a real participation in the human cause, they cannot realize what Wallace knows — that he cannot betray the aspirations he has voiced any more than he can call back history or deny that he is involved in human destiny. Those who have ears to hear understand this. Those whose ears are sharp only for inside tips and gossip may not have heard this yet, but they will. The rumor will get around that the people once again have reached out to grasp the direction of their own government.

—Walt Partymiller, The York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily, by permission.

THE PLATFORM OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Printed copies of this basic document of the new Progressive Party — the charter of America's future — are, or soon will be, available at your local or state party headquarters. Get several copies; pass them around. Study the platform carefully; compare it with Republican and Democratic declarations of policy; discuss it.

Get a batch of other Wallace-for-President material — speeches, electioneering leaflets and handbooks, etc. Get Wallace's book *Toward the Peace* and James W. Wise's *Meet Henry Wallace.*

If you don't know the address of your local or state Progressive Party headquarters, send your order for copies of the Platform and other pamphlets and leaflets, enclosing a minimum of $2, to:

The National Committee, Progressive Party, 39 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.

As yet, the run-of-the-mill politicos around Dewey and Truman cannot grasp what Wallace meant when he said, "I'm in it." Nor have they the least notion what "t" is, even if they have read the Platform of the Progressive Party and heard Wallace's and Taylor's acceptance speeches. Nor can they know what the score is today, except in terms of their own special interests: and to the devil with America's long-range national interests: to the blazes with the world.

These political gamblers cannot know, not even in their increasingly frequent moments of shadowy uneasiness, that the "major parties'" conventions this year were the death-rattle of an era. When they think of the Wallace movement, they like to dwell mostly on its weaknesses, on the inexperience and ineptness of many of its active workers, on the potential incompatabilities of some of its elements, on the Wallace campaign headquarters' considerable capacity for making mistakes, and on how they (the political gamblers) can always raise the "Red issue" and smear Wallace and scare some of his as yet uncertain supporters. They cannot know how strong the new party really is, actually and potentially. They pay the poll-takers to fool them; what they read in the controlled press deludes them.

Rarely do large newspapers speak out truly about politics in '48 as did the N. Y. Herald Tribune on Feb. 19, after Leo Isacson's victory in the Bronx: "[There] are new and unconventional forces working through the currents of contemporary politics [and] the hackneyed arts of the old-line political boss and the wheelhorse politician are no longer enough in either of the established parties." So the big-shots in the old parties do not know the extent and the sources of Wallace's strength . . . do not know with whom he is "in it."

He's "In It" With These

Wallace is "in it" with the schoolteacher who lost her job when she spoke out freely against war and fascism, and thus learned first-hand why a new political movement dedicated to the best in traditional Americanism is urgent . . . with the college instructor booted off the campus for daring to preside at a Wallace meeting . . . with Don Matchan, the North Dakota publisher-editor who lost his paper when he denounced the Truman Doctrine . . . with John Brown who stood on the scaffold and lifted his eyes toward the sun as he said, "This is a beautiful country!" . . . with Henry Thoreau who did not believe the sky was the limit for the expansion of the human spirit . . . with the sad Abe

Lincoln who saw that Americans would pay the full price of their liberty . . . with Nikola Tesla and Charles Steinmetz, visionary scientists and inventors whose work now is part of every-day practicality . . . with the millworker on the picket line, the miner in constant danger of his life . . . with the old farmer in Illinois who put it this way: "War is for the rich to get richer" . . . with the woman in the Delaware Valley who said, "Imagine, lamb chops $1.12 a pound!" . . . with the perplexed young people, some six million of whom are yet to cast their first vote in a Presidential election . . . with the Negro people everywhere . . . with the Jew whose children's lives are being distorted by anti-semitism, and who worries about the new State of Israel . . . with the Spanish-speaking American in the Southwest who hasn't bothered to vote heretofore but who *will* vote in '48 because he is against the bipartisan *Yanqui* imperialism in Latin America . . . with the Slavic American whose old country may be devastated if it comes to another war . . . with the Catholic layman who has no sympathy for the hierarchy's political machinations . . . with the Protestant minister who knows that a far-flung Counter-Reformation, directed by the Vatican through Spellman ("the next Pope"), is underway in the U. S. . . . with the ex-GI who hasn't a house to live in and doesn't want his kid brother to die in World War III . . . with the spied-on Federal employee whose second cousin allegedly voted for FDR all four times and who is therefore suspect of being a Red . . . with the non-Communist who does not wish to become an anti-Communist or red-baiter, for red-baiting is part of the drive toward a new war . . . with the non-Communist who will have no alternative but to become a Communist if traditional Americanism dissolves under the propaganda blasts directed against every progressive thought and impulse . . . with the Communist who is persecuted and hounded . . . with the liberal or progressive intellectual who knows that our destiny can be greater than are our present-day fears, doubts and puzzlements . . . with the man in every community in America who was frightened away from a Wallace meeting . . . with the common folk in Latin America, now exploited by Wall Street's *gauleiters* disguised as U. S. embassy officials . . . with the masses of people in Europe, Asia and Africa who, like most Americans, want peace, above all else —

Whence Comes His Significance

By many of his supporters Wallace is regarded as FDR's political heir. Some of us realize that Wallace lacks FDR's "political wizardry", but we feel too that Wallace is a bigger and finer man than was the late President. Wallace's significance comes from his speaking for our time in the political terms of our civilization's morality, and meaning every word he says in terms of actions, of programs to be put in effect: which was not always true of FDR. Our support of Wallace is, in fact, the tribute we pay to what is decent, to what is best, in ourselves.

Some of us who have closely followed Wallace's development also know that he is politically astute. He did not resign from the Truman cabinet; he waited for Truman to fire him and thus sharpen the clarity of his position in American politics. To raise the idea that peace is possible when we were on the verge of a "preventive war" was great political strategy; to write an open letter to Stalin was an effective maneuver within his peace strategy. To visit the auto workers' picket line in Detroit was not only a deeply sincere gesture but a shrewd political move, showing he was "in it" with the men who were out for a fair share of corporation profits.

Off and on, reading or hearing his speeches, some of us who may be to the left of his left-of-center, and who are not too experienced politically, fear that Wallace may be wilting before the propaganda blasts against him; but then we feel that the occasional swaying may be a healthy thing, a wise political tactic. Up to now he has had to stand so much alone, without the kind of open and stalwart support which would make it a bit easier to stand in his exposed position, that there might have been the danger of developing an intransigent brittleness that might suddenly shatter like a pane of glass. For the kind of ordeal that Wallace and the new party are in, a man or a political organization has to have some give, some defense in depth, some secondary lines.

Wallace hasn't any of FDR's political glamor; he is no actor; but a study of his personal campaign so far in '48 shows that he understands the tiny loopholes left in the popular mind and that he possesses a great deal of political skill, including that weird and magic sensitiveness to people, individually and *en masse*, which is so necessary to a political leader.

A Strange Man — He THINKS

Is Wallace a good administrator and organizer? Well, one one of his chief detractors, radioman Fulton Lewis, Jr., is on record to the effect that under Wallace the Department of Agriculture was the best organized and administered branch of the government in the Roosevelt Administration. There is something in Wallace, a modesty, an inhibition, that keeps him from revealing himself, from exposing his abilities. For instance, when he says in public that he is a successful businessman, his words come with an embarrassed manner.

Wallace is a strange man to be in contemporary American politics: he *thinks*. As FDR once put it, he has ideas about some of the world's central problems. He keeps himself informed. He has perspectives.* Worse yet, Wallace is utterly independent — an *objective patriot*, indifferent to special interests, concerned only with over-all national interests. And those who know him well in spite of his tendency to conceal his abilities and successes are sure that he would make a good and successful President, and are almost certain that someday he *will* be President of the United States.

We hear questions, "But can Wallace win? He can't be elected in '48, can he?" And we answer: "*Wallace has already won.* He has won the victory of the American conscience. He has won another chance for a progressive, decent America; for the American intelligence, the American instinct, the American Dream (now turning into a Nightmare), to come into play again in our national life and on the world scene. He has caused the

*Said George Bernard Shaw in an interview with Johannes Steel, published in the July 24 York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily: "Democrats and Republicans are the same. Wallace is the man. Tell the American people that Shaw says Wallace is the only man among the candidates who is a social philosopher . . . who can do anything about the international situation because he knows something about it."

—Walt Partymiller, The York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily, by permission.

—Walt Partymiller, The York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily, by permission.

reactionaries and fascists, the warmongers, the exalted criminals, the brass-hats, the "elder statesmen," to pause in their purposes. He has started and inspired a great resistance movement, which has won — for the moment: *only for the moment.* It is up to the people to translate this victory into political reality at the polls . . . in 1948 . . . in 1950 . . . in 1952 . . . *in time* . . . before the powers personified by Dulles and Dewey, Spellman and Murray, Hearst and McCormick, Barney Baruch and Herbert Hoover, Henry and Clare Luce, Pegler and Mencken, Tooey Spaatz and Joe Collins, Leahy and Truman plunge us into a new war.

Within A Complex Chain Reaction

The dangers of fascism in the U. S. and of World War III *continue to exist* (in fact, there is danger that puny Truman and the eager-beavers in charge of his campaign are apt to maneuver world affairs into a vast explosion this summer or early next fall in order to save their little egos and the Democratic Party, now disintegrating before our eyes, and to keep themselves in power to do the bidding of Wall St. and the Vatican). So far Wallace and Taylor have done only this: They have challenged the trends and tides toward fascism in the U. S. and toward war by holding up the best in traditional Americanism, which the un-Americans in and out of Congress denounce as Communism. They have broken through some of the apathy, through a corner of the "paper curtain" of lies and distortions. They have shown that peace is possible, that UMT is unnecessary. They have given leadership to those who since the Fulton speech or since the inception of the Truman Doctrine have seen the need of a new party, if the U. S. and the world are to have a future. Doing this, Wallace and Taylor have evoked in many Americans an impulse to try to regain control of their government: and therein is their victory.

However, we are at a pass in human affairs where nearly everything, if not everything, exists very tentatively and precariously in its present forms and seeming potentialities. It is not only the atom that is being split; a chain reaction is engulfing and refashioning everything in the human world. Nothing may appear to be tomorrow what it looks to be today. Look at the Cominform-Tito rift; look at the crack-up of the Democratic Party in the U. S. —

As a country, always intensely dynamic, now part of a world whirling in a many-sided Revolution, we Americans seem to be teetering on the brink of a chasm while the light of a new dawn blinds our eyes. New forces, new energies, are being released, are releasing themselves—not only in the mysterious realm of physics but also in the overlapping political, social and cultural fields, which are ill understood even by individuals whom it may not be inaccurate to describe as conscious, informed, intelligent or thoughtful. The situation bristles with *ifs* and *maybes* and question marks. One word for it is *chaos,* another is *crisis.*

The Wallace-Taylor movement—the Progressive Party—sprang out of this chaos, this crisis. As of this writing, the movement, the party, is but slightly above, or ahead of, the general situation. To a very large extent (and, in the main, inevitably so) it is an integral part of the situation. It, too, bristles with *ifs* and *maybes* and question marks; it, too, is in the chain-reaction process. There are tensions within it, too; it, too, can be split and fragmentized. All sorts of forces, themselves in a state of disintegration, are loosed, which *want* to split and fragmentize it.

But these forces need not succeed. It will be, at least in part, up to us in the Progressive Party to see to it that the anti-Wallace plots will fail, and that the party and Wallace as a man will be the magnet attracting the fragments split off other political formations now falling apart. This will depend on the personnel in the party's national headquarters; on state and local leaders; *on money;* on whether or not there are a quarter of a million progressives ready to work day and night, or in all their spare time, on the precinct and ward levels during Aug., Sept. and Oct.

This T&T presumes to want to be helpful to those whose duty it will be to muster, inform and train the 250,000 active and devoted campaign workers, *a large proportion of whom will be ready to continue politically active after the election.* This emphasis is important. Whatever the results on election day, the Progressive Party must continue beyond next autumn.

In view of the complex chain reaction operating in our national life, the election of Wallace and Taylor, although unlikely, is not absolutely excluded; but we two who sign this article are scarcely interested in that. We think that Wallace, as the leader of progressive America, is today where Jefferson was 150 years ago, where Lincoln was in the middle 1850's; and our primary concern is that Wallace and Taylor be given a large vote and that a score or more of Wallacites be elected to Congress, partly so that some of the other countries, now fearful of the U. S., will know that there is "another America"; and that a firm basis be laid for the Progressive Party, so that it can put a score or two more Wallacites into Congress in 1950; and then, in '52, after the next "bust"—possibly after the next war, if anything will be left of the country—the Progressive Party might be elected into power.—*Louis Adamic and R. V. Cassill.*

THE YORK (PA.) GAZETTE & DAILY

For about a year now I've been referring to and quoting from the York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily, and using Walt Partymiller's cartoons which are appearing in that newspaper, published by J. W. ("Jess") Gitt, an old-line American who preaches and practices traditional Americanism at its progressive best and has no fear of the Un-Americans now ransacking the treasures of American experience.

Several times I've suggested to T&T readers that they subscribe to the Gazette & Daily. This time I want to *urge* them to do so . . . at least for the period of the political campaign . . . say, for 3 months ($2.75). No matter where you live, you will find the two editorial pages in the middle of the paper indispensable to sound thinking at this time. Address: Gazette & Daily, 31 E. King St., York, Pa.—*L. A.*

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR A PROGRESSIVE DOMESTIC PROGRAM

By Lee Fryer, of Denver, Colo.—specially written for T&T:

When almost any group of ordinary Americans with progressive ideas or tendencies are gathered in a meeting, one name besides "Henry Wallace" brings from them applause. It is "Franklin Roosevelt". Many T&T readers will have noticed this in political or other meetings they have attended during the first half of '48. The reasons for this are worth considering by the leaders of any new American political organization which expects to function successfully in the crucial years ahead.

The reasons are not to be found in elaborate economic analysis. The FDR era was an elaborate economic failure: in '39 there still were 8 or 10 million unemployed. It did not solve the problem of low wages for industrial workers, or of low prices for farmers' products. Roosevelt personally was not of the people, but an aristocrat.

Why the Memory of Roosevelt Lives

The people of today who lived on $40-a-month-WPA-Roosevelt wages are the ones who applaud his memory with the deepest sincere feelings. And they have no use for Harry Truman, who is administering their $200-a-month era. *Why don't these people groan at the memory of FDR and cheer Truman?* The answer is to be found at least partly in the fact that the Roosevelt administration—for whatever reason—recognized the dignity of the individual and invited the people to participate in and become integrated with the country's social-economic processes. This fact needs emphasis today: *The Roosevelt government counted ordinary people in, in planning and administration, to a greater degree than any other government that has been known in U. S. history. It was in this sense a "people's government".*

Few people realize the extent to which citizens' committees and citizens' responsibility were used in the New Deal.

Examples of Successful Committees

The Farm Security Administration—organized while Wallace was Secretary of Agriculture—used 3 separate farmers' committees in each county in the administration of its rural program. One reviewed and passed on loans for non-real-estate purposes. Another reviewed and passed on loans for purchase of farms. A third handled debt-adjustment cases for farmers overloaded with debt. The farmers in these committees learned more about farm economics than had ever been taught to adult U. S. citizens in the 150 years preceding the New Deal.

Two other groups of farmer committees were even more significant from the standpoint of solving America's future economic problems. The first of these were the local land-use planning committees. Each of these community citizens' committees had the job of developing a sound plan for the agriculture of their locality. They had technical assistance in the form of farm economists and county farm agents. Their recommendations in many instances were revolutionary in the best U. S. tradition. They gave local support to the bold policies which made the progressive reputation of the Dept. of Agriculture while Wallace was its Secretary.

The second group of great significance in agriculture were the AAA committees, out of which developed the present-day demand by farmers that they, themselves, shall administer the farm program. When you talk to a qualified member of one of these committees, you are talking to a man (often a woman) who is the barometer and guide to the new progressive program which will be applied in agriculture. He is a post-graduate student of agriculture in his area. His informed, sound judgment is a safe guide to the program of a new party. He knows the problems. He knows some of the answers. He is community-minded. He has no intellectual pretensions. Nor is he a conscious revolutionist. But he is more revolutionary than most left-wing intellectuals in New York who can't tell the difference between a load of hay and a cloud in the sky.

—Walt Partymiller, The York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily, by permission.

The National Youth Administration used citizens' committees. So did the WPA and the Housing Authorities. Later, the citizens' committees in OPA, the WPB and other wartime agencies, had an influence in inhibiting corporate and military control of the war program. This influence is still an unappraised factor of the war period. It prevented, for example, the crippling of our vital industrial production by the military in wartime.

A Strategic Idea for the Progressive Party

The concept of these committees is the most strategic single idea available to the Progressive Party in the formation of its domestic economic program. It is the idea which may unleash the greatest democratic force in the U. S., surpassing that of the FDR era. Its functional approach is in line with American pragmatism. It is capable of doing away with most of the ideological fuss and fury.

The Progressive Party should conceive during the present campaign its grand strategy for putting American people to work on their own economic and social problems when and if it gets into office. The pattern for this may well be a system of watershed or valley or regional authorities blanketing the country. These authorities would go considerably beyond the concept of the Tennessee Valley Authority, however, and would be instruments for regional and local administration of economic reconstruction.

The community—town, city, county, valley, watershed, region—is the focal spot. The ordinary citizen in the community is the beginning and end of any satisfactory social and economic system. The system must serve him, or it's no good. It must change within the scope of his common sense, practicality, and aims in life. A principal job of the Progressive Party during the next several years should be to agitate for such a system.

The new party must visualize the setting up of local citizens' committee in *every* community of the U. S. These committees shall have the duty of planning the economic life and agitating for social developments for their areas. They shall be tied in with county or district committees, with parallel responsibilities

—Walt Partymiller, The York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily, by permission.

for their broader area. These in turn shall be integrated by the regional or valley organizations.

Toward an Economic and Social Redevelopment

When a Progressive administration gets into power in Washington, the regional or valley authorities shall have economic agencies and legal and financial resources for putting the citizens' programs into operation. These shall include regional Reconstruction Finance Corporation agencies to finance the economic and social redevelopment of America, in industrialization, resources, housing, road and hospital construction, school improvement, and all other necessary types of public enterprise suggested in the Progressive platform. They shall finance "yardstick plants" which shall operate for the people's interest in every area of economic monopoly.

Something along this line is the potential basis for a domestic program of the Progressive Party. It is a practical basis; it is in the American tradition. It carries into a broader sphere the democratic approach used by Wallace when he was Secretary of Agriculture. It should come naturally to a party headed by Wallace. It is the idea of people's government and the mixed economy, which offer the next progressive step in the American process.

For the low-down on Dewey as the candidate of special interests see the July 12 issue of In Fact (10c; 280 Lafayette St., New York 12, N. Y.)—"must" for all active workers in the new Progressive Party.—*L. A.*

***The Little Man in the White House*, an X-ray portrait of Harry Truman, which still holds good, was the leading feature — nearly 10,000 words — of the Oct.-Dec. '46 T&T. Important material now.**

***Will American Labor, Too, Learn Only the Hard Way?* was the "lead" article in the July-Sept. '47 T&T. The question and the answer are pertinent now.**

A few hundred copies of each of these two numbers remain available, at 50c each. If you want one or the other, or both, please order at once.

WHY NEGROES WILL VOTE FOR WALLACE

By Earl Conrad—specially written for T&T:

Why will a majority of 3,000,000 Negro votes in northern and border states and 1,000,000 in the South be cast for Wallace and Taylor? Answer:

Because the Negro people have seen through the bi-partisan "gentlemen's agreement" of the Republicans and Democrats, in existence since 1876, to maintain white supremacy. . . . Because they are tired of being a political football tossed back and forth between the old parties on the basis of lip service to their needs alone and a cynical denial of their demands in session after session of Congress. . . .

Because the Negroes remember Wallace's seconding speech at the 1944 nominating convention when he ended the silence on white supremacy and Negro issues in the major parties, demanded an end to the poll tax, and thus started his exit from the Democratic Party. . . . Because Glen Taylor went to Birmingham. . . .

Because they were shocked to see the brushoff which 39 Negro delegates to the 1948 Republican Convention received from the National Committee, the nation's press and the Republican leaders. . . . Because they *know* that Dewey scuttled the FEPC legislation in New York State in '44 when his political ambitions were at stake, and that in the same type of betrayal now he is bidding for white supremacy votes in the South from anti-Truman voters. . . .

Because Negro voters are wise to the policy of buying Negro votes with a few appointments and other patronage while ignoring demands for legislation on real issues affecting 15 million human beings. . . .

Because they see that the Wallace-Taylor program and militancy alone forced Truman and the Democrats to give a hysterical and unimplemented lip service to minority group needs. . . . Because they see the disintegration of the Democratic Party and don't care to bet on a losing team, and prefer to bank their strength with the new party whose mere emergence forced the Democratic hand. . . .

Because they see the bankruptcy of many Negro leaders—of Walter White, who is bound to Mrs. Roosevelt, the Democratic Party, and influential white conservatives, and considers their desires rather than the militant mood of the Negro mass which is prepared to make the break that he, personally, cannot; of Lester Granger, who is thoroughly dependent on big white philanthropy such as that of Henry Luce, and who is Forrestal's man, not the Negro people's; of Channing Tobias, who is crotchety with Republicanism. . . . Because such leaders are being replaced by a newer, younger group who have broken from old patterns and are running for office on Progressive Party tickets, formulating policy at top levels in the Wallace-Taylor ranks, carrying trade-union, professional, and cultural group strength and experience with them. . . .

Because the Negro people will again this year, as they did in '44, go over the heads of the Negro press editorial writers, and, while the press in the main goes Truman or Dewey, the man-in-the-street will vote for Wallace, as before he did for Roosevelt. . . .

Because the Negro people are for peace and know that the two old parties are moving toward war. . . .

Because they want Congressional action on housing, inflation and civil liberties, which the old parties have abandoned, and the new must take up if America is to continue. . . .

For these and a host of other reasons, the main mass of the Negro people can be counted upon to bank its strength on the side of Wallace and Taylor, on the side of progress, to be decisive in sending many candidates into office, defeating others, and in winning greater political strength for themselves in the period ahead.

U.S.-SOVIET AFFAIRS, THE COMMUNISTS, AND HENRY WALLACE

I: PINHEADS *VERSUS* STRATEGISTS

By Leslie B. Bain, long-time foreign correspondent, newspaper columnist and radio commentator on international affairs:

The feature beginning on this page and continuing on pages 25-29 belongs in the spark-striking, atmosphere-clearing category of polemical writing. Do not begin it unless you have time to finish it.

Historians writing of our era will be puzzled by the apparent inability of the American leadership during 1945-'48 to evaluate its own policies realistically. By-and-by they will discover that Truman, Marshall, Forrestal, Baruch, Paul Hoffman, with their flunkies and cohorts, plus the majority of the 80th Congress, were, during the most crucial days of America's career, Soviet dupes carrying out policies determined by the Kremlin as so many puppets answering tugs of the wires. Of course the verdict of history will not be "guilty of treason," but assuredly guilty of stupidity such as never witnessed before. No other explanation will ever be found for the Truman Doctrine, the ERP, UMT, the "aid" to Greece and Turkey, the loans to Chiang, and the other grants and lend-lease swindles — which are actually battles won by the Soviets in advance of the shooting war between the USA and the USSR.

The Kremlin Must Plot to Win

The irony is that our pinheaded top-level officials have *forced* the USSR to use them as her instruments of defense in a war which she did not seek and ardently hoped to avoid. It goes without saying that the USSR is taking a terrible risk in encouraging and impelling our American officials to commit greater and greater blunders. By all available evidence, much of it admittedly circumstantial, the USSR has assumed this risk because she became convinced that a final shooting showdown with the USA is inevitable. *That being the case, the Kremlin strategists must plot to win. It is their patriotic and professional duty to plot to win.* Any nation's high command must adopt a line which promises victory over the enemy. The cold, sober premise or idea on which Soviet strategists base their calculations is: to stay alive one must destroy the enemy, preferably before he assails you.

In the U.S. we have numerous well-meaning, starry-eyed people who still talk about a possible reversal of policies to halt the trend toward war. They do not perceive the depth of the breach and the granite hardness of the pattern of hostility between the so-called West and the so-called East which began to be set during World War II. It is heart-renderingly painful to part with a cherished dream, and many American liberals, faithful to their humanitarianism, will still go on trying to reverse history, as indeed they must do for the sake of the record. We cannot leave only black names and dates on the headstone of our civilization.

Soviet's Hard-Headed Realists

A study of available data on the subject suggests that at one time, say early in 1942, the Kremlin also believed that after the war a *modus vivendi* might be found for the maintenance of an evolutionary period in which the development of the world's tremendous technological potentials would lessen the economic, social and political tension. It believed that the divergent economic-social systems could co-exist and cooperate. In the U. S. bold dreamers even envisaged a possible synthesis of socialist, utilitarian and capitalistic economies. Roosevelt proclaimed the doom of the evil practices of the past. There was a hope abroad that filled the hearts of men, and even the hard-headed Kremlin realists played with the idea that Lenin's dictum about the utter incompatability of imperialism and socialism might be modified in a world in which all things were in a process of progressive modification. But the hope was short lived.

The first breach occurred late in '42 when the first Allied troops landed in Africa. Instead of aligning themselves with the militant French underground, the "Anglo-American allies" imported Darlan, Peyrouton and other Nazi collaborators to administer the "liberated" areas. This was explained on the grounds of expediency, of saving of lives and appeasing the French Navy. For all the specious, glib apologies, believers in the *modus vivendi* were dealt a terrific blow. Then in quick succession followed the strengthening of, or the attempts to strengthen, the evil old crowd in Sicily, Italy, Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece. Badoglio, Peter Karageorgevich, the Savoys, Mikhailovitch, George of Greece, Anders of Poland . . . reactionaries and have-beens were mustered by the "Anglo-Americans" for the sacred fight to establish democracy and free the world of oppression. Day by day, during '43-'44, it became clearer to Soviet leaders that the liberal-progressive pattern of which FDR was the chief spokesman and to which all the other major Allied leaders subscribed in solemn declarations was, in the words of an American pundit, "so much sky-writing."

They Were Left No Choice

By the time the first Soviet soldier appeared outside the boundaries of the USSR reaction was riding high in several lands. Nazi collaborators were re-instated in power and Allied intrigue was in full swing where the people's revolution was too strong to be displaced with threats or force. *Under these circumstances the Kremlin had no course other than a strong determination not to permit the "Anglo-Americans" to interfere in their own sphere of influence.*

Step by step, the breach widened and by April '45 the Soviet delegation in San Francisco *knew* that the U. S. had replaced Britain as senior partner in a worldwide counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet coalition. With the hardening of the lines went whatever hope lingered within the USSR leadership that the UN might become an instrument of international justice. The scales were too heavily weighted against the USSR to leave any doubt as to the manner in which the UN would be used by the Western coalition.

Somewhere between FDR's death and the end of the San Francisco Conference a major change occurred in USSR strategy. Perfunctory collaboration with the USA continued, and still goes on; but, it is clear by now, merely as a device to gain time and to allow Soviet schemes aimed at the weakening of America to mature — *schemes which Soviet leaders had no choice but to initiate and follow through.* By April '45 the Kremlin had rejected the concept of probable lasting peace because it had become convinced that the pattern set by "the Anglo-Americans" in '42 in Africa was snowballing into an irresistible force for war, and by then already was too deeply rooted for a reversal by peaceful means.

(Continued on page 25)

COMINFORM AND YUGOSLAVIA

In a slightly shortened version, the following article appeared in the July 11 New York Star (formerly PM). In mid-July, I planned to cover the subject more extensively in this T&T, but two considerations ruled against it — the problem of space and the fact that I was asked by a publication much larger than T&T to attempt a full examination of the Cominform-Tito rift. This last may not work out. In that case, the rift and the situation in Yugoslavia will be dealt with in the next T&T.—L.A.

The Cominform-Tito rift has given rise to some incredibly complex theories, linking the split to all the crucial questions in today's world.

The anti-Reds were gleeful. Ah, a crack in the Iron Curtain! Puppet Tito (who, it seems now, wasn't a puppet at all) defies his Kremlin masters (who, it suddenly appears, weren't his masters after all). Nationalist Tito leaps on the ramparts to defend Yugoslav independence. Ambitious Tito wants a Balkan federation, to which the Kremlin is opposed, and puts himself at the head of an East-European uprising against Stalin. Hard-up Tito is flirting with the ERP, etc., etc. And this sensationalism enters into calculations of how the "cold war" high command can best take advantage of the rift.

The leaders and the press of most Communist parties over the world, including the Communist Party of the U. S., worked overtime trying to uncover the exact nature of Tito's errors and deviations. The same writers who for years had regarded the Communist leaders of Yugoslavia as among the most terrific Communists under the sun now suddenly strained to show that these Yugoslavs have strayed from the line and turned heretics, breaking the unity of the Communist theory and movement. In their ignorance and zeal, they were — still are — reaching into that well-known arsenal of misinformation, the "capitalist" press, for ammunition to help finish off Tito.

The unique Rebecca West and the Kravchenko-like "experts" on international Communism and Yugoslavia worked up the most exciting story. The rift is not genuine but part of a scenario concocted by Stalin and Tito to fool the West. The next scene will be the Soviet Army rolling over the Balkans, which will bring Western Civilization and Christianity — particularly their Middle Eastern bastion, Turkey — to the brink of destruction.

Stuff and nonsense — all of it.

Never, before or since the rift, have the Yugoslavs made a statement or published so much as a suggestion that they entertain the faintest aspiration to be independent of the USSR, in the sense that unprecise minds in England and America mean by "independent" small nations in a world of great-power politics and rivalry.

Never, before or since the rift, have the Yugoslavs hinted with a single word that they are not, or someday might not wish to remain, in the Soviet orbit. Some press dispatches and editorials to the contrary notwithstanding, the central point of Yugoslavs' wartime and postwar thinking about their state was always — is now — that the existence of the USSR is for them the best guarantee of the maximum independence that any small people can have in today's world.

The rift has brought on no perceptible drop in the Yugoslavs' open resentment of the U. S., more precisely of "Wall Street," as the base of world reaction which is spearheading imperialism and the drive toward World War III. Even a slight knowledge of the character and propulsions of New Yugoslavia should serve as a light for seeing that no power on earth could push her present leadership and her people into an active conflict against the Soviets.

Then, what is the rift? On the one side, poor manners which go with the idea on the part of some Soviet and/or Cominform leaders that Yugoslavia ought to do so-and-so and thus-and-thus; on the other side, resentment of such manners, even when they are excusable in the light of the fear of World War III which motivates Soviet leaders' frantic determination to see the Soviet orbit readied for it as quickly as possible. That resentment springs up in Yugoslavs even when they agree that so-and-so and thus-and-thus are good ideas.

Years ago a former Cleveland industrial laborer named Andrej ("Andy") Krizmancich, an old immigrant from Yugoslavia, worked on my farm in the Delaware Valley. One day lightning ripped part of a branch off a tree, and I asked him to saw off the rest of it. Andy said quickly, almost matter-of-factly: "I'll get the hatchet and chop it off."

I still think the saw was the better tool for the purpose; but (perhaps because storms relax me if I am tense from overwork) I didn't insist on it. A typical Yugoslav with ideas and ways of his own, Andy was deeply independent but usually ready to go along with you on a basis of cooperation and mutual respect. Since I suggested the saw, it meant much to him to use the hatchet; and he hacked off the broken limb in his own good time. Ultimately it made no difference; the tree looked just as well as if he had used the saw and had attended to it immediately.

If in over-haste, or in a bad mood, I bluntly ordered Andy to do something, the chances were that he either didn't do it at all or did it poorly.

Had Andrei Zhdanov known Andrej Krizmancich, Yugoslavia and Russia might not have come to a rift at all. But, remembering Andy, I can also imagine that Yugoslavs, with their unique characteristics, can be exasperating to Soviet leaders responsible for their country's security, which hinges in part on Yugoslavia and the rest of Eastern Europe.

In a Two-World siuation, there is no doubt what side Yugoslavia is now on or what side she will remain on. Essentially, the crisis between the Cominform and the Yugoslavs is not political but in human relations. Perhaps both sides are more or less at fault; in essence, though, the whole rumpus is very human, natural, inevitable; and from the angle of the Soviet orbit, it may be all to the good in the long run. Its resolution lies in both sides admitting mistakes in behavior or otherwise, in apologies and compromise.

Again: there is no doubt what side Yugoslavia is and will be on in peace or war; but it seems that Tito hopes to impress this on his Soviet friends — that if Yugoslavia does things in her own way in an atmosphere of good manners and mutual respect, she will be a bigger asset in the war, than if she is grudgingly told how and when to act; that, in fact, she will be worthless if Russia, in fear of war, fails to respect the Yugoslavs' sensibilities and tries to impel them into drastic measures like land collectivization before they and their state apparatus are ready for them.

The present Yugoslav leaders know their people. Since 1941 they and the people have been through a great experience together; there is deep bond between them; and the leaders feel they know better than anyone else can know what is necessary and possible in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavs do well in war only in a clean-cut struggle for freedom; in peacetime, only as a free people in their own tempo — and you must leave to them what "freedom" means in their dictionary.

SOVIET'S SECRET WEAPON — SEX

On June 16, Mrs. Nina C. Dexter, of Encino, Calif., directed a telegram to Secretary of State Marshall and to Congressmen Karl Mundt and Richard Nixon:

LOS ANGELES TIMES OF JUNE 15 CARRIES FRONT-PAGE STORY DATELINED WASHINGTON DC JUNE 14 THAT RUSSIANS HAVE LAUNCHED LARGE-SCALE CAMPAIGN TO WIN OVER KEY AMERICAN OFFICIALS ABROAD BY THE USE OF SEX AS AN IMPLEMENT OF SOVIET POLICY. ARTICLE CITES BUCAR, BICONISH AND McMILLIN CASES. AND SO THE RUSSIANS HAVE GOT THE JUMP ON US AGAIN! APPARENTLY THE SOVIETS HAVE DISCOVERED THE ACHILLES' HEEL OF CAPITALISM — SEX.

WHAT IS THERE ABOUT THE RUSSIANS THAT MAKES THEM IMMUNE TO A SIMILAR CAMPAIGN BY THE UNITED STATES? CAN IT BE THAT WE HAVE BEEN ALL THIS TIME OVERLOOKING A SIMPLE WAY OF PENETRATING BEYOND THE IRON CURTAIN? HAVE CAPITALISM AND "WESTERN CIVILIZATION" SO CHANGED OUR PEOPLE THAT THEY ARE NO LONGER PHYSICALLY ATTRACTIVE TO PEOPLE LIVING UNDER COMMUNISM? SURELY WE WOULD NOT BE ABOVE FIGHTING BACK WITH THE SAME WEAPON.

THE MUNDT-NIXON BILL, IF IT SURVIVES OPPOSITION TO IT LED BY HENRY WALLACE, SHOULD BE AMENDED TO SAFEGUARD US AGAINST THIS LATEST RUSSIAN MENACE, THIS SECRET WEAPON OF WORLD COMMUNISM, BY MAKING IT AN INDICTABLE OFFENSE FOR ANY AMERICAN TO ENTERTAIN A BIOLOGICAL URGE TOWARD ANY KNOWN OR SUSPECTED COMMUNIST — A COMMUNIST BEING DEFINED AS ANY PERSON OF THE OPPOSITE SEX LIKELY TO ATTRACT AN AMERICAN. THE LAW SHOULD ALSO HAVE A PROVISO THAT ALL REPRESENTATIVES OF THIS COUNTRY ABROAD MUST SUBMIT SATISFACTORY EVIDENCE OF IMPOTENCE OR UNDERGO SURGERY TO REMOVE THIS THREAT TO OUR SECURITY.

U.S.A. AND U.S.S.R — DOES THIS MAKE SENSE, AND THE OPPOSITE TOO?

A sequel to the feature entitled "Soviet Union — Can This Be True And the Opposite Too?" in the last T&T.

U. S. Diplomat Returns from Moscow

In all probability the York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily is the only paper that published this AP dispatch from New York, dated April 29, on the front page:

An American embassy official [Joseph Bulik, former agricultural attache] returned from Moscow today and said America has "a tremendous fund of good-will with the people" of Russia. . . . He said the political situation "is something you feel more here than over there" and added that "when I read the American papers in Moscow, I got scared."

"The Russian people are wonderful," he said. "They like Americans and like things American."

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Of all places in the world Russia is probably the one of which generalities are most dangerous.—William Ernest Hocking, Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University.

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Despite Newspapers

Arthur Brackman, editor of Propaganda, an analysis-letter (60 E. 42 St., N. Y. 17), wrote in its Jan. 30, '48, issue:

In spite of the tireless newspaper talk to the contrary, there exist no irreconcilable differences between the people of the U. S. and the people of the Soviet Union . . . Infinite potentialities of mutually beneficial progress are present, provided only that no single nation or group of nations, in the interest of a small but powerful group of its own citizens, shall attempt to dominate the international machinery now finally again established [in the United Nations] after so much cost in blood and treasure.

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On its record, the Soviet policy has had a clear and realistic aim. Its avowed policy has been peace through international collective security, if possible, or strong defenses by its own efforts if collective security failed. Originally left out of the League of Nations, the Soviet joined in 1934. During the next five years it took a strong stand for collective action against the series of aggressions by Italy into Ethiopia, by Japan into China, and by Germany and Italy into Spain.—From "Checking the Score on Our Soviet Ally," Fact Sheet No. 53, issued by the U. S. War Dept. in 1944.

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World Population Problem: Soviet Solution in 1935

By Henry Shapiro; in a special dispatch to the N. Y. Herald Tribune, cabled from Leningrad on Aug. 12, 1935, and published in that newspaper the following day—in part:

A population of 20,000,000,000, ten times the present size, could live on a standard much higher than now prevails, if the world's food resources, as yet largely untapped, were scientifically exploited, according to the theory advanced today to a number of foreign scientists attending the International Physiological Congress here, by a group of Soviet scientists headed by Prof. Nikolai Ivanovich Vavilov, member of the Soviet Academy of Science and director of the Leningrad Institute of Plant Industry.

"History is only beginning, and wide vistas open before humanity as the world's cultivable area is extended and the mysteries of plant nature are explained," Prof. Vavilov said in an interview.

The Soviet scientists sharply oppose the theory of Prof. E. M. East, Harvard geneticist, published in *Manhood at the Crossroads*, in which he concludes that humanity soon will reach the limit of its resources. In support of their contention they point out the "migration" of Soviet agriculture to the frozen north and the reclamation of large wastelands on the Arctic shores, where the cultivation of wheat, oats and vegetables has made possible the development of industrial centers in the Soviet tundra and taiga.

The Institute of Plant and Industry has perfected a method of seed treatment known as vernalization, by which seeds are germinated and placed in cold storage for a month, and then planted mature earlier than usual. This method has enabled the Soviet government to increase tenfold the cultivable area north of Leningrad and obtain an ever better spring and winter crop.

"When the government," Prof. Vavilov went on, "decided to populate the Arctic borders, pursuant to the general policy of distribution and development of industry over the country, we translated science into reality and laid the foundation of making a formerly uninhabitable land Russia's drought-free granary, and thus removed the insecurity now felt because of the occurrence of periodic crop failures in the southern regions."

In the course of world-wide flora searching expeditions, Prof. Vavilov and 6,000 scientists associated with the institute, discovered many plants adaptable to Russia's varied climate, such as the rubber plant, now cultivated in non-tropical regions of the North Caucasus. The preparation of synthetic rubber from the ordinary potato plant, as well as of citric acid from cheap tobacco leaves, indicates further the possibilities in the plant world in substantiation of the theory of the Soviet scientists.

"Had Prof. East been in possession of our data he would not have reached a negative conclusion regarding the botanist's ability to change the face of the earth," is the consensus among Soviet scientists. The foregoing facts make their argument plausible.

Questioned on the feasibility of Prof. Vavilov's theory, Prof. Herman J. Muller, noted American geneticist, on leave of absence from the University of Texas, and now associated with the Academy of Science at Moscow, said: "The unparalleled correlation between theory and practice in the U. S. S. R. and the vast resources devoted to scientific research give promise of considerable achievement. The Russians already have sufficient facts to substantiate the optimism of their agricultural scientists."

This feature should be read together with the one that immediately follows it.

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"They [Russian leaders] all seem really to want to do what is good for their society instead of wanting to do for themselves. We take care of ourselves and think about the welfare of society afterward." — F.D.R.'s comment following one of the Big Three conferences where he met Stalin, Molotov, etc.; quoted by Frances Perkins in *The Roosevelt I Knew.*

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World Population Problem: American Solution Now?

By Lawrence Dennis, often called the leading American fascist intellectual but whose own label for himself probably is "objective isolationist-nationalist", and whose current influence in some Congressional circles is very considerable; in the Feb. 7, '48 issue of his private analysis letter, The Appeal to Reason (Box 11,

Becket, Mass.; $24 a year—and almost worth it if you know how to read it):

One of the lunacies now gripping the American imagination is the idea that America has to stop communism and war by means of food and economic aid. Well, if communism can only be stopped by feeding people, there is no chance of our ever stopping it with the food we can spare or that we can buy abroad for the purpose. The reasons: there are too many people and too little food. This is not opinion. This is simple arithmetic. The hungry mouths for us to feed are being bred faster than our present inadequate food supply can possibly be expanded to meet the requirements of our present undertaking. . . .

The irony of it all is that Americans justify their intervention in Europe's wars on the grounds that we cannot be indifferent to such wars and that we must intervene in Europe now to prevent war. Well, one of the main causes of war has always been population growth. War has also been for many past situations a solution of a large population problem, in one way or another. Americans say they are determined to rule out this solution. But they cannot feed the peoples, like the Germans and Japanese, they conquer and deprive of the means of waging war.

By way of forecasting, it is [my] prediction that America's only contribution of real effectiveness to solving the population problem of Europe, the cause of the last two world wars, will be the use of the atom bomb in a way to wipe out tens of millions of people. And such a denouement will be entirely logical. We can't feed them. We can't leave them alone, for that would be isolation. The only thing America can do well or successfully in Europe is destroy or create havoc, as we are doing, or have been doing. The atom bomb will be our logical and final contribution. Well, we are making them as fast as we can. They are being made to be used. Their use will prove a solution of Europe's population problem. What is most interesting about America as a world factor is our obsession with the idea that our present role in world affairs is a humane and noble one.

To understand the pathological state of current American thinking, we have been reading . . . in German, in which language is to be found the only translation—Dostoevsky's *Political Writings*. This mad genius of Russia . . . wrote some 70 years ago: "Every great people believes and must believe that, in itself and in itself alone, lies the salvation of the world, that it lives only to lead all other peoples and is predestined to exercise such leadership." Last week I had the pleasure of seeing a French movie version of one of Dostoevsky's greatest novels, *The Idiot*. The Idiot, or the Possessed One, as some of my readers may know, was a Dostoevsky character who was a bit mad and a real do-gooder. He was a sort of Messiah. He brought nothing but tragedy in his wake. He was always trying to do good. To understand America's present world role, one must be able to read *The Idiot* with sympathetic appreciation. To read it intelligently, one needs only to understand America's present world role.

Now, in the Anglo-American tradition, up to the 1890's there was piracy, slave trading and aggression, aggrandizement and colonization, but no Messianism. Spain had the Messianic complex in the 16th Century. Britain had the piracy and freebooting dynamic. Britain beat the Spanish Armada in 1588 and ended Spain's bid for world leadership. Thenceforward for 400 years the Anglo-Saxons fought shy of Messianism. They fought wars for material objectives and gains. They fought for certain ideals, but saving or running the world was never one of them.

It was along in the '90s that Englishmen like Cecil Rhodes and Americans like Captain Mahan began getting the Messianic complex which had proved 400 years earlier Spain's undoing. . . .

In India there is a fable about six blind men describing the elephant — an animal they had never seen. "It's like a wall." . . . "No, I'd say its more like a tree." . . . "No, no, it's a horrible creature, very much like . . . how should I put it?" . . .

Many contemporary Americans are like the men in the fable, jabbering about Communism and the Soviet Union, their eyes made sightless by the "paper curtain" of a press controlled by men and groups tied to special interests.

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It hasn't been publicized, but the census-takers have unearthed the shocking fact that ten million American adults cannot read or write. . . . Literacy in the U. S. has sunk to an alarming low—probably lower than in Russia. . . . Illiteracy isn't found exclusively in the South. More than one million illiterate adults live in the state of New York, 696,000 in Pennsylvania, 462,000 in Illinois. However, 36% of Louisiana population cannot read or write. . . . Seven of the ten million illiterates are native Americans.—Drew Pearson, in his June 7, '48 column.

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Who is the Villain in the Piece?

By H. E. Sharkey; from his remarkable column "Fact and Fancy" in the York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily (May 10)—in part:

U. S. policy toward Russia has been one of seeking to embarrass Russia at every point. This was generally interpreted as an effort to drive Russia out of the UN. . . .

We have followed the policy of blaming Russia for weakening the UN. Russia has exercised the veto frequently. But it has been the U. S. which has by-passed the UN, and it is the U. S. which told the UN what areas it reserved to itself, regardless of what UN might suggest, and it was the U. S. which put through the partition of Palestine and then trifled with the decision.

Let's look at Russia's use of the veto.

Four times the question of Franco Spain was brought up. Four times the Russians vetoed action. But the members of the UN had denounced Spain. Nevertheless, the U. S. forced continued votes on the issue.

Russia exercised the veto ten times in opposition to the admission of anti-Soviet countries to the UN. The Transjordan, which is now defying the UN and threatening to seize Palestine was vetoed. Portugal and Ireland were vetoed 3 times each. Russia used the veto against Austria and Finland. Twice Russia voted against the admission of Italy.

In all these cases, Russia made her position clear at the outset. In the matter of Spain, it was a categorical negative. If Spain had been brought up a dozen times, Russia would have vetoed admission a dozen times. In the others Russia declared she would not vote to admit unfriendly states unless the rest of the nations accepted into admission friendly states.

Russia used the veto once in support of a British position and once in defense of Albania. Once Russia used the veto on a Commission for Greece, but later reversed its position.

This, then, is the basis on which President Truman, Secretary Marshall, and others have accused Russia of abuse of the veto power. I think any fair person could make out a good case charging the U. S. with forcing Russia to exercise the veto for strictly propaganda purposes. Certainly, when we brought up the case of Franco Spain, after the UN had gone on record against admitting Fascist countries, not once, but 4 times in a row, Russia's 4 vetoes were on the side of honor.

Marshall and Austin may now be trying to end the propaganda warfare against Russia in the UN with a view to correcting our own abuse of the UN. They may have decided that the U. S.

has come perilously close to killing UN, and don't want Congress to give it the mortal stab.

But our leaders have done such a thorough job of scuttling that it may be extremely difficult for anybody to reconvert them, especially if re-converting means they must give up some of their word blitz against Russia.

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No government ever formed among men has been capable of surviving injury so grave and cruel as that inflicted by Hitler on Russia.—Winston Churchill in 1944.

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More on the Soviet "Abuse of the Veto"

In his St. Patrick's Day address before a joint session of Congress, President Truman said: "One nation has persistently obstructed the work of the United Nations by constant abuse of the veto. That nation has vetoed 21 proposals for action in a little over two years." In his Berkeley, Cal., address in mid-June, the President repeated this charge against the USSR.

On St. Patrick's Day, a Los Angeles radio commentator, Alvin Wilder, sponsored by Seally Mattress Company, said: "Few Americans can recall today exactly how the Russian vetoes obstructed the peace. The President did not elaborate. I looked at the record—here it is, in part: Russia vetoed the proposal to keep the Spanish question on the agenda—without prejudice. Russia vetoed the resolution to refer the question of the Franco regime to the Assembly. Russia vetoed the admission of Transjordania . . . of Italy and Austria and Finland . . . of Ireland . . . of Portugal to the UN. Russia vetoed the resolution to maintain Balkan investigation committees in power for 2 years. All these vetoes total up to 20 of the 21 Russian vetoes. The other one had to do with Russia refusing to vote on the U. S. proposal to dismiss Russian charges against Britain for having troops in Syria and Lebanon. That was Russia's first veto in Feb. 16, '46.

"The veto used so often by Russia is hardly responsible for the world's chaotic condition. Agreement at the Security Council would have helped to bring the peace closer to realization, to be sure. But far deeper—more fundamental—causes are responsible for the crisis. These must be faced; the President did not face them—he did not state them. He told us only that which all of us know—that a vast cleavage—a serious political split—exists between the Soviet Union and our country, which—if not resolved—could lead to war. And all that the President told us—all that he asked of the Congress is the power to wage war—

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"[The] bankruptcy of the UN Security Council has been due to no Soviet veto," says former Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles in his latest book *We Need Not Fail* (Houghton Mifflin, $2.50). "It had been due exclusively to the policies of selfish and short-sighted expediency pursued by Great Britain and, still more, by the United States."

This establishes Sumner Welles as a "Communist," a "subversive," an "agent of the Kremlin."

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Needed: Friendly Reciprocity

Excerpts from a lecture by Louis Adamic given during a coast-to-coast tour in Oct.-Dec. '47:

If you attend UN meetings at Lake Success, then read the papers and listen to the radio, you discover that the "stories" and broadcasts have almost no relation to what actually happens in the sessions. Under instruction from their publishers and editors, American reporters follow the "suggestions"—which amount to directives—of State Dept. officials who mingle with them during and after the meetings, and whose assigned duty it is to maintain an "information blockade," to use a phrase frequently heard in the press-rooms at Lake Success. Dispatches are slanted and headlined to present the U. S. and its satellites as the depository of all democratic and humane virtues, and the Soviets and their bloc as pure communistic villainy.

If you follow the events only in the regular press and by listening on the radio, which in the last 2 years has silenced nearly all progressive voices, you are *not* informed about what is going on within the UN and at other international conferences. Personally, I am trying to overcome the information blockade by subscribing to and wading through some 80 journals published in a half-dozen countries, and by seeing a great many people and engaging in an extensive correspondence; and the chances are that I am not succeeding to any great extent. . . . And you and I know nothing whatever of what happens at the informal meetings of such people as Barney Baruch and John Foster Dulles and Cardinal Spellman and their men in the administrative posts and in Congress in Washington—meetings held in hotel suites and private living-rooms at which important decisions are *really* made.

We the people of the U. S. will have to break down this blockade if we are to stop the present trend to war. We must begin to realize that our top-level officials and their unofficial but actual masters now in charge of our foreign and domestic affairs are not the doctors who can cure the present ills of the world, but are the most serious aspect of the disease that afflicts this country and the world. We will have to realize that, with all their seemingly surface virtues, men like Baruch, Spellman, Dulles and Forrestal, to mention but a few, are the representatives of greed in the contest between need and greed. They define our national interests with the interests of big business, of Wall St. brokers and cartelists. They and their fellow-travelers control the press and radio, and are propagandizing us into accepting *their* definitions of *our* national interest. Herein is the most acute danger now threatening world peace. Soviet leaders would be fools if they were not alarmed by it. From the Soviet angle, they would be traitors if they did not take measures to cope with it.

But the fault is not with Wall St. brokers and cartelists who, of course, act as Wall St. brokers and cartelists. The fault is not with Baruch and Dulles and Forrestal who of course try to act to protect their own millions and the billions of their friends here and abroad.

If we Americans have any right to call ourselves a democracy, the fault is us—with the people at large who allowed these Wall St. operators and international cartelists to take over the government; who now permit them to formulate our most important policies, and tolerate them in position to destroy the UN—which, let me emphasize, *is what they are trying to do right now,* with the aid of the military, who of course think of war, not of peace.

We, the people of the U. S. will have to get rid of the counter-revolutionary, neo-fascist, militarist crowd who are about to put over Universal Military Training for two purposes: *one,* to fight the next war, which will be Counter-Revolution on a world scale, aiming to destroy the Soviet Union and the countries and movements friendly to her; and *two,* to gain control over the American people and prevent progressive, democratic developments here.

We must take a hard look at our predicament, at ourselves as a nation. We will have to distill all the sincerity and direction we can from the cross-purposes and confusion in our individual souls and in our national make-up. We will have to get rid of our

tendency to self-righteousness, and get behind the UN idea with a powerful determination that justice and equality become a perceptible trend the world over.

We, the American people will have to find a way to press our government into formulating and practicing a foreign policy which will fit into an effective UN apparatus and encourage democracy at home and in China, Greece, India, Brazil, Indonesia . . . everywhere—not necessarily a democracy exactly like ours; in fact, in some respects preferably unlike ours. The future has no room for the idea that "Anglo-Americans" have a patent on democratic processes. There is basis for the claim of the new regimes in Eastern Europe, as well as of the Soviet Union, that their programs and the achieved and expected results are democratic.

We Americans must realize that potentially and actually the USSR and the U.S.A. are equally great powers, and that friendship between the two is essential to both and to the world in general.

We must delve into the whys and wherefores of the Russians' suspicion of the West, just as they should delve into the West's suspicions of them. As a beginning, read the book entitled *The Great Conspiracy: the Secret War Against the Soviet Union,* by Michael Sayers and Albert Kahn. I believe that nearly everything in that book is true; but *if only one-tenth* of it is true, the Russians—to repeat—would be fools if they were not suspicious of the West.

We must try to understand the Soviet Union, and expect from her understanding and fair judgment about our country; in turn, we must speak and write about the Soviet Union with the same degree of fairness. *Friendly reciprocity is essential to any successful relationship.* This may be sheer Utopianism, but it seems to me that we and the Russians must cease writing and talking of only the less fortunate aspects of our respective countries. . . . It so happens that it was our press that, under the directives of our official and unofficial counter-revolutionaries and champions of greed, began the present propaganda war between the U. S. and the USSR. It so happens that for *every line* of anti-American publicity in Russia our press publishes *pages* of anti-Russian propaganda. *We* began the present "cold war." It is up to us to change our behavior to the Soviet Union publicity-wise.

There is need of bringing about an ideological compromise—or at least a truce—on the international scene. Stalin wants it; but *of course on mutual terms,* not on our terms. His country too is a power. He would be a fool not to want to work with us in a peaceful relation; and he is no fool. His attitude seems to be: our two systems are different—in the long run, the best of the two will prevail. Personally, I believe that is fair; and that if the two systems begin to work together, in the long run the best *in each* will prevail and merge with the best in the other.

I say: let's begin to trade with the Soviet Union and her neighbors with their vital new regimes. Even now, when we resist and antagonize her, the Soviet Union is among our best *cash* customers. She pays for everything she buys from us. The so-called business we are doing with our satellites Britain and France and Italy is not business, is not trade; we're giving the stuff away.

We must permit countries like Greece, Italy, France, Spain, China, etc., to have their natural revolutionary developments and come under some new kind of vital leadership. We must give up our counter-revolutionary Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan.

The world is going left; if we permit the Baruchs and Spellmans and Dulleses to take us right, there will be war . . . and militarily, that war will be—certainly for us—a super-idiocy, even if the crowd now in charge of our affairs fails to destroy the whole world. *We'll lose that war as a military proposition.*

Like it or not, the Century of the Common Man, as Henry Wallace calls it, is here. The world is going left, toward general welfare, which is favored in the Constitutions of the U. S. and U.S.S.R. I believe we should go along. We should make ourselves realize that we cannot formulate and practice an intelligent, democratic policy toward the new revolutionary countries unless we infuse our own institutions and processes at home with new vitality and a wider scope so that they will satisfy economically, socially, politically, ethnically a growing number of citizens.

The ideas suggested in the above excerpts are more fully developed at the end of Dinner at the White House, *a book published in '46; in an article "Trade or War—Alternatives in USA-USSR Relations" in the July-Sept. '47 issue of T&T, copies of which are available at 25c; and in an article "USA and USSR Need Each Other" in the July '48 number of Soviet Russia Today.*

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. . . [*There*] *are voices which automatically condemn anything the Soviet does. Their basic fear is that demonstrated success of communism might threaten their property and way of life developed under our system of free enterprise and private ownership.*—Also from the U. S. War Dept.'s Fact Sheet No. 53.

As Things Look to an American Tycoon

From "Notes of an International Meddler," an article by Robert R. Young, multi-millionaire board chairman of the Alleghany Corp. and Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad; in the March 8, '47, Saturday Review of Literature:

Those who say that war is inevitable between Russia and America because of clashes rising out of ideological differences and economic competition, just do not know what they are talking about. It is as if they said that the Russian system is so bad we must fight it to make it better; whereas, if it were better, they would demand that we fight to make it worse.

Of all nations, these two are the most independent of each other, the most self-sustaining. Communist Russia and capitalist America, with their present ways of life, can live just as peacefully in a world of constructive competition and commerce, as capitalist America and socialist Britain, or communist France. *Indeed, we should welcome the competition of all, politically and economically. That is the way of progress. If we cannot meet the competition of others peacefully, we do not deserve to meet it at all.*

If we have a specific long-range policy as regards Russia [that makes sense in any sort of constructive way], our policy makers must be afraid to declare it, for the common man has not been taken into their confidence. Russia is as weary of war as we are. Stalin would have trembled at the thought of a new war. . . . Common sense tells us that. He will sincerely welcome preservation of the status quo long enough to stop and think, long enough to discuss disarmament, to arrange a sound solution in Europe, *if our politicians will only stop edging up into his Mexico—with their hands at their hips.*

. . . I must record my conviction that the atrocity of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not only one of history's grossest violations of morality, after our stand on poison gas, but also a political and strategic blunder of such dimensions as to threaten the foundations of the world.

This is a strong statement. I make it advisedly because I think the time has come for us to Stop Kidding Ourselves. *We are kidding ourselves if we believe the atomic bomb was dropped on Japan.* There is evidence that fully 8 months earlier Japan was ready to capitulate. If the purpose of the bomb was to save American lives, then a fair warning before Okinawa would clearly have saved more. . . . *No, the atom bomb was dropped* [*not militarily on Japan but diplomatically*] *upon Russia.* . . .

NOW, WHAT ABOUT COMMUNISM?

Excerpts from a lecture given by Louis Adamic during a coast-to-coast tour in the fall of '47:

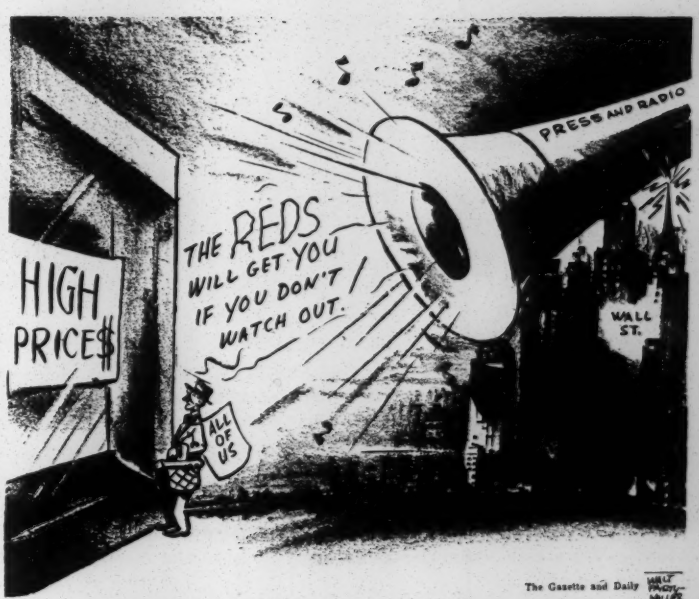
Now, what about Communism and Communists?

I am a member of *no* party [This was true in '47; now I belong to the Independent Progressive Party of New Jersey which is part of the national third-party development in '48.] But if anyone tries to label me a Communist, I do not deny it—for two reasons: *one,* because invariably he doesn't know what he means when he uses the word "Communist," which means that he cannot know whether I am a Communist or not even if I tell him; *two,* because if I deny that I am a Communist, I will next be required to *prove* that I am not a Communist, and the only way I could prove it to such people would be to become a fascist.

Communism is a fact in the world. Like all other facts under the sun, as an ideology and a practice it is in a process of evolution. *That evolution goes on under the influence of its environment. We are an important part of its environment.* If we continue to fight Communism as we, the official we, are now trying to fight it, it will be one kind of Communism; it will be sharply antagonistic to us, to the sort of country we now are, ruled by the Baruchs and Dulleses and Spellmans. If we make a *sincere* effort to work with it, we will moderate it: and in the long run, I believe, the two now-divergent systems will find a common ground and merge. If our top-level counter-revolutionaries continue to fight it in the stupid, nasty way in which we now permit them to fight it, Communism of the drastic sort is bound to prevail, here and everywhere, that is, if the whole world is not totally or largely destroyed in the next war.

The present violent anti-Communist propaganda, geared to the stupidly anti-Communist Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, is doing more for Communism of the extreme sort than anything I could imagine. It is helping it abroad and here. It is forcing the contest between greed and need everywhere in the world to its extreme point—Revolution *vs.* Counter-Revolution. I believe that, thanks to the violent anti-Communist propaganda now swirling around the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plans, hundreds of thousands of Americans are openly and secretly reading Karl Marx and Lenin, and many of them—when they have to pay 21c for a loaf of bread and 23c for a quart of milk—are finding a good deal of sense in what they are reading.

Speaking of reading matter, I suggest you read the book entitled *The Meeting of East and West,* by Professor F. S. C. Northrop of Yale, in which he points out that the Soviet Union—contrary to the present propaganda view of it—is *a Western* country with a special mission in history—to serve as a bridge between the white and the colored races which, as of awhile back, were expected to clash in an immensely destructive international way. Prof. Northrop's thesis is sound and all-important, but can find no consideration among our present top-level policy-makers, from Baruch down to Truman, who are openly or secretly Klu-Kluxers or racists of one type or another—not forgetting Truman's public championing of civil rights for Negroes in this country: which is a complete fake.



—Walt Partymiller, The York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily, by permission.

Are Communists Human?

By Kenneth Haas, of Columbia, Mo.; in a letter to the Editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch (April 28, '47):

Somehow I don't think it's quite fair for us who came through the war to chastise all Communists. A good many died in the fight against Fascism.

My reason for mentioning this is that I had a buddy overseas who was just about as ordinary a guy as any other G.I. except that he had a greater capacity for indignation than the average. He often spoke of "man's inhumanity to man" and didn't think the Negro people and the Jews were getting a square deal in the U. S., so he became a Communist. Probably that is no solution, but he was honestly searching for one.

He was killed in Dec. '44 by a German mortar shell in the Battle of the Bulge.

Are You a Communist?

By Langston Hughes, well-known Negro American poet; from his interesting column in The Chicago Defender (Sept. 13, '47), conservative Negro weekly which, along with the Pittsburgh Courier, ought to be read by many Whites:

A distinguished-looking light-skinned Negro woman of my acquaintance, a teacher in the New York public schools, was Harlem bound the other day on a Fifth Avenue bus which she boarded in the shopping district. A nice middle-aged well-dressed white woman sat down beside her and . . . began to chat with the colored teacher. . . . She remarked that she had just purchased some shoes in Saks' Fifth Avenue store. "And, don't you know, a Negress came in and sat right down beside me!" she said indignantly.

"Quite a number of colored people trade at that shop," said the Negro teacher.

"I guess Negroes made so much money during the war," said the white lady, "but if I were a clerk, I would hate to wait on them, particularly for shoes."

This feature should be read together with the one that immediately precedes it.

"Why?" asked the Negro teacher, realizing that the woman did not know she was talking to a colored person. To try to understand her reasoning, she continued to draw her out.

"Why," said the white lady, "Negroes are dirty."

"I suppose you mean poor Negroes," said my friend. "Sometimes poor people of any race are not as clean as others because they often have no hot water, no baths in their apartments, perhaps."

"I think most Negroes are dirty," said the white lady, "and if I were a shoe clerk, I would hate to wait on them. They ought to trade in their own shops."

"Don't you believe in equal rights?" asked the colored teacher.

"Oh, of course, I do!" exclaimed the nice white lady. "I'm an American and I believe in fair play for everybody. I believe in Negroes having their own places, their own schools and all. I have nothing against Negroes—but, of course, I'm not a Communist."

In this nice-looking elderly white lady's mind, people who really believe in equal rights for Negroes—in shops and elsewhere —*must* be Communists. In reverse, I heard another story in the Middle West reflecting the same kind of attitude on the part of colored people.

In a city where I was giving a program of my poems, it seems a group of sincere and religious white Quakers—far from politically left-wing—decided they would like to do something helpful for the Negro community, further carrying out their workcamp ideals of practical usefulness. So several young white Quaker women went into the colored project homes offering without charge to care for the children of working mothers while the mothers were on the job, or to help Negro invalids keep their homes clean. Although they were treated politely and a number of colored folks accepted their help, the general consensus of opinion as whispered about among the Negro project dwellers was, "Those white folks *must* be Communists!"

It seems strange to me that if—as I must admit happens all too rarely in America—people really believe in interracial friendship and decency, they just *have* to be Communists. Certainly, it is true that the Communist Soviet has succeeded (as even the most biased observers against the USSR admit) in making racial equality work. It is true, too, that the Communist Party in America has preached the complete political, economic, and social equality of all peoples. But it is also true that there are some Americans who are *not* Communist who believe in equality.

Heirs to the French Revolutionary Tradition

"If you had been here last Sunday," writes an Englishman from Paris to his friend, the editor of the London New Statesman & Nation (May 31), "you would clearly understand how much the popularity of the Communists springs from their claim to inherit the revolutionary tradition. The red flag and the barricades mean much more to the French than to the English workers, most of whom have even forgotten their grandfathers' struggle for the vote.

"I stood in the cemetery of Pere Lachaise for more than 5 hours watching a vast procession of men and women who had come to pay their tribute to the martyrs of the Paris Commune. Thorez, Duclos and leaders of the Resistance and trade union movements reviewed the marchers as they passed the wall where the Communards made their last stand, pausing to dip their banners and to lay enormous wreaths of roses, lilies and carnations. Close by, the monuments erected to the F.F.I. leaders killed in the 1944 insurrection was also covered with flowers. This was not just a formal anniversary. Three times in the last 100 years the Paris workers have come out to die in their streets for an ideal.

"These men and women, singing the *Internationale* as they filed up through the cemetery in blinding sunlight, were really facing the 'last fight.' For the Communists, this demonstration was a trial of strength. They think and talk not about the Soviet Union but about their own revolutionary France. For the first time since 1934, the Socialists decided not to participate and to hold a separate meeting next week. The immense crowd, numbering hundreds of thousands, was a testimony to the satisfaction which Paris workers feel that 'their' party had chosen to be excluded from the Government rather than compromise."

"How I Became a Communist" is the title of a 5c pamphlet (New Century Publishers, 832 B'way, New York 3, N. Y.) by perhaps the leading American Negro Communist, Benjamin J. Davis, a graduate of Amherst College and Harvard Law School, a member of the Council of the City of New York since '43. Originally the material appeared as an article in Phylon, "a review of race and culture," published by Atlanta Univ. in Georgia. The article was part of a symposium on "Communism and the Negro American." A very interesting, probably an important, document.

Following the Communist Line

By J. W. ("Jess") Gitt, chairman of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania—an editorial in his York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily:

If you believe in peace . . . If you believe that universal military training is not in the best interests of the country . . . If you believe that military plans have no place in a recovery program for Europe . . .

If you believe that capitalism cannot succeed as an economy if we choke off its distributive function . . . If you believe that the monopolies which should be rendering a public service instead of gouging the people need to be brought under government control . . .

If you believe that the way to peace is through mutual understanding among nations . . . If you believe that the United Nations should be the instrument for meeting international problems . . .

If you believe that it is dangerous to revive the fascists of Europe . . . If you believe that the nations of Europe which fought as our allies should be given an opportunity to recover before Germany . . .

If you believe that the Congress should stop the irresponsible actions of the Un-American Committee . . . If you believe that loyalty witch-hunts are dangerous to American freedom . . .

If you believe that Congress must legislate in the broad interests of the American people . . .

If you believe in any or all these things, you might be accused of following the Communist line.

The learned authorities being paid by reaction to pose as authorities can show you that, for each of the principles upon which our government was founded, there is a parallel principle for which the Communists stand. They can show you chapter and verse of Communist literature supporting every one of those principles and beliefs.

Perhaps it doesn't matter that each of those principles and beliefs is thoroughly grounded in the American tradition; that each was an issue which American statesmen and American workers fought bitterly to attain. Perhaps it doesn't matter that a long list of men we now recognize as great Americans were condemned in their day for standing by these principles.

Perhaps the only thing that matters today is that one group in our society which seeks to seize control of our government and our thoughts associates these beliefs and principles with Com-

munism and gives the Communists credit for the active pursuit of these beliefs and principles.

The viewpoint is that one who asserts these beliefs is following the Communist line. It leaves one a pretty small alternative. He must choose between being branded as a Communist or fellow-traveler and joining up with the forces which are trying, in the name of a threat of a dread bogey, to take his principles away from him.

Isn't it a pretty sad state of affairs when the traditions of our American ancestors must be abandoned because some one asserts that the Communists are promoting those same traditions and freedoms?

Communism and Americanism "Rooted in the Same Soil"

By Ed Willock; in the Oct. '47 issue of Integrity, a Roman Catholic monthly, which he edits:

. . . When Marx declared that religion is the opium of the people, he did not mean . . . that the privileged classes were using religion as a drug to keep the underprivileged anesthetized. No, he meant that religion is a *consolation* for the injustices and burdens of life in a capitalistic world. . . . The bourgeois American subscribes to the same definition of religion as Marx. In America religion is generally cherished merely for its *consolation* value. A tremolo on the organ, a theologically inaccurate sermon full of sweetness and light, a studious avoidance of the ghastly details of the Passion and our contribution to it, a sentimental misinterpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, the presentation of a God who always *understands*, demanding no greater retribution than a few coins dropped in the collection box: *this* is the psychological haircut, shave and massage which the average American erroneously calls religion. . . .

Communism is a universal idea. Its roots lie in too great concern for the things of this world. Bourgeois Americanism is rooted in the same soil, and unless it is transplanted, the fruit it bears will be the same. The representative of the FBI, fingerprinting Communist Party members, may wake up to discover that he himself subscribes to the same errors. . . .

Red Sarcasm

In the June 24, '47 New Masses, Bill Richards commented sarcastically on the then recent "expose" of the Communist Party of the U. S. by Newsweek magazine:

Actually [according to Newsweek] there aren't very many Communists in America but there are at least 100,000,000 sympathizers, relatives, union members and thinking people who swell their ranks. The Communists are able to control unions despite the fact that they are a minority. They work themselves into positions of authority by the sheer trickery of devoting their lives to the unions.

Moreover, Communists will stop at nothing. There is a drive underway at the present time to breed Communists with two heads to negotiate with two-faced employers.

The Reds have no allegiance to America. It is an established fact that their first loyalty is to the people. They follow the Soviet line faithfully. If the Russians advocate peace as an alternative to war the American Communists will echo this line. If the Soviets call for a continuing fight against fascism their American cohorts will immediately pick up the cry.

A word of caution. Do not call a person a Communist until you have all the facts. Just because a man advocates a 40-hour week is no reason to assume that he is a radical. He should merely be placed in a more comfortable concentration camp.

—Walt Partymiller, The York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily, by permission.

Before you join an organization make sure that there are no Communists in it. The Communists are usually right in back of their fronts. If an employer offers his workers 30c an hour, the first man to ask for 31c is probably an agent of Moscow.

"Of One Thing We Can Be Certain . . ."

By F. S. C. Northrop, Professor of Philosophy and Master of Silliman College in Yale University; on page 252 of his important book The Meeting of East and West: An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding (*Macmillan*, 1946; $6);

. . . Marx has made it forever impossible hereafter for anyone to pretend to have an adequate economic or political theory or moral philosophy which does not pay attention to man's bodily as well as ideational nature; and to the physical universe as well as to purely cultural institutions. *To political democracy with its freedom to choose one's own political leaders, there has been added economic democracy with its vision of freedom from physical want.* [My italics.—L. A.]

Of one thing we can be certain. [*Here comes a long, complex and important sentence; reader, take a deep breath.—L. A.*] Thanks to a great extent to Karl Marx and to the incontestable achievements of contemporary communistic Russia—but not entirely to these factors—either the people of the modern democratic cultures are going to develop a new philosophy underlying and guiding their democratic processes and defining an attendant new idea of the good which, because of its adequacy to the bodily and theoretically scientific, as well as to the sensuous and the Humean positivistic aspects of man's nature, directly and with dispatch, applies the scientific knowledge which is at hand to the materials of nature which are also present, to meet bountifully the needs of men generally, as is obviously possible, *or else Marx' communists are going to do it for us.* [*My italics.—L. A.*]* Mankind, once having caught this vision of science and nature put together to lift the well-being of men generally in time of war, with work and better food for all while also producing tremendous quantities of materials for fighting, is not going to wait indefinitely for similar achievements in time of peace, merely because of social inhibitions arising from charges of unsoundness

* See the two items on the population and food problem on page 9 of this T&T; also the book *Our Plundered Planet* by Fairfield Osborn, recommended on page 32; also the article "A Continent Sliding to Ruin" in the June '48 Harpers; also John Collier's address of May 7, '48, before the Virginia Academy of Science, published in the July-August issue of the News Letter of the Institute of Ethnic Affairs (500 Otis Bldg., 810—18th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.) — L.A.

put forward in the name of traditional religion, economic science, and politics, especially when the philosophy of Locke, Fichte or Hume, underlying these traditional doctrines, is now known to be either false or inadequate.

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Recommended reading: Must America Learn the Hard Way? *by Eugene L. Howard (Box 595, Muskegon, Mich.), which was highly recommended in a previous T&T. Particularly apropos here is Chapter IV, entitled "Now You Can Understand Russia," which contains logical explanations also of the powerful left-ward trends in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, and of the Soviet Union's reluctance to permit foreigners to travel freely within her borders. Mr. Howard published the book himself; order it from him* ($1 *a copy*). *He lost his job as a public school teacher for writing and publishing it.*—L. A.

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Two Points That Need to Be Grasped

By Scott Nearing; in his analysis-letter World Events (March '48):

I should like to refer to two points about the East-European situation. The first was stressed in an article in the '47 London Economist (p. 893): "The contrast between the omnipresence of Communists in Eastern Europe today and their almost complete absence from the surface of political life between the world wars has led many Western observers to conclude that Communism is a mere import from the U. S. S. R., lacking any real roots in the East European countries themselves. This is a serious error. Before 1914 socialist movements existed throughout East Europe." The Economist then described the origins and development of the movements in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and emphasized the differences in the movements 40 years ago and today. This is the varied background against which the present social revolution is taking place all across East Europe —including the Soviet Union.

The other point is made in an article in The Saturday Evening Post for June 14, 1947, written by E. O. Hauser. "The feeling that 'Communists have got something' is prevalent throughout Europe today. . . . People throughout Europe, from a coal miner in the Ruhr to an olive oil magnate in Athens, actually believe this. It is the most important single impression I have brought home from a three-year sojourn in Europe as a correspondent for this magazine. . . . *Inside the Iron Curtain . . . I've found a surprising stability. Outside, throughout Western Europe, I have found nothing but restlessness and confusion.*" [*My italics.*—L. A.]

The Economist aims to provide information useful to British businessmen. The Saturday Evening Post furnishes light reading for Americans. Neither magazine can be accused of leftism or fellow-traveling, yet each is trying, in its way, to break through the curtain of manufactured ignorance which separates the West from East Europe. Both publications are saying that East Europe is the action-ground of forces which far transcend the USSR. The revolution through which our world is moving is more than Soviet and more than Communist. *An old age is passing. A new age is emerging.* The transformation is probably more thorough-going than any social change through which the world has passed during the last 25 years.

So much for these economic, political and social changes that have taken place in East Europe since 1910. They constitute, in the aggregate, a sweeping social revolution. I am not arguing, at the moment, that the social order in East Europe is better or worse than the one that preceded it. I am insisting only that it is sufficiently different in so many fundamental respects that it can be called a deep-running social revolution. Unless we recognize this fact, and use it in our thinking about the current world situation, we will be as badly off as a man driving an ox-cart along a busy motor-way.

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The Communists believe that the ills of modern society stem not from weaknesses in human nature, but from the monopoly ownership of our industrial wealth by a handful of multi-millionaires and billionaires who exercise autocratic power greater than the kings of old. — Gil Green, Illinois chairman, Communist Party; quoted in the May, '47, Chicago Star.

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"Culture—the Property of the People"

"In spite of all the material and other difficulties, our country is experiencing a cultural development which in the past was unknown," said Milovan Djilas, minister without portfolio in Yugoslavia's federal government (one of the perhaps half-dozen most important Communist leaders of that country), in a report to the National Assembly on April 25.

This cultural transformation, said Djilas, is based on the principles that "culture must become the property of the working masses, the property of the people."

The first principle requires that "all cultural gains and the means of raising the cultural level (schools, scientific institutions, press, films, the radio, etc.) must be made accessible to the masses of people," while the second principle insists that all nationalities within the country have the freedom and opportunity to develop their national culture.

Some figures on the progress:

In 1939 there were in Yugoslavia 8,956 public and primary schools with 782,789 pupils; today (1947-48) there are 15,165 such schools with 1,669,578 pupils.

In 1939 there were 205 secondary schools with 70,775 students; today there are 888 with 281,693 students.

In 1939 Yugoslavia had 29 universities and colleges with 17,318 students; today it has 49 with 46,423 students.

In 1939 there were 24 permanent (not film) theaters; today, 47.

Father and Son — A Symbolic Story?

On June 30, '47, the New York Sun published the following story over the heading "Double Suicide in Row Over Communism":

Phoenixville, Pa., June 30 (A.P.).—A quarrel over Communism ended in double suicide for a much-decorated Army Air Forces pilot and his 53-year-old father.

Police Chief Fred K. MacInnis identified the dead as Michael Souch, a worker at the Phoenix Iron Works, and his son, Charles, 26-year-old former Army captain who flew 265 fighter missions in Europe and China.

MacInnis said that the two men began quarreling over the merits of capitalism and Communism in a dispute over family financial matters.

"You don't know anything about Communism," MacInnis said several guests in the house heard young Souch tell his father.

A clash of views followed, then the ex-flyer smashed a model airplane with his fist and shouted: "So this is what I fought for—this democracy."

Then, MacInnis said, the young man took a 32-caliber German war souvenir gun and walked out on the porch. The father followed him. A moment later there was a shot. The son killed himself.

Lewis Hegadus of Johnstown, Pa., a cousin of Michael Souch, said that he rushed out on the porch in time to see the youth's father pick up the gun and fatally shoot himself.

ORDER ADDITIONAL COPIES OF THIS T&T

THIS T&T contains 35,000 words . . . equivalent to a book which nowadays would be priced $2.50 or $3 a copy.

THIS T&T was prepared at a considerable expenditure of time, energy and money. The aim was to provide facts and ideas — *tools* — for some of the busy men and women who may find them useful in the months and years ahead . . . particularly for those who are active in the Wallace-Taylor campaign and who will want to continue in progressive political work after November.

THIS T&T aims to help distill intelligent meaning from the current hubbub and apply that meaning to plans for sound progressive action in these middle years of the 20th century.

THIS T&T was printed in several thousand additional copies with the hope of getting them into the hands of active workers in the cause of giving Wallace and Taylor a large vote and creating a solid basis for the new political party. Will *you* help get these extra copies into such hands at the earliest moment?

THIS T&T probably should reach some of your friends and others who are not yet active in the Wallace movement . . . or who, in fact, are anything but progressives.

SEND IN your list of addresses and this T&T will be mailed to them at once . . . free of charge if you cannot or do not wish to pay for them. But it is hoped that you will enclose money for them and/or send a contribution to the T&T Sustaining Fund.

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YOU MAY order a quantity of copies to be sent to your own address so you can sell them at meetings, in your shop or office, on your campus . . . or so you can personally hand them out or mail them with your compliments to friends and others. Payment — at above rates — should accompany all such orders.

ALL THOSE ordering and paying for eight or more additional copies of this T&T (minimum $2) may request a *free* autographed copy of Louis Adamic's book A NATION OF NATIONS. *See box on top of page 31.*

LABOR NOTES

"We'll beat them all on the head if necessary," said Capt. Eli Dahlin, in charge of the police at the Cudahy Packing Co. strike in Kansas City, back there last May. "I intend to maintain peace."

A. F. of L.'s 1881 Premise Is Still Good

By Harry L. Billings; in the May 9, '47 People's Voice (Box 838, Helena, Mont.; $2 a year), which he edits:

More than 65 years ago at the first convention of the American Federation of Labor (1881) it was the sense of the delegates assembled that economic action without political action was untenable. Accordingly, a provision was written into the first AFL program that:

"We recommend all Trades and Labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished."

A review of the history of that convention would indicate that the thought behind the above program provision was that the members of organized labor should strive to establish political unity of purpose. This is borne out by a further declaration of the 1881 meeting: ". . . *A struggle is going on in the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between capital and labor, which must grow in intensity from year to year and work disastrous results to the toiling millions of all nations if not combined for mutual protection and benefit . . .*"

This orienting of the elder branch of American labor toward direct political action through its own political party, however, was short-lived. Within a few years the "no labor in politics" faction, headed by Samuel Gompers, became firmly entrenched as the dominant policy-making force of the labor movement.

It was the consensus of the more conservative wing that labor could "do business" with one or both old-line parties, and from the late 1880s on to the present the AFL has followed the Gompers policy. Instead of establishing a workingman's party, the AFL has confined its political activities to endorsing its friends and opposing its enemies at the various political levels.

Possibly conditions were such during the earlier years of the AFL that more immediate gains were to be had by working within the framework of the two old parties. However, this premise of the Gompers faction, and of William Green since his ascendency in 1924, does not appear sound. Particularly when it is considered that in all the years of activity on the part of the AFL, there were only two administrations—Wilson's and Franklin Roosevelt's —which made any really sincere attempts to establish labor as

—Walt Partymiller, The York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily, by permission.

an equal partner with other groups in our great American enterprise.

For the most part the policy of both old parties has been one of betrayal. This is not to say that there haven't been "friends of labor" in both the Democratic and Republican parties who have fought to improve the status of workers. Indeed, our history is replete with men embracing the principles of Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt—but in each instance these men were humanitarians first, and party members second.

Coming down to the present we find in political life the Taylors, Peppers, Aikens, Murrays and Wallaces, who, as lovers of Democracy, are fighting doggedly to save the ordinary American citizen from economic and political serfdom.

But, running back over the history of the past 65 years one thing is abundantly plain—labor's legal gains in relying upon both of the old parties have been achieved in a haphazard manner rather than through the execution of a well-conceived long-term plan of political action.

Instead of having its own political organization to bring about lasting improvements for the average individual, labor for the most part has had to accept the "crumbs" from the old parties. Both the GOP's and the Demos' over-all strategy has been to give labor enough in the way of beneficial legislation to keep the labor movement from becoming politically militant—from organizing its own national political party. Anything thus given can just as easily be taken away—as witness what is happening today in Washington and throughout this land of ours.

The ease with which over a half-century of hard-won gains, through the old parties, can be swept away [is evident in the Taft-Hartley act]—and labor, because of its traditional abhorrence to having its own party—finds itself in a weakened position.

What's it all add up to? Simply this: . . . when monopoly capitalism, through its lackeys in the Congress, appears about ready to forge the chains of slavery on the great mass of the American people, labor, except for threats of reprisal at future elections, is powerless, instead of having a strong political organization, it must rely on the slow "catch as catch can" process of knocking over a sufficient number of reactionary individual congressmen at subsequent elections to re-achieve the gains of several generations.

The answer is as obvious today as it was 65 years ago — labor must no longer rely upon either of the entrenched parties of capitalism. Labor must awaken, must join hands with millions of small American farmers, who, also have received only crumbs from the table of "free" enterprise, and, together they must organize a party dedicated to truly democratic principles—principles which place human values before and above property rights.

Thomas Jefferson Was Right

Editorial in the conservative AFL weekly Labor Herald (April 9, '48), published in Baltimore:

When Jefferson warned America to watch the Courts and to be on guard against them because "like a thief in the night" they would steal from the people their liberties, he also warned . . . that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Jefferson taught that the judges would usurp power gradually until the people were subjugated and there would be no more liberty.

Thus in 1948 a federal judge, in his apartment in Washington, passes judgment without a hearing. The judgment was that John L. Lewis called a strike—this without hearing one word of evidence. Thereupon the judge issued an injunction or a court order which Lewis must obey or be punished. Truly, Jefferson was right. His prediction has come true. All the safeguards set up in the Constitution to protect the people from the tyranny of the Courts have been swept aside.

Children who study American history will find it hard to believe that an American Court can find a man guilty without a fair hearing. It has been taught all over America that a man is innocent until he is proven guilty. This law does not apply to John L. Lewis. The Court presumes he is guilty until he is proven innocent. What the Courts can do to one can be done to any of us.

If we start our thinking along the right lines we shall find that the Coal Miners' drama will unfold. The Courts will find that a "rose by any other name will smell as sweet," that if Lewis cannot boss 400,000 men to the extent that he can get them to return to work, he will be fined and the Union will be fined. Lewis has been found guilty without a hearing.

It costs more lives to mine a ton of coal in America than in any other place in the world. It's one life for every million and three-quarters tons, and the miners turn out some 12,000,000 every day. It's six lives every working day, and 90 lives every calendar month—and fifty times that many are crippled in some way or another.

—Drawing and words by Alvena Seckar; from her article "Coal Town USA" in the May '48 Fraternal Outlook, organ of the International Workers Order (80—5th Ave., New York 11, N. Y.)

The Tumult Over John L. Lewis

By Nate Hussey, of Williamsville, Ill.; in a letter to the editor of The Illinois State Register (April 7, '48):

There ought to be a rebuttal to all this anathema turned loose on John Lewis. He is our current head devil.

Labor feels as if you [the rest of the country] neglect them through your indifference, except only when they become restive. Then you rush in and tell them it's a sin to strike, or parade, or make any display inimical to public convenience, or interfere in any way with their brother workers who through their ignorance break down the standards of a living wage.

You seem to be saying it's all right to organize labor, but don't use the union to strike. It's all right to talk about the Constitution guaranteeing free speech, but don't take any liberties.

I suspect most of us are actually human enough to want these men who toil in grimy dust and foul air (so that we may live in comfort) to have all the safety devices known, also a pension.

The history of mining is a black and bloody one, all because of man's inhumanity to man—utter brutality and butchery.

This writer knows there is merit to the miners' demand. A visit into the bowels of the earth would have some influence on your thinking.

COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE

A letter from Harold A. Cowell, 230 Draper Avenue, Pontiac, Mich.—in part:

Dear Mr. Adamic: In both the Jan.-March and April-June '48 issues of T&T there are references to the Committees of Correspondence, whose part in the patriots' activities before the Revolutionary War meant so much in the development of our American political tradition and practice. My purpose in writing to you here is to stress the need of adapting to our needs now some of the methods used by our forefathers.

A point of view often expressed by progressives is that anyone wishing to help to make ours a more democratic society should join existing organizations, and support what is being done in some of the important matters before the people now. Any agreement with this point of view should be with some reservations.

Much energy is being expended by progressive elements, both as organizations and as individuals, in efforts to rally support on literally scores of issues, with only a meager showing in the way of accomplishment on any of them. Many people can be moved to act on one or two of these, who will not act on any of the others, and the total support on any one issue is less than enough to influence decisions. Ways must be found to rally widespread support on one particular issue at a time, which many people not considered as progressives or liberals at all will at once recognize as being directly connected with all of the others, and which must be met and solved before anything can be done regarding them. The progressive elements should not accept the responsibility of solving all issues, but must demonstrate the ability to solve one of these at a time; when this has been done with two or three, those who now exercise the power of decision with no restraints whatever will anticipate what is likely to happen respecting the others, and act in line with the needs of the people on some of them.

Simultaneous promotion of understanding of numerous matters and issues before the country now seems to divide and certainly does not unite people. A new approach may be necessary, and unless one is discovered, adopted and developed soon we may continue just as at present, forced to be satisfied with half-remedies, or none at all, for the many matters which so many people know are wrong and which cry out for correction.

The situation we face now is probably as critical as any the nation has faced in its history, including periods when we have been at war. I propose that those who can do so now take whatever steps may be necessary, looking toward getting together in their community, or in each of several communities, a dozen or more people with some idea of the crisis in American affairs who can invest a bit of time and money in helping to rouse others to consciousness regarding it. These groups can be called Committees of correspondence, and function in the manner suggested on page 20 of the Jan.-March T&T.

My additional suggestion which would provide activities for many people is for such committees to draft and sign open letters to the President, important members of the Cabinet and Congress, important candidates for office, or any other individual with national stature, all of these letters to be on one and the same subject. This should be the one particular issue which the committees decide is the most important, and which will be at once widely recognized as being directly connected with all the others. (Right now, so far as I am concerned, *the* issues are the arms race or peace, or rather the resumption of discussions with the Soviet Union, and civil liberties in the U. S.) Then, on letterheads of each committee, showing the name, address and a list of sponsors, hundreds—or, if possible, thousands—of neatly multigraphed copies should be made and widely circulated among people known to be progressive, and many who are not, in the respective local and in other communities. Copies should be sent to the newspapers, but it will not be important if they publish the open letters or not. Their contents will have got around anyhow. Twenty people contributing between $10 and $25 each could finance this project, which would change the thought of a sizable proportion of the people on this one particular issue in any except the larger cities.

This project might well be started right away in any town under 250,000 in connection with civil liberties or the arms race, as no solutions of other issues are likely until these two have been solved; we must consider that all the others are secondary and useful only to the reaction in its effort to divide the people so they cannot act.

As you well know, this conforms with the American tradition of democracy. It is similar to the Committees of Correspondence organized in 1772 by Samuel Adams on account of developments then not in accord with the needs of the people. Many such committees were organized and these became the foundations for the Boston Tea Party, the Continental Congress, the Declaration of Independence, the Revolutionary War and, finally, the end of British imperial rule over the Colonies. Similar methods adaptable in our time can surely be developed. The need for them is obvious —and urgent.

Saving Western Civilization Is No Sinecure

A New York Times' special correspondent reports from Istanbul:

During almost every day of their stay here the members of the U. S. Mission—and this is no fault of their own—were overentertained to the point where they physically could not produce proper work. Furthermore, they were overburdened with official courtesy calls.

One of the members calculated that an average of 5 hours a day was spent in eating and half an hour in exchanging compliments with officials. He said that during the 20 day trip through Anatolia there were 42 banquets and cocktail parties.

Loyalty

This question of loyalty is likely to become—if it has not already become—the pretext for a steadily and stealthily advancing censorship, for what Thomas Mann recently termed "the declining security" of the average citizen. Already the advance of this censorship is noticeable. People are afraid to say today what they said freely only a year ago; there is already much glancing over the shoulder among the citizenry and in high places.—*Alan Stern, Cincinnati; in a letter to the Editor of the New York Times Magazine section* (*Nov.* 23, '47).

That Ill Wind

If the international situation had not taken a turn for the worse this spring, we would be inclined to take a serious view of the business outlook.—*The Journal of Commerce, quoted in the May 22 Weekly People, N. Y.*

Those who do not remember the past are condemned to relive it.—*Santayana.*

THE DANGEROUS DEFENDERS

By R. V. Cassill—specially written for T&T:

These nightmare times can be described as a room with two doors. One is plainly marked WAR: it is decorated with brass and bacilli, atomic bombs and burnt eyeballs, portraits of children in rags, and vials of biological poisons.

The door marked PEACE opens on the world which we have thought of as the human world, an inheritance expansive with vistas of history and big with the future. Before this door stands a grotesque enigmatic figure who sometimes shows brass knuckles, sometimes cajoles and pleads with us, but constantly bars our way. He looks like a jailer but assures us he is here to defend us.

"Stand back! Wait!" he shouts if we try to pass him. "The American Way is threatened. If you fool with it now, you'll ruin it. Just look," he says, gesturing over his shoulder to the landscapes of past and future, "look at the heritage and the hopes I have been defending for you."

There Is The Ruin He Has Accomplished

What he has done is incredible. There on the field of meaning and idea (which are the realities of history and the future) is the ruin he has made. As though an atomic blitz had already taken place. As though a chain reaction of nonsense and falsehood had gutted many things which but recently made a high order of sense. The pillars of concepts which were painful centuries in building are fallen to make a refuge for the talking vermin who never felt at home among the concepts but thrive in the wasteland of their ruins.

"What happened to our world?" we ask sadly.

"The necessities of defense," is the answer. The defender, whose face is sometimes a politician's, sometimes a commentator's, sometimes an editor's, shrugs his shoulders. "I suggest the other door."

The masquerade of these who speak as our defenders is as old as crime. The burglar caught in the house says, "I was just walking by and I noticed a Red radical about to jimmy your window. So I broke a window on the other side and rushed in here to protect your property."

Politically speaking, Goering is the archetype of the usurping defender. When the Reichstag burned, he appeared (you remember) instantaneously to "defend" the interests of the German people. He and Hitler "defended" them for the next 12 years.

The Vanguard Of Our "Defense"

In America today the vanguard of our defenders appears as the spokesmen of the press, the radio, the military, and the Congress —gentlemen bent on defending, in some aggressive way, Christianity, Western Civilization, America, Freedom. . . . But the things they call by these great good names are sinister and ruined distortions of their originals. Sometimes the distortions are complete reversals of their originals.

Christianity . . . Western Civilization . . . America—what overtones ring from these words! Read the newspapers or the loose-talking magazines, leave your radio on, listen to the idle talk in streetcars or in clubs or schools, and you cannot be long unaware of the hints that *Christian* means *anti-semitic* . . . that *Western Civilization* is something which we have buried in our land like the gold at Fort Knox and which we are obligated to defend with the aid of fascists in Greece, Turkey, Spain, France, and with our own far-flung military bases against the avaricious hordes of the East . . . that *America* is a phalanx of bathtubs destined to ride upon the necks of the rest of the world.

This is R. V. Cassill's fourth piece in T&T. In Dec. '47 he published a superb short story in the Atlantic Monthly. A teacher of English in a Mid-Western college, he is writing his first novel. He served as a captain in the Army during World War II. This summer he and his wife are working in the Progressive Party in Illinois.

Other words are outraged. Those who waste the best traditions of 2000 years of faith and thought in double-talking for their own advantage, debasing the coinage of ideas upon which a good society must be founded—these presume the title of *Conservatives. Tradition,* they say: but they mean the upstart prejudices of fascist blood-thinking.

Whether they speak of tradition in the crude language of the provincial snob or speak as scholars, it is not hard to detect the heresy of their interpretations. We need no scholar's knowledge to see plainly the fundamentals on which Christianity, Western Civilization, and America are based. As Milton said of the Bible, ". . . 'tis true there be some Books, and especially some places in those Books, that remain clouded; yet ever that which is most necessary to be known is most easy." John Brown, no scholar, said when he was on trial for treasonably trying to free slaves in the land of the free, "I see a book kissed which I take to be the New Testament, which teaches me . . . to remember those that are in bonds as bound with them. I say I am too young yet to understand that God is any respecter of persons." If we look with such eyes as his, it is easy to see what realities have been usurped by the professional defenders.

The Mote and the Beam

Last year some public praying for Russia was encouraged in the U. S. I can't yet see that the praying has helped the Russians, and I doubt that it much benefited those who prayed. Perhaps they would have done better had they read Luke 18:10 (the praying Pharisee) or heeded the Sermon on the Mount—"Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye: and behold, the beam is in thine own eye?" Now our praying compatriots might argue that the Russians are not their brothers, or they might say they had no beam in their own eyes. As things go now they just might say that.

They just might go on praying and praying louder and louder as they work themselves up for the attack. "Don't let your right hand know what your left hand is doing" is one way of saying that the human mind is adept at rationalizing actions it would, were they unadorned, repudiate.

In the current campaign we are going to hear more from the self-styled defenders of Western Civilization. What they say will be assorted and selected by intellectual grades so the propaganda line will be at work on all levels of subtlety. At one extreme scholars will repeatedly discover that Washington, D. C., is the 20th Century Athens threatened by Persian hordes. (Guess who the Persian hordes are.) The James Burnhams will issue the call to arms to that indefinable intellectual level which includes the readers of Life and Time. The Dorothy Thompsons will pluck at the heartstrings of clubwomen, will get them in twittering convulsions over the threat to "our civilization" and bridge clubs, making no explicit distinction between the two. Poll-tax congressmen who would lose their constituencies if they uttered the word *culture* will somehow spangle Western Civilization red, white, and blue and rouse the riflemen to save it from rape.

Now, it seems to me that the threat to Western Civilization—that proud and wonderful fabrication of hope and accomplishment—lies just in the tendency of its inheritors to corrupt it, not

in the rebellious arms of the East. No outside force, I think, can actually destroy or permanently encumber it. But we can disintegrate it by denying its nature and its values. This civilization has depended profoundly upon Christian ethics and upon the acceptance of reason as a guide to the human conduct which would most nearly approximate that ideal.

Is the U. S. a "Christian Nation"?

Which is not to say that "this is a Christian nation," as President Truman characterized it in a letter to the Pope last summer. Such chat is the chat we expect in official formality or the hollow phrase of an opportunist trying to cement military and economic alliances. In the first place it's rank heresy to call a nation Christian simply because many of its young citizens attend Sunday School. And secondly no informed person would deny the contributions made to either America or Western Civilization by agnostics and atheists, by Judaism and other constructive religions and thought-streams. [Henry Wallace uses the phrase "Judo-Christian."—*L. A.*]

I simply mean that the broad and essentially mild principles of Christianity have guided as they have stimulated the most vigorous expression of Western Man. Christianity established a set of fundamental ideals which were open to development—as long as the guards and spokesmen did not pervert those ideals.

To fall short of ethical or rational ideals is human, of course, and hardly fatal. But to deny deliberately the meaning and importance of the obligations they impose and to corrupt their names and customs in an effort to obtain a power with which they have nothing in common is to twist the accomplishments and kill the hopes of civilization.

The Vocabulary of Unreason

In our times the mercenary defenders have taken long strides in perfecting the vocabulary of unreason. It is a vocabulary properly suited to the filth of race prejudice—which may, indeed, have sired it. Its fundamental premise is that contradictory statements about the same thing may be—if not true—at least equally effective. A classic example is Hitler's labeling Jews as a group both communistic and plutocratic. Closer to home is the White Supremacist's readiness to assert that whether a Negro's eyebrows are longer or shorter than, or the same length as, a white man's they are an indication of inferiority.

Dismally effective in promoting race friction, this vocabulary is now getting a full-scale workout on international issues. Our defenders will have it *all* ways about Russia, making contradictory statements to show, as a semi-literate neighbor of mine puts it, that "them Russians just ain't right, you know what I mean." I don't, but discussion with him has become impossible. After all, if one is offered contradictory statements purporting to mean the same thing, what possibility is there of argument?

My own reading of newspapers and journals of opinion has informed me that (1) Russia is a threat to capitalism and free enterprise and also, simultaneously, I think (2) the betrayer of the Revolution and the principles of Lenin. (I get the idea that American capitalists must have loved Lenin like a brother.) Russia, I have learned, is (1) a nation of materialists, while being (2) a nation of fanatic idealists. Execrable duplicity—if it were possible. Russia is (1) facing internal disorders because some of her soldiers occupying capitalist countries stumbled upon a bathtub, but (2) has reduced her masses to such a cow-like state of servility that they presumably couldn't tell a bathtub from a feed trough.

Our enterprising editors have little difficulty in finding columnists to attack Russia from contradictory positions and have no compunction about printing contradictory attacks in one issue. This, in our dark age, is probably supposed to pass for freedom of the press, for giving both sides of the story. ("That nigger is black." "He also ain't white." "Having looked at his problem from both sides, let's fix'm.") Truly hearing both sides of an issue was once an invaluable formality of Western Civilization, we remember.

So it goes. Russia is Red on page one, White on page two. Russia is Black. Russia is Brown. Pick your own detested color, they say, or have it all ways at once as long as you accept the chorused implication that "Russia ain't right."

So Western Civilization stamps on itself, beats its own brains out with the militantly anti-rationalistic assumption that contradictories can mean the same. A queer method of defense.

It's a Cancer Within, Not a Bear Without

There is a threat to Western Civilization, all right, but it's a cancer within, not a bear rushing up from without. To quote a friend of mine, "It's a cancer affecting the nervous system, the lines of communication. The body looks healthy, but the synapses no longer connect properly."

The destruction of words and abstract values being accomplished just now is an evil to which the real America will be particularly susceptible, for America was always more idea, concept, than a physical thing. America, properly was the flowering idea that Western Man shaped from the lessons of tyranny and bondage. Lincoln defined it as "the last, best hope of men . . . ours to hold or meanly lose."

American intentions, purposes, have notoriously been better than the performances of Americans; but the promises were more significant than the practical failures. "I see 'neath the rim of your haggard and mean disguises," Whitman said of the Amer-

The Country Is the Real Thing

By Mark Twain; in A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court:

You see, my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its office-holders. The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease and death.

To be loyal to rags, to worship rags, to die for rags—that is a loyalty of unreason, it is pure animal; it belongs to monarchy, was invented by monarchy, let monarchy keep it. I was from Connecticut, whose constitution declares "that all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit; and that they have *at all times* an undeniable and indefeasible right to *alter their form of government* in such a manner as they may think expedient."

Under that gospel, the citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit, is disloyal; he is a traitor. That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay, does not excuse him; it is his duty to agitate anyway, and it is the duty of the others to vote him down if they do not see the matter as he does.

icans who walked and talked around him, "And I shall look again in a score or two of ages, And I shall meet the real landlord . . ." The intentions that stand in our public documents and that were slogans for our wars are as indisputably among the precious possessions of mankind as they were indisputably always beyond our own grasp. That was all right, we argued, because someday—.

But there is a point at which the difference between intent and performance ceases to be commendable ambition and becomes something else—schizophrenia perhaps. There is a point at which noble slogans become mere cabalistic signs or totems for barbarian ignorance to manipulate; or be manipulated by.

A Symptom of the Rot Consuming America

James Burnham put out a book last year, *The Coming Struggle for Power,* which Life magazine digested for its 20 millions of readers. Burnham called upon the U. S. to take over the world quickly, violently, with whatever ugly means are now at its disposal.

This is a symptom of the rot consuming the real America. Burnham professes a cynical eagerness to use the concepts which properly belong to the future as propaganda to cloak the machinations of a power scheme. Coerce, he says, rule, frighten, buy, bribe, enslave, dehumanize—he's content that these procedures should be labeled *democracy.* The word will be useful, of course, but after his struggle for power has been resolved, what decent man can use that word, where pride and hope ought to be, without repugnance?

America's traditional purposes are not so hard to understand that only the high priests of the State and Defense Departments can interpret them. But something, perhaps the fear of being marked for later reprisal, is blinding too many good people to things which should be simple and clear as daylight.

For instance, Joseph Spigelman, writing in the August '47 Harper's, calls for an end to the Administration's inaction by saying that if the Administration "believes" Russia will someday attack us, we ought to beat her to the punch by provoking a war, but if the Administration believes that peace is possible, it ought to set out on a positively peaceful course. His article is titled "What are We Afraid Of?"—and my answer is that I'm afraid of men like him.

I am afraid of anyone who, after the Nuernberg Trials, can't see a choice between provoking war and following a policy of peace. Obviously Spigelman is out-Heroding the military Herods of Washington. Why? What hollow house can he imagine *he* is defending?

Look at the Alternatives Offered

The columnist Wallace Deuel, who proved some years ago that he could recognize Fascism when it goose-stepped and spoke in a foreign language, recently made some suggestions for the defense of America. Supporting the State Department's policy, he urged that it is necessary to contain Russia, because if we don't, we will be forced into a censorship of expression, restrictions on civil liberty, a widespread and powerful secret police system. His column had the nasty tone of an inside tip to citizens at large who had better pipe down if they know what is good for them.

Look twice at the prize set of alternatives offered here. If we accept the chosen scapegoat, if we censor our own doubts and questions about what the government of the people is up to, if we cheer in unison and have the right attitude toward King Michael, Arabian oil, France, and Charles De Gaulle—then we won't need concentration camps in America. Not concentration camps with barbed wire around them, at least. Otherwise you get real barbed wire. Button up your lip, he would say, and remain free. How free and for what, Mr. Deuel?

Many of the defenders are obviously kind and well-meaning folk. Like Mr. Deuel, they want to give us bargains in freedom, bargains in democracy. The goods they offer are damaged or *ersatz,* but they offer to let us pay with cheap servility and submission. If we accept their offer, we can't reasonably complain that we've been cheated.

"Honesty is the greatest luxury in the world," wrote John Jay Chapman in *Causes and Consequences* (1899), "and the American looks with awe on the man who can afford it, or insists upon having it."

The Essential Issue in the U. S.

By Dr. James M. Williams, professor emeritus of sociology at Hobart College; in a letter to the Editor of The Churchman:

The essential issue before the country [is] whether the individual is to be subservient to propaganda emanating from any source whatever — officials of governments, ecclesiastics, newspaper and magazine writers, radio commentators, prominent citizens of any kind—which stirs distrust and hatred of other nations or whether the individual is to be free and able to think in terms of goodwill toward all men.

Freedom is not an ideology acquired through subservience to propoganda; nor can it be bestowed on the individual by any form of government. He must work out his own salvation, his own freedom, within himself. He must free his mind from all cross-currents of propaganda and learn to do his own thinking as a rational being. *Democracy is impossible without many free men.*

Democracy is based on the individual's determination to brush propaganda aside, to search out the truth, to aim to understand other nations and help them to understand us, so that we shall make only intelligent and conscientious comments on other nations.

National security depends on this conscientious understanding and just dealing, not on armed might.

Said Heine: "I know not if I deserve that a laurel wreath should one day be laid on my coffin. Poetry, dearly as I have loved it, has always been to me but a divine plaything. I have never attached any great value to poetical fame; and I trouble myself very little whether people praise my verses or blame them. But lay on my coffin a sword: for I was a brave soldier in the liberation of humanity."

That education, whether of black man or white man, that gives one physical courage to stand in front of a cannon, and fails to give him moral courage to stand up in defense of right and justice, is a failure.—*Booker T. Washington.*

Possibly packers who use everything but the pig's squeal could make electric current from the consumer's squawk.—*The Louisville Times.*

Historians with a nostalgia for the past usually indulge in retrospective utopianism.—*M.M.K., The Reconstructionist.*

A people can live as long as it can reconstruct its life to meet changing conditions.—*M.M.K., The Reconstructionist.*

JOHN AND MARY

By Scott Nearing; reprinted from the July '47 issue of his remarkable analysis-letter World Events (125 Fifth St., N. E., Washington 2, D. C., $2 a year—recommended to T&T readers):

Once upon a time, in the early 1920s, a boy and a girl decided to get married. Let's call them John and Mary. Both were American born. Both were working in the labor movement. He was steady-going and a plugger; she was vivid, energetic, active. Both had high hopes of helping to create a better U.S.A.

Then came the fat years, with their lure of pelf and power for all who would worship the Golden Calf. Our young friends enlisted in his service, in a respectable profession, and began climbing. Within ten years they were close to the top of a "liberal" big business. The labor movement was far behind—all but forgotten. They were "well fixed and successful."

Another ten years slipped by. The liberal big business which they served joined with other big businesses in a united effort to escape depression by way of war. The first-born of our young friends, grown near to man's estate, decided to join the hue and cry, entered the airforce, went to Europe, and . . . was killed on one of his missions.

Daughter-in-Law Writes a Book

The other day I received a book, written by the young wife of the dead aviator. She told what a nice chap he was; how readily he took to flying; how much his fellow bombers appreciated him, and how tragic it was when he was snuffed out. The book was sent to me by Mary, the boy's mother.

I acknowledged the book and wrote Mary that while I did not know the details about her son, I could tell her the story of my nephew, who left college, enlisted in the air-force, made a "brilliant record" for himself and went down in the Pacific. "So long", I wrote to her, "as fine capable young men respond thus to the call of the big-shots, destroying and murdering at the word of command, fine young men will be snuffed out in their early years, leaving mothers and wives to lament their loss. And this holds true whether they respond to the orders of Roosevelt, Hitler or any other commander-in-chief. It is up to the fine young men and those who love them to learn this lesson and to find and follow a way of life that is not built upon organized destruction and mass murder."

It was not a kind letter, but it was true. I wrote it because I thought the time had come for John and Mary to face the music of comfortable, secure life built upon a foundation of exploitation and war.

Mary was away from home when my letter arrived. John opened it and wrote me that Mary was still beside herself with grief; that she had not been able to reconcile herself to the loss of her first-born, and that with my permission he would destroy the letter lest it plunge her afresh into despairing anguish. He added that it would be appropriate and pleasant if I wrote her a nice letter, acknowledging receipt of the book.

A Letter to John

I answered, agreeing to the destruction of the letter, and decided to let the matter rest there. But John was not satisfied. He wrote again: "Please write a little note to Mary, merely saying that you got the book, so that she will not keep expecting some acknowledgment from you."

Well, he had asked for it, so I wrote him:

Dear John: **We live in a society of butchers and murderers. We butcher for food, and murder for sport and for power.**

Years ago you and Mary decided to go to work for the plunderers and killers who run our social system. In return you got considerable comfort, a measure of recognition and some power.

Then they murdered your son. That was a part of the price you paid for living in a world run by plunderers and killers. No use blinking the facts. You know them as well or better than I do.

When I wrote Mary I did not put it quite so baldly as this. But I stated the issue clearly enough so that she might get the point, learn the bitter lesson and profit by it.

You asked me to cancel that letter. I agreed. Now you ask me to tell one of our conventional social lies, to write and say it is a nice book and thank her for sending it. But you cannot have it both ways. Destroy the letter—yes, if you wish. That is a negative lie—dodging the issue by saying nothing about it. Write a socially correct note, pretending to express a sentiment I do not feel? No, that is a positive lie and I will have no part in telling it.

You and I (and Mary) are getting on in years. If we do not or cannot face the music here and now, we will soon have to face it there and then.

I am for facing it here and now. I either say what I think or nothing. I think we live in a community built on lies, robbery, butchery and murder. There is no dodging the issue.

I also think that the lying, robbery, butchery and murder will continue till we face the facts, turn about and reshape our lives. Again there is no dodging.

Also I say it is time we stood up and told each other the truth, without fear or favor. No dodging.

This is grim doctrine but we live in a grim world where millions of innocent young victims are paying with their lives for our ignorance, stupidity, greed, hypocrisy and connivance.

Maybe it is wiser to tell Mary after all.

Can They Take It?

I hesitated for a couple of days before I sent the letter. John must be in his late fifties. Twenty-five years ago, in the labor movement, he could take hard knocks. Can he still take them? Will they do him any good? To these questions there is only one possible answer: try and see.

Then there is Mary, bowed down by her grief; paralyzed by anguish. Can she meet the issue, or will it merely crush her? Twenty-five years ago she would have met it and held to her course. A quarter century of comfortable living may have so corrupted her that she cannot stand up to the implications of the social system under which she has eaten from the flesh pots.

Again there was the matter of propriety,—was it fair to publish these private transactions?

Against these personal and private considerations I set social responsibility. President Truman, General Marshall, General Eisenhower and the other champions of a dying social order are doing what they can to perpetuate free-enterprise economy and parliamentary pretenses. In Greece, Turkey, Korea and elsewhere in

On Loyalty

Those who would impose upon us a new concept of loyalty not only assume that this is possible, but have the presumption to believe that they are competent to write the definition. We are reminded of Whitman's defiance of the "never-ending audacity of elected persons." Who are those who would set the standards of loyalty? They are Rankins and . . . officials of the D.A.R. and the Legion and the NAM, Hearsts and McCormicks. May we not say of Rankin's harangues on loyalty what Emerson said of Webster at the time of the Seventh of March speech: "The word *honor* in the mouth of Mr. Webster is like the word *love* in the mouth of a whore."

—From Henry Steele Commager's fine and famous article "Who is Disloyal to America?" in Harper's Magazine.

Europe and Asia they are preparing to go to war in their mad attempt to turn back the clock of history. In the press and over the radio; at the graduation exercises in Annapolis and West Point; in the elementary and high schools and universities they are straining every nerve to recruit a new crop of youngsters who will destroy and kill on order.

John and Mary are not just individuals. They are types. I meet them from one end of the country to the other. In their youth they had hope and faith. In their mature years they have comfort, security, wealth and power. They have bartered their ideals for this stinking mess of pottage. So insidious has been the propaganda; so diverting have been the bread, beer and circuses; so gradual has been the transformation, that they are not even aware of the change that has overwhelmed them.

If the Johns and Marys of today follow in the footsteps of the Johns and Marys of 1921—follow into the third phase of the Great War, and place the living bodies of their sons on the altar of Moloch, the whole of western culture may be rubbed out by the whirlwind of destruction and death that atom fission and bacteriological warfare will let loose.

An Urgent Call to Action

So I make this correspondence semi-public, in order that I may reach the circle of readers with this urgent message:

Come to your senses. Think. Understand. Act. Re-examine values. Put everything you have into a super-human effort to reshape your own life and reshape the community life along kindlier, juster, more purposive lines. Reach for a new level of consciousness, understanding and personal conduct. Live and help live more rewardingly and more creatively than you have done in the past. Sound the alarm. Arouse your relatives, acquaintances, friends and neighbors. Inform them. Organize them. Lead them in a crusade to plan, establish and administer a world community dedicated to the achievement of welfare rather than the acquisition of wealth. This call is urgent. If you hesitate or delay, even for an hour, it may be too late.

If you do not use your eyes for seeing, you will need them for weeping.—*Jean Paul Richter.*

Americanism and Militarism

Militarism and bona fide Americanism cannot be reconciled. They are as hostile to each other as freedom and tyranny. Militarism has entrenched itself in civilian branches of the Federal government. With huge Army and Navy appropriations it dominates science and the scientists in the nation's colleges and universities. The high brass now wants the youth of America delivered into its hands, *via* a law for peacetime military conscription.

James Madison, fourth President, said, "I most cordially agree that a standing army is one of the greatest mischiefs that can happen. The means of defense against a foreign danger have always been the instruments of tyranny at home."

World War III must be prevented, not fought. And since war is inherent in the capitalist society, we can only prevent it by socialist reconstruction, including the socialist reconstruction of Russia.—*Charlotte Benson, Englewood, Colo.; in a letter to the Los Angeles Times (March 23).*

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A limited number of sets of back issues of T&T are available:

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Somebody Cut a Mellon

Inside information from the automobile industry doesn't make the big moguls look so good. A union economist points out that between 1940 and 1947 wages increased from 95c to $1.50 an hour for the average auto worker. This is a 58 per cent increase, but a cheap eight-cylinder tudor sedan which cost $660 FOB Detroit in 1940 would have had to be increased to $754.70 in 1947 to take care of the wage increase. The company increased the price to $1,211.89 and editorials put the blame on labor.—*Dubuque (Iowa) Leader.*

Television

This will be the first presidential campaign to use television. Henceforth a candidate has to look good as well as sound good. All radio needs now is a simple attachment that will ring a warning bell every time a phony promise goes on the air during a political meeting. To your laboratories, men!—*Philadelphia Bulletin.*

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U.S.-SOVIET AFFAIRS AND HENRY WALLACE

(Continued from page 7)

The Soviets' problem, briefly put, was this: *(1)* The U. S. had an industrial potential great enough to defeat any nation or combination of nations in a short mechanized war. *(2)* In a protracted war, American war engines could cause tremendous damage but would not be able to achieve a decisive victory, because *(a)* the production of American weapons rested on an economic system which was vulnerable and *(b)* the special character of American manpower would make it impossible to maintain in many parts of the world the large standing armies required in a long global conflict.

A Scheme to Tackle a Problem

Therefore, Soviet strategy — to be executed by Byrnes, Baruch, Marshall, Vandenberg, Dulles, et al. — was developed along two lines: *(1)* the weakening of American influence in other lands in order to make the use of non-American manpower in a war difficult if not impossible, and *(2)* the weakening of American industrial potential by helping to drain away much needed basic raw materials, as well as by placing an extraordinarily heavy financial strain on American economy.

Soviet strategy was not at all difficult to put it into effect. Soviet leaders were well aware of the effect American policies were having in European and Asiatic countries. American sponsorship of the traditional exploiters of the various countries, together with American antagonism toward any native movement which aimed at the alleviation of old evils, had created strong anti-American feelings everywhere. Soviet strategy naturally, inevitably, aimed to deepen this antagonism. In the process, Soviet policies were naturally aligned to those of the discontented masses the world over, while America became a prisoner of her own puppets: the discredited predatory aristocrats, landowners, industrialists, imperial chiselers and racketeers, Churchill, the Vatican, and royalty of Europe.

In March '46 Truman announced his "contain Communism" doctrine, and the Kremlin realists immediately saw that the American Turkish-Greek "aid" program could be turned into a strategic advantage for the USSR. They saw that when the "cold war" turned into a hot war, American-built installations in Greece and Turkey would go the way of the Maginot Line, Singapore, Siegfried Line and Corregidor, while any American attempt to defend such bases would be a military liability. Moreover, the bitterness engendered by such American interference among the peoples of Greece and Turkey would become another Soviet asset, while the "aid"-program appropriations—even with Congressman Taber around — were bound to create a strain on U. S. economy, to tauten political tensions between the isolationists or nationalists and the internationalist-imperialists, and to hasten the process of spiritual erosion destroying traditional Americanism.

American Resources Into Ratholes

The method of further encouraging such American adventures was child's play for the Kremlin. Appraising American public opinion and political trends, the Kremlin realized that Red objections to American foreign activities would stiffen Congressional determination to pour more and more billions into the bottomless ratholes of Europe's scheming political adventurers. Here was an opportunity of putting pipe-lines under American economy for syphoning off much of America's wealth and resources without a corresponding Soviet effort. Communist parties in various countries, the U. S. included, caught on to the idea or were instructed to make noisy protestations against such American outlays, *thus spurring on the anti-Red pinheads in Washington to squander more and more of America's strength to "contain communism."*

Realistically evaluated, the "Marshall Plan" or ERP, for instance, calls for the expenditure of some twenty billions in 4 years, which translates itself into a tremendous military-economic strain when the money is broken down into the proper tonnage of chrome, manganese, bauxite, tin, antimony, oil and other raw materials in which America is increasingly deficient. As now set up, the ERP is mainly a bonanza for Europe's traditional warmakers and a welcome instrument of further oppression of the masses, which in the event of a hot war would mean no reliable allies for the U. S. On the contrary, it would help to evoke active opposition to American war aims which would find expression in popular Communist-led guerrilla armies against U. S. forces. Obviously, bigger and better "Marshall Plans", with American industries belching out finished products, are important to Soviet strategic plans concerned with the hot war *which our official actions beginning in '42 have forced the Kremlin to regard as sure as shooting.* Under such circumstances even the popular credit that may accrue to America for that small residue of the ERP billions, which may actively aid Europe's economy, must be risked by the Soviet; though it is more than likely that profit-hungry European industrialists and financiers will offset that by absorbing most of the profit from the expected increase of commercial and industrial activities. Admittedly, there are great risks involved in this Russian strategy, but it is hard to see what else is left for the Kremlin to do in the face of American determination to create a hostile world around the Soviet Union.

The Plot Thickens

As this Soviet strategy, based on the assumption that the conflict is irrepressible and inevitable, became the cardinal factor in communist circles, a plan was devised to apply the strategy to American internal affairs as well. Here the consideration was that a Big-Business-Isolationist administration would be best for two reasons: Big Business traditionally has no loyalty beyond its own profits, and Soviet officials have found it much easier to deal with out-and-out Big Business representatives than with agents of governments whose interests and loyalties were wider.* But more importantly, such an administration in Washington would revive American isolationism, which in turn would reduce the pace of the current headlong rush toward war. Time thus gained would strengthen Soviet economy while weakening American economy. Soviet economists hold that in 4 to 5 years a major depression will greatly reduce America's current industrial eminence.

Another Soviet consideration was the necessity to prove to the world the imperialistic quality of the American government and show how ruthlessly forces of peace are dealt with in the U. S. This was the motivation behind the American Communist Party's effort to help create a third party under the leadership of Wallace, whose thinking and impulses during '47 obviously led in the direction of a new party. The heroic figure of Wallace leading a gallant but futile crusade for causes close to the hearts of people everywhere was grist for the communist mill. By administering a smacking kiss of death to Wallace, the Communists split the American liberals beyond recovery; assured the defeat of Truman, and paved the way for the election of a Big-Business-Isolationist Republican president. Had Wallace had a ghost of a chance of election, the strategy undoubtedly would have been different, for

*Mr. Bain wrote this before the Republican convention, when Taft was still a possibility. Nominee Dewey, as is pointed out later in this feature, is not generally regarded as an isolationist; rather, most leftists hold him up as an eager flunkey of imperialist internationalism represented by John Foster Dulles. However, the July 12 issue of In Fact (280 Lafayette St., N. Y. 12) contains sensational information about Dewey's intimate connections with isolationist, violently anti-semitic and labor-hating forces in our financial-industrial world. This issue of In Fact is a "must."—*L.A.*

indeed a Wallace administration during '49-'52 might have succeeded in re-creating the pattern which was smashed in '42. But since his was a hopeless cause, the Communists, by associating themselves with Wallace, merely hastened the political disintegration which was due in America under any circumstances after FDR's death.

USSR to Win, Except that Everybody Will Lose

The communist strategic gains likely to arise from their widely publicized support of Wallace are impressive indeed: (1) The defeat of Truman, whose characterlessness and ineptness makes him a dangerous man; under him, a war might be set off any day. (2) The election of a Big-Business-Isolationist president. (3) The hastening of the expected American depression. (4) Slowing down of preparations for the war against the USSR. (5) Exposing America to the world as a land of reaction and imperialism. (6) The aid in the creation of a third party, a handy tribune for anti-war agitation. (7) The consolidation of genuine progressive forces which in the event of a catastrophic depression in America might emerge as the dominating force that will head off the war and lend (assuming it is not too late) a hand to progressive forces in other parts of the world in bringing about the realization of the peace plan which was developed during World War II.

Even assuming that there are major flaws in the Kremlin strategy, it is evident that it has vigor, militantcy and a subtlety beyond the ken of the pinheads ensconsed in the halls of Washington. By its very vigor, realism and altertness, Soviet strategy so far has shown itself far superior to that of the "West", and it would logically follow that the USSR would emerge from the projected conflict victoriously. *Except for one factor — in an atomic and bacterial war there will be little difference between the quick and the dead.*

II: "THERE ARE MORE THINGS . . ."

A rebuttal by Shaemas O'Sheel:

For the student of politics Hamlet's aphorism, "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy," is the beginning of wisdom. But it should be remembered that when he spoke the Prince of Denmark had just seen a ghost. So, perhaps, has Leslie Bain. Though there is some sound realism in his analysis of American-Soviet relations, in his probing for "more things" than appear on the surface, he seems to write under the spell of an encounter with the famous "spectre haunting Europe," which he now sees haunting America too.

Mr. Bain's intent is not clear, but the drift of his argument is startling enough to challenge close examination. His starting-point appears to be an unstated but necessarily implied thesis that the leaders and ideologists of the USSR were committed to the concept of inevitable war between the world's first socialist state and the capitalist world long before '42, when (this being the first point of his argument as stated) they for a time "played with the idea" that after the war socialism and capitalism could share One World and even cooperate, despite "Lenin's dictum about the utter incompatability" of the two.

A Highly Personal Interpretation

After tracing the stages in the dissipation of this hope, Mr. Bain gives his reading of Soviet policy since April '45 when, he believes, the Kremlin reverted to the concept of inevitable shooting war. Let us examine 3 of the propositions he advances: *first*, this thesis of Soviet resignation to the inevitability of war; *second*, the notion that our anti-Reds and promoters of huge appropriations to "contain communism" are unwitting puppets of the Politburo; *third*, the theory that the masterwork of Moscow's Machiavellis is the Wallace candidacy: conceived in the Kremlin, and brought to birth by the local Communists to ensure the election of a Big-Business-Isolationist Republican to the White House. Mr. Bain does not spell out all clauses of his argument; it is largely a matter of implication, inference and innuendo, much of the evidence being "admittedly circumstantial." It is a highly personal interpretation, wherefore I may also with propriety support my comment by reference to certain personal experiences.

Capitalism Versus Socialism

After some years of detachment, I was recalled sharply to the study of politics by the Dollfuss *putsch* in Vienna in 1934, by Mussolini's rape of Abyssinia, and by the clerical-fascist overthrow of the Spanish Republic. What paramount issue, what crucial antagonism, would explain these and other phenomena making the political atmosphere increasingly ominous? Like Omar Khayyam in his youth, I ". . . did eagerly frequent Doctor and Sage, and heard great argument," and presently I found, I thought, and still think, the answer:

Capitalism and socialism cannot forever share the world. Capitalism has a stake in the present economic-social-political order; from the moment of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 capitalist states have of necessity acted under the compulsion of a need to root socialism out of the world. This requires either that the USSR be overthrown, or that it be by force, intrigue or cajolery weaned from socialism. Moreover, socialism wherever else in the world it may appear, must be instantly attacked, with no scruple as to the means employed. Even democracy, 1776-model, lifting its head in a backward country, must, as in Spain, be beaten down, lest it turn to socialism!

It was gratifying to find this view confirmed in Robert Briffault's *Decline And Fall Of The British Empire.* It has been gratifying to note from time to time that I seem to be in agreement with such "knowledgeable men" as Stalin, Molotov, Zhdanov, Dimitrov. Indeed, the thesis that the rulers of the capitalist world are ridden by this sense of compulsion to extirpate socialism is now, I should suppose, part of the theoretical furniture of every student of politics. But this is not at all the same as Mr. Bain's thesis of the inevitability of a shooting war between the USSR and USA, or between the socialist and capitalist worlds.

War Is Not Inevitable

Communists, and all socialists who do not wear the name merely as a badge, believe, correctly or otherwise, that society moves toward socialism as surely and naturally as the morning sun rises toward the zenith. In any given area the moment comes when the transition from the state to the stateless or socialist order must be bridged by a dictatorship of the proletariat, established by such means as the given situation may require, not at all necessarily the precise means employed in 1917. Naturally the old order resists at all points. But socialists, always at the beginning the weaker party, yet confident that time, nature and destiny are with them, as a matter of commonsense try to avoid conflict, and to minimize it where it is unavoidable. Especially they can have no reason ever to desire international war, war between peoples. And where there is no desire of war it will never be considred *inevitable.* The "hard-headed Kremlin realists" know very well that the capitalist states endlessly plot their overthrow; but I submit that

Soviet polity has always and obviously been one of maximum effort to avoid war, and that no known facts support the theory that they accept its inevitability.

That they shrewdly and mercilessly exploit the blunders of our Washington and Wall St. "pinheads" is certain, and in analyzing this situation Mr. Bain is at his best. Quite correctly he points out that every American military installation and commitment in foreign parts will be a military liability if we finally get our war; that the more *materiel* we send to unreliable "allies," the less we have; that in pouring billions lavishly down the ratholes we hasten a super-1929 economic collapse at home, while abroad, by our folly in supporting royalty, reaction and racketeers and opposing popular liberation, we sow dragon's teeth to spring up as enemies in the end. Of course Soviet strategists realize that "Red objections" to our foreign policies intensify the frenzy of our "pinheads" to go out on military limbs, to dissipate our resources and squander our means; and I have no doubt they raise many an objection just to egg us on, just to impel the Administration and the Congress on their road of folly.

Truman Doctrine Made in USA

But the general impression conveyed by Mr. Bain's article — that the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were made in Moscow — becomes insubstantial when we examine his argument in detail. He says that when Truman announced his doctrine, the Kremlin "immediately perceived that the American Turkish-Greek aid program could be turned into a strategic advantage for the USSR." In other words, the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan were *not* doped out first in Moscow and then cleverly sold to Washington *via* Wall St.; Truman, Marshall, Vandenberg, Dulles, Forrestal, Baruch *et al.* thought up these follies all by themselves, and the Kremlin merely seized on them with the automatic precision of a cat pouncing on a mouse.

This strikes me as the more credible explanation. I was brought up, politically, to believe that as the late W. S. Gilbert put it, "things are seldom what they seem." But *seldom* is not *never;* there is such a thing as being too smart, and that I think is Mr. Bain's bane.

Let Congressman Feeney, *alias* Thomas, he of the Un-American Committee, boil me in oil, but I think that Stalin and the other "Kremlin realists" are among the ablest men of our time and of all time.* But I don't think they consider themselves supermen, and there I agree with them. I think I might even prove it.

The Dunquerque Deal in 1940

For 8 years I have believed that at the time of Dunquerque a deal was made — by Nazi and Allied bankers and financial magnates, always in cordial contact in Switzerland, Sweden, Portugal and, probably New York — whereby the semblance of war in the West was maintained by mutual air-bombing operations (carefully controlled so that only common people got killed), *while all ground operations were suspended to permit Hitler to concentrate his striking power on the Eastern front.* For 11 months this went on and even the meagre reports in the New York press in '40-'41 convinced me at least that a Nazi blow at the USSR was in the making. Certainly the Soviet leaders maintained a general wariness of Hitler and his plighted word; certainly they maintained a general posture of defense; yet apparently they were so lulled by the Ribbentrop-Molotov non-aggression pact as to be caught far off base when the Nazis struck.

Maybe I am being too smart with my theory of a Dunquerque deal. Maybe the Red Army high command remembered as I did (and I have never met anyone else who remembered) Dimitrov's 1938 prediction of a military attack on the USSR in the Spring of '41 — he missed by a negligible margin; Spring ended, Summer began, a few hours before the Nazis marched — but if so, evidently they didn't believe it. Certainly after 11 months of Nazi concentration in the East, so obvious that it was clearly reflected in American press despatches, they were taken, very disastrously, by surprise. I conclude that the supermen of the Kremlin are not so dooper as they would have to be to sustain some of Mr. Bain's theories, including the one about the Wallace candidacy.

Have American Communists a Pipeline to Moscow?

What seems to me most deplorable in this connection is that a man of Mr. Bain's intelligence should so blithely and uncritically adopt, repeat and lend currency to certain notions which we are more accustomed to meet in the Hearst, Howard and Luce press and the pathetic publicity releases of the Liberal Party and the ADA. I mean first of all the flat assumption that the Communist Party of the USA is commonly and constantly in communication with Moscow, that it gets its directives regularly, that it is in fact merely an organ, stooge, tool, puppet and errand-boy of the Politburo. It may be so; but when I read and hear a charge made so freely and so often, and notice that no one ever bothers to prove it, I become skeptical.

No one could get around in politics as I have for years without meeting a share of Communists. No one seriously studying current affairs can wholly ignore the Communist press, meagre as it is nowadays in the U. S. I am not an inquisitive person but I have my share of curiosity, and in conversation with Communists, in Communist speeches and pamphlets, and in the animadversions of their critics and enemies, I have been alert to try to piece out an answer to the question, "Is the CPUSA a Moscow mouthpiece?" In my measured opinion, it is not. Secret Soviet agents and Bolshevik bosses giving orders to subservient American comrades are figments of disordered minds. Liaison between the CPUSA and the CPUSSR is certainly slight if it exists at all.*

The idea has been assiduously spread that pronouncements of the CP, statements of Communist leaders, even the conversation of rank and file members of that group, are always in the nature of doubletalk. This seems to me a notion both unfair and uncritical. I have been scrapping with Communists for a decade, and my criticisms of the party and of many members of it could easily fill this whole T&T; but I find that at the least they rate with the run-of-the-mill of decent, honest Americans; and at the best they must be rated considerably higher, as it should be with men and women dedicated to a program, however sound or unsound it may be, of progress from the evils which have long beset mankind to a better social order.

American Communists say that Marxism-Leninism is a theory and a system of thought so scientific that its initiates and students in all lands are bound to arrive, without connivance or necessary consultation, at similar solutions of similar problems. More than a few reasonably close analogies support this possibility. Thus it is a favorite boast of Roman Catholics that anyone of that faith can go to Mass anywhere in the world from Rome to Nome and be edified by the same doctrine and ritual. Freemasonry is supposed to be universal and reasonably uniform; and even Rotarians from

*Also, according to some recent evidence, they are a bit like the late Fiorello LaGuardia: when they make a mistake, it's apt to be a "beaut."—*L.A.*

*Early in Dec. '45, in the President's Office at the White House, Harry S. Truman told me with considerable glee — in the course of a conversation dealing with another subject — that, when at the Potsdam Conference the previous summer, Stalin and he had discussed the Communists in the U. S., the Soviet leader had made a remark to this effect: "Why don't you have them shot, Mr. President, all of them?"—*L.A.*

Kankakee and Canberra should not noticeably differ in their approach to universal problems . . . such as "containing communism." Why should not Communists from Moscow to Memphis also arrive at like answers by applying the same principles and the same logic?

The acrimonious flare-up between the Cominform and the Yugoslav Communists does not belie this proposition. To resort again to analogy: there have been and are differences, not only in small details, but over wide ideological areas, between Catholics of equal dogmatic orthodoxy: wittness the many Catholic writers and journalists, as well as the many Spanish priests, who nobly condemned the clerical-fascist *putsch* in Spain.

I venture to think that even if Politburo and Cominform desired to interfere in American affairs, they would hesitate to use the CPUSA as their agent, simply because it does not rate very high in numbers or in competence. In arriving at an understanding of the central motivation of the international political struggle, I drew light from many sources, but certainly found none at all in the American Communist Party or its press. I was even witness of incidents in which that press went to extraordinary lengths to suppress discussion of the idea that the capitalist world acts under compulsion of an urgent need to root out socialism by overthrowing or corrupting the Soviet Union. When I first became acquainted with the thought of the CPUSA on international affairs, I found it to consist chiefly of the bright idea that if only Anthony Eden could become Prime Minister of Britain in place of Neville Chamberlain everything would be just ducky. If I were a Moscow agent, and as smart as they are supposed to be, I would hesitate to put much reliance in a party whose thought is sometimes almost a miracle of naivete.

The Wallace Movement Springs Out of Need

And that naivete, Mr. Bain, plus the eager, often tactless earnestness, which have always characterized radicals, reformers and zealots, explain the perhaps embarassingly prominent part which some observers think the Communists are taking in the Wallace campaign. For all I know, they may think they started the New Party, *but they didn't. The New Party has been born in the throes of a great national need, as other parties were born in the past when there were no Communists around to claim or to be blamed for their paternity.* I personally was plugging for a third party long before the Communist press or pronouncements evidence any support of the idea. From the moment of Truman's announcement of intention to take over from Britain the murderous job of suppressing democracy and supporting monarchy and fascism in Greece, there could be no excuse for any intelligent American patriot to play longer with the hope of continuing the Democratic Party-labor-progressive coalition; but the CPUSA went on playing with that hope for a long while thereafter. *From that moment a new people's party became the crying need, and in its formation the Communists, for all that I can see, were Johnnies-come-lately.*

But regardless of how much or how little hand Communists had in starting the Wallace movement, I view with regret, and with something like indignation, Mr. Bain's repetition of the trite notion and the banal phrase of a deliberate Communist "kiss of death" for Henry Wallace. I am no Communist apologist, but I think the simplest fairness requires recognition of the fact that Communists, whatever their faults may be, do not go in for "wrecking," for sabotage, for "making conditions worse" in order to promote discontent and prepare the Revolution. I am a sort of Jeffersonian revolutionist mysef, and one thing that makes me sometimes impatient with Communists is that they are the most persistent and energetic obstructors of revolution I ever met or heard of. From all my contacts and observations I am certain of this thing if of nothing else about Communists: that they are completely sincere and honest in trying to be constructive, in seeking to ameliorate, not aggravate evils and explosive conditions. If they infiltrate and bore from within as much as they are charged with doing, their purpose is certainly to lend constructive help in good causes. They have, to my mind, so neglected what I would have thought to be their first concern, namely to spread knowledge of socialism, that they have allowed their enemies to give them a thoroughly bad name, and the embarrassment frequently arises that they try in all earnestness to take a useful hand in movements and organizations where they are not wanted, where their presence is resented. If there are many of them in the Wallace movement and in the New Party organization and their presence is not resented, I say good for the New Party — but I hope the comrades will not do anything to wear out their welcome.

I was once red-baited when running for public office, and I said this: "The trouble with Communists is that they are a bit too radical; the trouble with Republicans and Democrats is that they are a bit too conservative. Now if some Republicans and Democrats wish to be a little less conservative this time, and to vote for the American Labor Party and for me, I welcome them; and if some Communists wish to be a little less radical and vote for me, am I going to rebuff them? — not on your life!"

No "Smacking Kiss of Death"

But I am certain that however much the Communists are supporting and working for Wallace, they are doing it not to give him a "smacking kiss of death" but in all honesty and with the intention of doing all they can to bring about a conceivable victory or to roll up a vote which will stand as an admonition to the White House and the Congress during the next 4 years.

Mr. Bain's statement that the Communists, by supposedly setting up the New Party, hopelessly split the liberal ranks, leaves me particularly cold. Having spent more than 40 years disliking (to put it politely) liberals and liberalism, and avoiding them as much as possible, I am no authority on their opinions, reactions and sensibilities. But I do recall that in '39, when in New York State the American Labor Party had acquired impressive strength and decisively held the balance of power, the liberals by a premeditated but sudden attack on some of the best-known leaders and best vote-getters in that party, attempted to split it and desroy its power. Balked in that attempt, I recall that a few years later the same factionalists set up the Liberal Party in a vain effort to draw off a large section of the American Labor Party following. I remember too, that within the last 2 years, after the Progressive Citizens of America had been set up, the liberals drew out and set up the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) — long before PCA had turned toward the building of a new party, long before Wallace had become a candidate. Only if we are ready to believe that the lamb downstream really muddied the waters as the wolf upstream complained, can we accept the charge that the naughty Communists split the ranks of those poor long-suffering liberals.

It is curious that in seeking to explain the genesis of the Wallace candidacy, Mr. Bain overlooks Bernard Baruch. To become the standard-bearer of a new party, Wallace needed first of all to become dissociated with the Truman Cabinet. To resign would have been a crude procedure, obviously tainted with self-interest and personal ambition. To be forced out, provided the needed background for his candidacy. We have hitherto shown in T&T that Baruch was the one who performed this service for Wallace. It may be that Wallace, shrewder than he is generally supposed to be, deliberately maneuvered to bring about this result. But it somewhat strains credulity to suppose that Baruch acted as a dupe and tool of the American Communists, of whom in my frank

if unflattering opinion, it would take the intelligence of several hundreds of thousands rolled into one to equal Barney's incomparable astuteness.

Somebody Ain't Bright

And now let us notice one thing finally: According to Mr. Bain's theory, the superdooper plotters in the Kremlin went to all the trouble of ordering the American Communists to go to all the trouble of setting up a new party in order to ensure the election of a Big-Business-Isolationist Republican President. But before Mr. Bain's words could appear in print, the Republican Party had nominated a man who if elected will be a Big-Business President all right, but who quite fails to fill the bill as an Isolationist. *(See footnote on page 25.)*

Somebody isn't as bright as Mr. Bain's theory requires: maybe the "hard-headed Kremlin realists," maybe the American Communists, maybe Mr. Bain.

III: TO HELP CLEAR THE ATMOSPHERE

As suggested in the box on page 7, Leslie Bain's piece and Shaemas O'Sheel's rebuttal belong in the spark-striking, atmosphere-clearing category of writing. Mr. Bain is reaching for the tail of something very important, but in the main T&T goes along with Mr. O'Sheel. Space doesn't permit a rebuttal to the rebuttal in this T&T; if Mr. Bain wishes to reply Mr. O'Sheel and to the rest of us who take cracks at him in this part of the feature, he can have a page in the next issue.

Copies of Mr. Bain's script were sent to two other T&T writers, Lee Fryer and R. V. Cassill, inviting them to comment on his thesis.

As may be seen from his article in this issue, when it comes to dogma *vs.* pragma, Mr. Fryer is on the side of pragma. Emphatically not a Communist, also not an anti-Communist or red-baiter, he believes that no ideology and no scheme such as Mr. Bain and many others attribute to the "Kremlin strategists" ever works out. He writes:

Mr. Bain's analysis cannot be dismissed completely, but it does have a very serious weakness in that it omits the possibility that ordinary folk in the U. S. may still act sensibly, wholesomely, naturally. He assumes too much that everything is under control and heading for a sinister and fatalistic conclusion.

The situation he describes is one in which the phenomenon of competition is operating on a massive scale. Each party concerned is captive of the other, and each is evoking from the other his worst behavior. That is the characteristic of our times, even in individual personal relationships. We tend to feed on each other and weaken each other, instead of helping each other to be strong. strong.

I reject Mr. Bain's premise as being ultimately unnatural to human kind. We are in a period of reaction, and the situation looks very bad. We must remember however, that in the 1920s the U. S. helped in the Churchill campaign to wipe out the Soviet Union and we did not recognize the USSR until Roosevelt [in 1933]. The present situation *may* lead to war, but also it may *not*. The attitude of people which is being demonstrated in the public response to Wallace still has to be coped with by the war party in Wall St. and the Pentagon Building.

I have no doubt that Soviet foreign policy is cold as a dead baby's toe, as the saying goes. It is designed to give a definite result in a given sector at a certain time within a set or several sets of probabilities and possibilities; and, nasty as it may seem to most unthinking Americans at this time, it is (from the Soviet angle) a sound, patriotic policy. Of course the Russians must want to weaken or destroy us, since obviously our war party, now in command of the U. S., wants to weaken or destroy their country and system. To this extent, Mr. Bain is at least plausible; and I hesitate to doubt that *some* of our Communists do not conceive it as their American patriotic duty to string along with the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of American politics, and with Soviet schemes to exploit the chaos in our national politics. But . . . *but . . . There are all kinds of factors that our Communists and Soviet strategists don't understand and can't foresee.*

It is those factors (which keep popping up right along: the nomination of Dewey instead of Taft, the collapse of the Eisenhower boom, the breakup of ADA, etc., etc.) that keep me from being a cynic. It is the non-mechanical characteristic of human culture which is all-important in a period of major historical transition such as the present. Massive events are shaping up, and we are in for all sorts of shocks and surprises. The Cominform-Tito rift is a mild example of what is ahead abroad and here.

As you know, I am no Communist or fellow traveler. I know that the CP does not regard Wallace as the paragon of peoples' leaders; and that, in part, because they don't know either America or Wallace. I don't doubt that the new party is a factor in the CP folks' calculations, or rather miscalculations; but so what? Since Wallace is clearly in the American tradition (which many Americans still clearly understand and greatly appreciate), he has no need to red-bait. If some Communists come along with him, well, that's their good luck! But of course, if the Wallace movement develops along its present potentialities, that is, if Wallace himself and the other leaders whom he really trusts don't make too many mistakes, the Communists cannot possibly control it. It is too big, too peculiarly American, for that. . . .

Mr. Cassill (whom you cannot miss elsewhere in this T&T) commented, in part, as follows:

Much of Mr. Bain's article seems to be based on the premise that the men of Moscow are supremely clever, almost omniscient — or that they have learned a kind of political ju-jitsu which makes them welcome the might of the forces hurled against them. That I can't believe. I can't accept the picture of the Politburo as a group of wizards who can play any tune they like on the world's political fiddle. The political success they have had (that communism anywhere has had) doesn't seem to me to come from any genius for the mechanical manipulation of men and groups, but rather from their understanding of, and submission to, a great tide that runs simply, naturally through the affairs of men. After all, communism is a natural enough and appealing enough idea for some societies to choose. If it were not, I am sure that no group of masterminds merely human could foist it on any country. Nor, on the other hand, could such masterminds persuade, trick, or manipulate the distilled products of a capitalist country at the height of power into being or doing anything that was not profoundly rooted in the nature of that capitalist country. What Truman or Vandenberg does may please the Kremlin, in a grim way, but it can hardly be said to have been done because they instigated the action. (Incidentally I *don't* believe that the Truman doctrine did please the Kremlin, but I realize that I have no basis for knowing.)

I don't really think that the Communist protests against the Marshall Plan were designed to promote that plan just as I do not think that Wallace's protests against the Mundt-Nixon bill were designed to promote it. In both cases the simpler explanation that the protests were sincere seems more tenable.

One of the most interesting parts of Mr. Bain's article is the section dealing with Communist interests in the Wallace campaign. This is rather shrewd speculation, though I think he should have listed these objectives as alternatives rather than as coherent things. If some of them were achieved others obviously could not be.

I am in a real fog as to what American Communists are up to in connection with Wallace's party. The one thing I believe most firmly is that they have bungled it up somehow. And I think they bungled up what they could have done out of stupidity or at least political ineptness. Far from being masterminds, I would say that the American Communists still have certain fundamental things to learn.

Of course the Communists are not the only group who need to learn some "fundamental things" about America; the Red-baiters, for instance, are another group, with the Truman administration, which persecutes them, being still another; and — of course, again — there are Communists and Communists.

There is no doubt, either, that people who call themselves Communists, or who are emphatically pro-Communists, have had next to nothing to do with Wallace's decision to be a candidate in '48. *(See p. 1)* Wallace himself credits Josiah W. (Jess) Gitt, publisher-editor of the York, Pa., Gazette & Daily, one of the clearest and most militant American traditionalists, for helping him to decide. But what really decided Wallace were the trends and tides in the U. S. and the world — the Fulton speech, the Truman Doctrine, the bi-partisan foreign and labor policies, the incipient American fascism, the attack on civil

(Concluded on page 32)

LETTERS FROM READERS

Rebuff from the South

Sir: I received sample copy. Don't send any more of your damnable stuff to me. We in the South are Americans, individual salvationists, believers in states' rights. None of your communism for us.—*Albert E. Bryson, attorney, Shreveport, La.*

From Paradise in the Pacific

Dear Mr. A.: The April-June T&T is fine. I'm particularly interested in reports from Don Matchan; once I read a great editorial by him when he was in Dakota. This kind of stuff is priceless.

But so very often I find myself becoming very impatient waiting for the next T&T and wish most earnestly that you might get it out monthly. I, for one, would be willing to pay more for it. We get so very little truth, and it would be better if it came more frequently. Can't you manage it?—*Adele Kensinger, Honolulu, T.H.*

No; it's tough to get it out even quarterly.—L. A.

On UMT

Dear Mr. A.: . . . I quite agree that it is possible that Universal Military Training would result in a powerful instrument designed more to hold the people down than anything else. Before the people give their consent to UMT they should know exactly what they may be letting themselves in for. Even as it is, they are being held down to a great extent by the press simply withholding the facts they should have upon which to base intelligent political opinion and action for economic and social progress. . . . That's why I think T&T is so important. . . .

While I fear the end results of UMT, it is not this alone that concerns me. I am concerned also with the trends in this country to greater and greater economic power in the hands of the few. And it is on this subject that I am writing a book which I hope to complete sometime after the first of the year. The title I have chosen for the book is *The Barrier to Abundance for All,* and largely it includes the record of our economic system over a long period, and which record shows the system up as being the barrier to abundance in the U. S. Without going into details, the best the system can do in the matter of consumer income distribution is approximately 66% to the highest third, 24% to the middle, and but 10% to the lowest third. Even during the late war years and since there has been little deviation from these ratios.

Another point: Wall Street is not a cause of anything but an effect produced by the system, and the only way to divorce economic power from the money crowd is to change the present economic system of scarcity to one based on universal abundance. Any other course would be but dealing with effects rather than cause, and you know how impossible it is to correct wrongs of any type without first removing the cause. . . . *Leland F. Fobes, Weaverville, N. C.*

It Happens in the Navy Too

Dear Mr. A.: You're putting out quite a paper. Recently a friend gave me a batch of numbers and I went through them with great interest. . . . The story of Gen. Holdridge is shocking. But the same sort of thing has been going on in the Navy.

You'll recall, no doubt, what was done to Admiral Richardson, when he ventured to suggest to FDR that Pearl Harbor was insecurely protected; in particular, that our fleet was in danger if left where it was. So he got it in the neck—long before Holdridge. He was relieved of his command as head of the Pacific fleet, and God only knows what happened to him after that.

I have a relative in the Navy who is continually "relieved of his command" here and there, and who, although a great patriot and a stickler for living up to American principles, never seems to get the stray plums that fall to other officers. As an instance of his democratic ideas, he ordered a chair set at his door for the occasional rest of the Marine orderly on guard, saying there was no good reason for the man's pacing when he could keep just as keen a watch sitting down. Naturally, this brought the Jovian wrath upon his head. I don't know whether it has ever occurred to him why this is so—why an officer should be penalized for being decently human and democratic in the Navy of what he supposes to be a democratic country. . . . I'm sending him the several T&T's that my friend gave me. Enclosed please find a check for which I hope you will be able to send me a full set of the paper from its beginning and keep sending me the new issues as they come out.—*L. K. J., Redondo Beach, Calif.*

From a Columbia Student

Dear Mr. A.: . . . College is a remarkable institution. How it is possible to study so hard for 4 years and learn next to nothing, practically, never ceases to amaze me. . . . Now "General Ike" has come to be commander-in-chief here. I can see nothing ahead but the Abyss.—*M. A., New York.*

The Stilwell Motto

Dear Mr. A.: Each time I receive a new copy of T&T I get the urge to write to you and try to express my thanks for your fight against the fascist "wave of the present" (with no apologies to Anne Morrow Lindbergh) which is threatening to engulf us all. Somehow I always get sidetracked. . . . This time I write in protest. In your last issue you didn't mention even once the late General Stilwell's motto ["Don't let the bastards grind you down!"] I think you should have it permanently on the masthead, where you put it in your first 1947 issue. It's a terrific slogan—like an electric spark to we poor dupes who still believe, or act as though we believe, in the free-enterprise system, etc., while we are being ground down by fascism which is right here —now. . . . *C. D. W., Paoli, Pa.*

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Those unable to buy The Peoples of America volumes for their personal libraries are urged to ask for them at their public, college, high school libraries.

From Dr. Graham

Dear Mr. A.: While laid up with an infected hand, I have been reading your thrilling book, *A Nation of Nations*. I am entranced with the mass of materials out of which you have distilled this story. It should be in the hands of every teacher of history. I thank you for writing it. . . . I will always treasure it as a distillation both of your scholarship and your spirit. . . . *Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.*

Back From Behind the Curtain

Dear Mr. A.: . . . I've come back from a 4-month trip to Czechoslovakia, Poland and Bulgaria. I also spent several days in Italy and in Belgrade, Budapest and Vienna. Conditions through Eastern Europe impressed me as good, certainly in contrast to the low morale and terrible poverty in Italy. Things seem to be bad also in Vienna.

The "Iron Curtain"? I'm convinced the darn thing is manufactured in the U. S. and is now gradually being lowered on the American workers and intellectuals. Will we stand for it?—*Alvena V. Seckar (Mrs. Ben Bunin), well-known New York artist.*

Timid Souls

Dear Mr. A.: . . . The timidity of many people whom I know alarms me. I wish we could straighten their spine—but how? Since courage is begotten by understanding, there may be hope. These lines may inspire some (I'm quoting from memory)

Are you afraid, friend?
So are we all,
But someone must take a stand;
Here, coward, take my coward's hand.

If you have some samples of the last T&T, I shall distribute them judiciously.—*John Dudzic, New York, N. Y.*

Getting Better, It Seems

Dear Mr. A.: It seems to me your paper gets better all the time, and I hope I can do something soon to show my appreciation of what you're trying to do. . . . I just re-read "The Letter from Dick" in the Jan.-March issue; whether an actual document or a literary device, it reminds me of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, fourth chapter, first to eleventh verses inclusive.—*Caroline Lewis Lovett, Philadelphia.*

[***The letter from Dick is an actual document.—L. A.***]

From Professor Sack

Dear Mr. A.: . . . A friend has sent a set of your T&T issued during '47 and copies of your first two '48 numbers. I have read them all with deep interest and equal emotion. I shall keep them as a permanent part of my library. Your contribution to American culture and political literature is truly unique: shrewd, hard-hitting. . . . Even without bearing in mind that it was written and published immediately after the Truman Doctrine was announced, your article "On Greece and Oil, on Truman and Toynbee" is a great job. It combines thorough analysis with sardonic humor and bursting indignation. . . . Thank you a thousand times, and let me join in the great motto you borrowed from the late General Stilwell: Don't let the bastards grind you down.—*Prof. Alexander N. Sack, N. Y. C.*

From a Minister in Colorado

Dear Mr. A.: . . . T&T is the best publication that comes in my mail. Herewith my renewal for another year. I hope you work out your financial problem so that you can put the paper on a permanent basis, perhaps as a monthly, in 1949.

I have a small church in a small community here in Colorado. Now and then I gather into my study such persons as are interested in progressive ideas and measures, the welfare of labor and the prevention of another world war, and I read them your articles. I am not able to keep a single copy. We are eagerly awaiting the issue dealing with Wallace and his movement. We shall want several copies. . . . Can you supply me a set of all the issues since 1945? I want to have them bound and refer to your material from time to time. . . . *Rev. (Name withheld).*

Free Copies of "A Nation of Nations"

A well-to-do friend, to whom I happened to show the unsolicited and unexpected letter from Dr. Frank Graham published in the other column on this page, suddenly decided to buy — at wholesale rate — 500 copies of *A Nation of Nations* and let me distribute the books as I wished. He approved of the following plan which is meant to help *T&T:*

As long as these 500 copies last, a FREE copy of *A Nation of Nations* will be sent to you for each *new* T&T subscription during 1948 ($2). The subscription may be for yourself if you are not now a subscriber or for someone else who is not yet on the mailing list. If you can use more than one copy of the book, send more than one *new* subscription.

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— *L. A.*

Bouquets and Brickbats

There's really excellent stuff in T&T.—*James Waterman Wise, New York.* . . . As a teacher of American history in public school, I have found your little paper extremely helpful.—*Alice Dodge, Flint, Mich.* . . . Take me off your mailing list, and why don't you go where you came from? My nephew subscribed me to your vile sheet without my permission.—*J. G. F., Chicago.*

I'm just a plain housewife who wants you to know that she finds the information in your T&T very interesting.—*Mrs. May Edwards, St. Louis.* . . . You certainly are taking a bold stand against powerful forces, and I wish I were so situated that I could send you more than the enclosed $3 for your sustaining fund. —*L. U., Los Angeles.*

Your magazine T&T is splendid and I wish I could increase my contribution but as my income has been drastically cut, I really cannot.—*M. N., Carmel, Cal.* . . . T&T has both guts and style. Can't you make it into a weekly? I'd be willing to pay $10 a year.—*John Gorman, Pittsburgh, Pa.* [*There don't seem to be enough people like you, Mr. Gorman.—L. A.*]

I'm only a recent discoverer of your paper, having read but two editions, yet feel compelled to express my approbation of your precise reporting and illuminating analysis.—*K. T. Y., Elizabeth, N. J.* . . . You belong in Europe with the rest of the skunks and rats there. When you go, take Eleanor along, and also Wallace.—*Unsigned.*

Your latest T&T is circulating among my friends and is evoking great interest and comment.—*Lawrence Wolf, Dept. of Geography, Indiana University, Bloomington.* . . . I am a free-lance Danish journalist specializing in U.S.A. and I have from various sources learned of your T&T as a fine publication. How can I arrange to receive it.—*Knud Erik Svendsen, Copenhagen.* . . .

U.S.-SOVIET AFFAIRS AND HENRY WALLACE

(Continued from page 29)

liberties, the war danger, the Marshall Plan swindle, the incompatibility of the various elements within the Democratic Party — and the fact that he is "in it."

There is no doubt, too, that some of the people who have worked themselves into the Wallace movement and who call themselves, or are being called, Communists are *not* Communists at all. They are agents of anti-Wallace forces in the various organizations run, controlled or influenced by the Catholic Hierarchy — really the Vatican which, in spite of the Pope's statements, wants another war. Another war would weaken, if not destroy, both the USA and the USSR, leaving the Vatican as the "spiritual power" able to take over the chaos and then organize the remnants into a new Holy Roman Empire.

Wallace's position on Communism and Communists is clear. Like Jess Gitt, he is a militant, undeviating American traditionalist. He is not a Red-baiter; this, for several reasons, including that he simply is not a Red-baiter and that, if he did Red-bait, that would make him part of the current war-ward impulse in the U. S., of which he doesn't want to be a part. Wallace has made this clear in numerous speeches and statements to the press. Two quotations:

Any communist who supports (my candidacy) will be supporting our program, not the Communist program. I am not a communist, a socialist or Marxist of any description. (Feb. 1, '48.)

I ask (Mr. Truman and other candidates for office) to join me in the following pledge: I shall not knowingly accept the support of any individual or group advocating the limitation of democratic action for any other individual or group which would restrict the civil liberties of others for reasons of race, color, or creed; nor the support of any individual or group advocating the violent overthrow of the government of the U. S. (March 19, '48).

There is no doubt that the sudden arrest of several American Communist leaders in New York during the week of the new party's convention in Philadelphia is part of the Truman campaign against Wallace. The climax of this cheap, phony business is still to come.

Whether Mr. Bain rebuts these rebuttals or not, T&T will probably return to this complex subject of USA-USSR relations, the Communists, and the future of American progressivism in the next issue.—*L.A.*

"OKAY, HONEY — PUT IT ON"

—Herblock; Washington (D. C.) Post; by permission.

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See also box on p. 31 for special offer of free copies of above books.

LOUIS ADAMIC, MILFORD, NEW JERSEY

ANSEL ADAMS PHOTOGRAPHY *San Francisco and Yosemite National Park, California*

(home address: (131 24th Avenue
after March 1st) San Francisco 21
California)

New York
February 25th 1948

Dr. W.E.Burghardt Du Bois,
c/o David Jenkins
240 Golden Gate Avenue
San Francisco, California

22-38-35

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I introduce myself as a friend of Dr. David D. Jones President of Bennett College and of Mr. Garfield D. Merner of San Francisco. With Nancy Newhall (Mrs. Beaumont Newhall) of New York I have been working on the prospectus of a book on the Negro which is to contain examples of the work of leading photographers and selection from great literature on and by the Negro. I shall not attempt to describe this project in this letter, but would greatly appreciate a short visit with you in San Francisco if such would be possible to arrange.

Your Assistant kindly gave me your California addresses and I am taking the liberty of writing you now from New York. I shall have the prospectus with me.

Perhaps, if you have no objection, I could also make a photograph of you (informally).

I hope we can meet and discuss this project together, and, I hope, with Mr. Merner as well.

with sincere regards and good wishes

ANSEL ADAMS

ANSEL ADAMS PHOTOGRAPHY *San Francisco and Yosemite National Park, California*

Box 455
Yosemite National Park
California
March 6th, 1948

22-38-36

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

It was a real pleasure to meet you yesterday and I appreciate the time you gave me from a crowded and exhausting program.

Your comments on the "dummy of a dummy" of a book were gratefully received. I have transmitted every one to Mrs. Newhall in New York. The economic aspect of the problem will certainly not be overlooked, and I will urge the need of "economic guidance" when the project is taking final form.

As I explained to you, our project is one in which the impact value of expressive photography will be augmented by association with appropriate text; combined in proper sequence, and with proper typography, I am sure the emotional effect will be considerable. As you say, it is essential that the book rise far above the level of a mere picture book.

We will continue to work on this phase of the project, and Mrs. Newhall will call on you in New York - she will probably have shown the dummy to Dr. Jones, and others before you return about April 15th.

I send you our New Year's card with my regards and best wishes for a successful Western trip. I deeply regret I cannot attend the banquet Sunday night.

again, my thanks, and greetings

Ansel Adams

1948

FROM
VIRGINIA AND ANSEL ADAMS
FOR 1948

22-38

THIS MOMENT YEARNING AND THOUGHTFUL

This moment yearning and thoughtful sitting alone,

It seems to me there are other men in other lands yearning and thoughtful,

It seems to me I can look over and behold them in Germany, Italy, France, Spain,

Or far, far away, in China, or in Russia or Japan, talking other dialects,

And it seems to me if I could know those men I should become attached to them

As I do to men in my own lands,

O I know we should be brethren and lovers,

I know I should be happy with them.

WALT WHITMAN

Calamus: Book V

Leaves of Grass.

SIERRA FOOTHILLS FROM MORO ROCK, SEQUOIA NATIONAL PARK

THE NIXON
BUTLER, PA.

601
~~6~~ E. Pearl Street
Butler, Penna.

January 16, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o East and West
62 W. Forty-fifth Street
New York 19, N. Y.

22-33-02

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

We finally had an A.A.U.W. meeting this week in which we settled our accounts in regard to the lectures. We didn't make as much for Fellowship as we had hoped, but we think we spread some goodwill, anyway.

The treasurer informed me that she had sent a check to the Nixon for one night's lodging for you, but the bill from the hotel came (and your letter informed me) stating two nights and a long distance call for thirty-one cents. While

this amount is small, our treasury is low and fellowship money is badly needed.

Since you offered to take care of this, we are accepting the offer in good faith and ask you to send your check directly to the Nixon — then our accounts will all be cleared up. (The remaining amount is $3,81.)

We don't know whether or not to try another lecture course next year. Our audiences were so small in comparison with our community concert audiences which practically fill the building. Maybe we just need to become "lecture conscious".

We appreciated your note and wish you well in all undertakings in behalf of your people. Sincerely, L. Adams

P.S. I'm sorry that I took your address and had to send this c/o E. and W.

L.A.A.

January 23, 1948

Mrs. Lila Adams
601 East Pearl Street
Butler, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Adams:

Your letter of January 16, to Dr. DuBois, has just arrived via the East-West Association. The Doctor is enclosing his check for $3.81, the amount stated in your note, which will close out the matter connected with his speaking in Butler last December.

Hoping you have not been too inconvenienced and thanking you for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosure: check $3.81

Reg to Read Manuscript

[ADAMS]

509 Poston St.
Clarksville, Tenn.
June IO, I948

22-26-74

Dr. W.E.B DuBois
c/o Chicago Defender
Chicago I6, Illinois
Dear Sir:

Please find enclosed five (5) short essays pointing toward an understanding of the Negro in America. I do not recall having heard or read discussion of this subject based on the premises set forth here.

Kindly inform me on your opinion of the merit of these pieces and whether you might be interested in inspecting more such material.

Also find enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope for use in possible return of these essays.

Thank you for any consideration.

Respectfully,

R. H. Adams

June 16, 1948

Mr. R. H. Adams
509 Poston Street
Clarksville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Adams:

I am returning the material you sent to Dr. DuBois for his criticism. He thanks you for the interest you have shown in his judgment.

However, if you will consult such volumes as Myrdal's An American Dilemma, Johnson's Patterns of Negro Segregation, Gallagher's Color and Conscience, the whole series of studies put out by the Carnegie Corporation and the American Council on Education, Cayton and Drake's Black Metropolis, the Journal of Negro Education, Summer Number, 1943, Benedict's Race, Science and Politics, Rose's The American Negro, DuBois' Color and Democracy, and any good text on sociology, especially the sections on attitudes (see Lasker's Race Attitudes in Children), institutions, social control, conflict, etc., you will find that the material you write about has been treated adequately. There are other sources I could recommend, but the above should serve your purpose.

With thanks for your interest, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosures

Copy of this letter sent to each of the representatives to the Little Assembly of the United Nations.

(INTERIM COMMITTEE)

AFGHANISTAN

1/2 Copy

23-46-23

January 22, 1948

The Honorable Abdol Hamid Aziz
Afghanistan Delegation to the United Nations
147-49 Charter Road, Apt. 21-C
Jamaica 2, New York

Dear Mr. Aziz:

We are enclosing a copy of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, which is, in printed form, the petition formally presented to the Commission on Human Rights, United Nations, by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on October 23, 1947.

Because of the nature of this document and its significance for international peace, we are interested in having it circulated and made available to people in other countries. In this regard, would you please inform us whether you could arrange to have it printed in Afghanistan and published in your country?

This petition was conceived and prepared with the purpose of having the matter it treats discussed and acted upon by the United Nations. We feel that it is a step in the right direction that will have positive ramifications for the good of oppressed people throughout the world. We would like to know if you would be willing to recommend to the proper authorities of the United Nations that the subject of this petition be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly at its next meeting?

May we hear from you at your convenience? Please accept our thanks and appreciation for your courtesy and assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Enclosure

[African Transcripts]

July 13, 1948

African Transcripts
African Section
University Museum
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Gentlemen:

Would you please be good enough to inform me when my subscription to the [redacted] expires. I am anxious to receive the publication regularly and would like to have this information in order to clear up my account.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[African Transcripts]

THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
33RD & SPRUCE STREETS, PHILADELPHIA

July 14, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In reply to your letter of July 13th, according to my records, your subscription to the African Transcripts expired in February 1947. Since that date there have been but three issues published, No. 12 which covered November 1946 to November 1947, No. 13 the January 1948 issue and No. 14, the March 1948 issue. No. 15, the June issue is just now going to press and will be the last number published.

If you desire Nos. 13, 14 and 15 we will be glad to forward them to you at $.35 per copy. All copies of No. 12 have been distributed.

Very sincerely,

Alice M. Hitner

Alice M. Hitner
Office of the Secretary

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Department of Special Research
National Association for Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

ESTABLISHED 1892 MEMBERS A. B. C.

AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN · WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN · PHILADELPHIA AFRO-AMERICAN · NEW JERSEY AFRO-AMERICAN · RICHMOND AFRO-AMERICAN · NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN

EXECUTIVE OFFICES · 628 N. EUTAW STREET
BALTIMORE 1, MD.

22-31-17

March 8, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
Wilkey Building
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Dubois:

The Baltimore Afro-American Newspaper has secured the sponsorship of the Schmidt Baking Company for a series of full page presentations in picture and story of the life and accomplishments of outstanding personalities in our race.

Since October 1946, these pages have extolled such widely known persons as:

Dr. George Washington Carver	A. Jack Thomas
Booker T. Washington	Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays	C. C. Spaulding
Mary McLeod Bethune	Mme. Sara S. Washington
Phillipa Duke Schuyler	Dr. Emmett J. Scott
Mrs. Emma Clarissa Clement	Raymond Pace Alexander
Josh White	R. H. Boyd
Thurgood Marshall	Langston Hughes
P. B. Young, Sr.	Muriel Rahn

Others already scheduled for this series of educational announcements include Chef O. J. Duffin, Mme. Evanti, J. Finley Wilson, Miss Frances Murphy and Coach Edward Hurtt.

As you can see for yourself, these announcements are not testimonials and do not imply endorsement of product. They are designed to be educational, interesting and informative. They will be published in the Baltimore Afro-American, one of the largest Negro newspapers, and one read by 92% of all the families in Baltimore's 280,000 colored population. The entire series will be of the same plane typical of the attached layout.

We will appreciate your decision to consider favorably including your story as a part of these presentations, and take this opportunity to thank you for your cooperation and to wish you even greater success in all your undertakings.

Sincerely yours,
THE AFRO-AMERICAN CO.
E. W. Higginbotham
E. W. Higginbotham
Ass't. Adv't. Dir.

EWH/maj

March 15, 1948

Mr. E. W. Higginbotham
AFRO-AMERICAN
629 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

Dear Mr. Higginbotham:

Your letter of March 8 to Dr. DuBois, concerning the Schmidt Baking Company series of full page advertisements, has arrived during the absence of the Doctor from New York. I have forwarded your communication to him on the West Coast, where he is currently lecturing. As soon as I have heard from him I will contact you.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

22-3)

ESTABLISHED 1892 MEMBERS A. B. C.

AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN · WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN · PHILADELPHIA AFRO-AMERICAN · NEW JERSEY AFRO-AMERICAN · RICHMOND AFRO-AMERICAN · NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN

EXECUTIVE OFFICES · 628 N. EUTAW STREET
BALTIMORE 1, MD.

March 17, 1948.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
The NAACP,
20 W. 40th Street,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-26-3

Your book, "Dark Princess," has been chosen by Dr. Nick Aaron Ford as one of the ten best novels of Negro life by colored authors.

Dr. Ford's article, a readable and most praiseworthy one, is written so simply and clearly that public school children can understand it. It will appear in an early issue of the Afro-American Magazine, which is an integral part of all the Afro-American Newspapers.

I know you will look forward to seeing why Dr. Ford chose your novel as one of the ten best.

I will be obliged if you can send me one of your latest photographs.

Very truly yours,

Carl Murphy

Carl Murphy,
President.

cm/m

22-31-18

March 26, 1948

Mr. Carl Murphy
Afro-American Newspapers
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

My dear Mr. Murphy:

I have your letter of March 17 and thank Dr. Hoard through you for the honor done me. I believe that my assistant has sent you a photograph.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:elh

ESTABLISHED 1892 MEMBERS A. B. C.

AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN · WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN · PHILADELPHIA AFRO-AMERICAN · NEW JERSEY AFRO-AMERICAN · RICHMOND AFRO-AMERICAN · NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN

EXECUTIVE OFFICES · 628 N. EUTAW STREET
BALTIMORE 1, MD.

22-31-19

March 31, 1948.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
The NAACP,
20 W. 40th Street,
New York, 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed herewith you will find a copy of the magazine section, which is included in all of the Afro-American Newspapers sold this week.

The magazine contains, on Page 3, Dr. Nick Aaron Ford's article, "Here Are the Ten Best Novels by and about Colored People."

Very truly yours,

Carl Murphy

Carl Murphy,
President.

cm/m
encl:

April 1, 1948

Mr. Carl Murphy
AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPER
628 North Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mr. Murphy:

I have just received a letter sent to Dr. DuBois containing the magazine section with the article on the ten best novels, by Nick Aaron Ford. The Doctor is still out of the city, but I shall bring your letter to his attention when he returns . With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

Reg: Miscellaneous

PREMIER COMMERCIAL COLLEGE
P.O. Box 1722
NAIROBI
KENYA COLONY
EAST AFRICA

AN APPEAL FRO EDUCATIONAL HELP FROM.
ONE OF YOUR BRETHERS IN EAST AFRICA.

10/5/1948

The Director of Research
National Association for
the Advancement of Coloured
PEOPLE. New York U.S.A.
DR. W.E.B. Dubois

Rec'd in NY
Aug 18, 1948

23C-31-24

Sir, Iam desirious of Writing this letter to you and all members of the R.N.A.A.C.P. New York, With a hope that I may get a favaurable reply from you. I would like a higher Educalion but cannot raise fees for schooling.

As Iam an Orphan boy, Iam very much concerned and glad to put my petition to you and members of R.N.AA.C.P. and all who may sympathise With my Case to give me a help so as to join one of the American Negroes College. I had already Communicaled With one of them that- is to say Tuskegee Institute of Alabama, seeking for a help but their Registrar suggesled to me that I couldgo with my own fare and that I shall be paying the school fee of 600-700 dollars a year of which I cannot afford because of reasons I have already stated above. Iam always Willing to associate With my fellow Africans but It has been a burden to me for the Poor standard I possess that I cannot achieve my ends. I hope that you as true brethren may you lay your love across the seas towards us who live in formerl land of your ancestors Came from that is Africa.

Therfore I shall be very grateful if you will put this grievances before the great R.N.AA.C.P. for their sympathetic consideration my Cducation, Education is what Iam in need of" Ibelieve that I shall not fail to get the best reply from you through the grace of Jesus Christ Our Lord

St- John 14÷18-19.

I have the honour to be
yours faithfully
E.M. Minya Euclid Aggrey.

23-31-18

August 23, 1948

Mr. E. M. Minya Euclid Aggrey
Premier Commercial College
P. O. Box 1722
Nairobi, Kenya Colony
East Africa

Dear Mr. Aggrey:

I want to thank you for your letter which has just come to my attention. I laud you for your spirit to get an education and hope that you will persist in your efforts.

Unfortunately, the NAACP is not an educational organization and is not in a position to assist you directly. I suggest, however, that you get in touch with:

African Academy of Arts and Research, 459 West 140th Street, New York, N. Y., USA

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y., USA

American Missionary Association, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y., USA

State your case to them and let them know what you wish to do. It may be that they may be able to help you.

With best wishes for success in your quest, I remain

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

23-25-57

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

D230CC 5L NL PD

NEWYORK NY FEB 14 1948

82 Th listing

DR W E B DUBOIS KY

409 EDGECOMB AVE NYK

SHIRLEY GRAHAM SAYS THAT HOWARD FAST WOULD LIKE TO BRING GREETINGS FROM THE ARTISTS AND SCIENTISTS COMMITTEE PLEASE LET ME KNOW WHETHER OR NOT YOU APPROVE FAILED TO REACH YOU BY TELEPHONE

E R ALEXANDER

650P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

E.R - Alexanders 2-17-48

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

Further MUST dinner invitations:

Mr. & Mrs. Malcolm Lewis

75 Brent St., Dorchester, Mass

Miss Mattie Allison

(try telephone book or the big ballroom,

I45 & Lenox-- her brother-in-law is manager there)

211 W 149th Ave & Apt 1-D

Audubon 4-1056

22-31

ERNEST R. ALEXANDER, M.D.
234 WEST 139TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

AUDUBON 3-5384

22-31-14

March 19, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am enclosing all of the letters and cards of regret received concerning the Dinner.

Very sincerely yours,

E. R. Alexander.

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

MEDICAL DIRECTOR

February 12, 1948

80th Birthday.

23-25-34

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, New York

My dear Ern:

I am so sorry that I will not be able to attend the Dinner being given for Dr. DuBois on the 23rd of this month.

You can imagine how busy I am getting ready for the Clinic, and this reminds me to say that we are expecting you and Sallie down again this year. Please let me know about it.

I heard a few days ago that you had not been so well. I hope you are ok now. By all means take care of yourself and don't work too hard.

Very sincerely yours,

Gene Peele

/s

P. S. Clinic dates - April 11-17, 1948

Expected

Mueller, Ruth

2

March 30, 1948

Dr. Ernest R. Alexander
234 West 138th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I have just received the letters which you sent to Dr. DuBois' apartment, concerning his 80th anniversary dinner. I shall see that they are brought to the Doctor's attention. As you know, however, he is still away and is not due to return to New York until late in April.

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[LILLIAN ALEXANDER]

22-31-13

January 26, 1948

Mrs. Ernest R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mrs. Alexander:

I am sending you herewith address cards taken directly from my files. I wish you would be very careful of them and return them when you have finished, so that I re-file them; otherwise, I will have no list. Also, Sigma Pi Phi and the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternities would probably bot be interested. The local chapters and, perhaps, the national chapters. Letters might be sent to the national officers of these organizations.

The secretary of my class of 1890, Harvard University, is Howard Corning. I think he lives now in the State of Massachusetts, although is address used to be 32 Shepard Street, Cambridge, Mass.

I am sending you the latest list of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. On pages 23-33 I have marked the men in the literature department with whom I am especially acquainted. Please be sure that this list is returned to me after you have made use of it.

There is also a [redacted]ge potential list of graduates of Fisk, Atlanta, and Wilberforce universities which might be considered.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:s

January 21, 1948

February 4, 1948

Mrs. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

Dr. DuBois has asked that you be sent the following names to be added to the anniversary list. Where definite addresses are not given, he assumes you have them or are better able to find them than this office.

22-3)

Mrs. Fannie Howard Douglass)
Miss Adella Parks)
Mrs. Parks and Daughters)
Miss Ruth Anna Fisher)
All of these individuals live in Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Jessie Hathcock, Dayton, Ohio

Mrs. Julia Delaney)
Mr. and Mrs. Lee,)
Both of Raleigh, North Carolina
Harrison Library may serve for this party

Mr. and Mrs. Dortch, Boston, Massachusetts
Mr. William Harrison, 794 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance, 916 Kearney Street, San Francisco, California

Noah and Dorothy Thompson, Baltimore, Maryland

Mr. and Mrs. Howell, 120 New Street, New Brunswick, New Jersey

Mr. and Mrs. Doxey Wilkerson, 913 St. Marks Avenue, Brooklyn, New York

Mr. A. A. Austin, Antillean Holding Company, 209 W.125th St., New York City

The chief officers and Board members of the NAACP

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

80th Birthday celebration

February 9,1948

Mrs. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

The following are more names Dr. DuBois asked to be sent to you:

Mrs. Nina G. DuBois, 2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Mr. and Mrs. Lester A. Walton
New York City

Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Kinckle Jones

Mr. and Mrs. Noah Thompson, 385 Edgecombe Ave.,New York City

The President of the American Medical Association

Mr. and Mrs. Fritz C. Staupers, 1274 Fifth Avenue, New York

Where addresses are omitted he assumes you will know them or can secure them.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

HOTEL MARINI

CHAMBRES TRES FRAICHES

BANQUETS SUR COMMANDE

P. O. BOX PORT-AU-PRINCE A-73

PETIONVILLE
HAITI W. I.

CABANE CHOUCOUNE

DANCING

Propriétaires
Mr et Mme D. MARINI

TÉLÉPHONE: 7119

Raymond Paul ALEXANDER - See file

Pétionville, le Febry - 10 - 48

23-25-44

Dear Ernest,

Sadie and I are here in Haiti for the month of February. The Office advised us of the Dinner planned for W. E. B. Du Bois which, if we were in the States, would afford us great pleasure to attend.

Will you let Dr. Du Bois know that we join his many thousands of friends in complimenting him on a life of great accomplishments for the benefit of people of all races and classes and wishing him good health and happiness on the first day of his approach to the decade of nonagenarians, which we pray will be his good fortune to witness ten years hence.

Our love to you & Jones,

Raymond

R. P. Alexander

22-31

1923 ~ 1948

Mrs. Mary Tanner Mossell
requests the honor of your presence
at the marriage of her daughter
Sadie Tanner
to
Mr. Raymond Pace Alexander
Thursday evening November twenty-ninth
nineteen hundred and twenty-three
at half after seven o'clock
2908 Diamond Street
Philadelphia

Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Pace Alexander

have happiness in announcing the

Twenty-fifth Anniversary

of their marriage

on

Thanksgiving Day

One thousand, nine hundred and forty-eight

and extend kindest thoughts and greetings

910 South Nineteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mexico City, Mexico

November 25, 1948

January 23, 1948

Mrs. Sadie T. Alexander
1900 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Sadie:

Some years ago through Rachel Davis DuBois, the Quaker social worker, I met a girl in Philadelphia named Ethel Duncan. She was an intelligent and interesting woman and had been a teacher at Girard College since 1924. I have kept in touch with her from time to time.

22-31-32

Last year she was dismissed by Girard College because she was too much interested in the injustice and bad treatment which the children under received. She protested in various ways, and at last was dismissed for "lack of cooperation." She was offered the chance to apply for a pension, but only on condition that she would promise not to write or talk about conditions at the school. She refused to make the promise and put the matter in the hands of a lawyer of New York. This lawyer has been in touch with leading law firms in Philadelphia. There seems to be a general agreement that she has a case but that it is "unwise" to push it. Of course, she had very little money and now has none, and is hardly able to more than exist and take care of an invalid mother.

She and another young woman, who was similarly dismissed, but who is now an insurance agent, talked to me while I was at Rachel's last Sunday. They asked, "What shall we do?" I said, "Well, at any rate, here is a suggestion. Talk to Sadie Alexander. Of course, she knows that this is a matter which involves no money return, but at the same time she, and I, and all Negroes have a case against Girard College and we would like to have the institution shown up." I told her to get in touch, talk with you frankly, and to take your advice. Please respond if she writes you.

I trust this finds you and the family in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Duncan lives at 1125
Somerville Ave., Phila.,Pa.

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
MACEO W. HUBBARD
SADIE T. MOSSELL ALEXANDER
CURTIS C. CARSON, JR.

LAW OFFICES
RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
40 SOUTH NINETEENTH ST.
PHILADELPHIA 3, PA.

RITTENHOUSE 6-9960

HONORARY CONSUL OF HAITI

January 29, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

22-3-1-33

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I wish to acknowledge, with appreciation, your letter of January 23. You are quite right that both Raymond and I are most interested in any issue involving Girard College. Standing before me as I dictate this letter if Matthew Bullock, Jr., of Boston. He will recall vividly that before he came to Philadelphia I told him that one of the things that I most wanted to do was attack the trust under which Girard College is established. Perhaps Miss Duncan will give us the first opening blast at Girard College. I shall write her a letter to call and see me.

However, Raymond and I are leaving on February 5 to spend a month in Haiti therefore I may not be able to get to this matter until spring. Be assured, however, that it will receive my attention.

All of the family joins me in sending our warmest greetings to you and yours.

Very sincerely yours,

Sadie

I wrote Miss Duncan.

STMA:l

January 12, 1948

Dr. Virginia M. Alexander
1708 Jefferson Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

My dear Virginia:

I have not heard from you in a very long time, but tried to get in touch with you in regard to DuBois before she went back to school. I believe the family did find you, but could not make an appointment. Please write and tell me how you are. I hear from you at times indirectly, but not as often as I would like. I still have my little apartment in New York. My telephone number is Wadsworth 6-9837. Phone me sometime before eleven in the morning or after six at night.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

On Valentine's Day

[Virginia Alexander]

A message to greet you
On Valentine's Day,
With something it's really
A pleasure to say:
That you are remembered
With wishes sincere
For happiness always,
Each day of the year!

23-25-94

I am always thinking messages to you.
I want so to go to your party! Love, Va.

[Enclosure from Virginia Alexander?]

Dect 12. McCarthy

Va. Alexander

22-31-34

Rape

Case :- White girl 15 yrs.

cc pain in side (under right costal margin - tenderness in Mc Burneys region
Shallow ulcers in the mouth.

Impression :- Ac appendicitis, G.B. disease.

Positive Lab findings: vaginal smear positive for gonococci.

Impression: Salpyngitis + oophritis

Investigation by social worker:

"Father is a habitual drunkard and is separated from his wife. He has charge over his daughter who sleeps with him at night. Each night the father has intercourse w his own daughter and often the daughter awakes and find penis in mouth :. source of infection.

the recent case in Maryland when a negro raped a white woman and was burned to ashes. Recently in Chicago 3 white men and 1 negro raped a white woman and the penalty was justly inflicted especially on the negro. In N.C. a huge negro brutally attacked a small white girl and he was lynched. In the South if a negro even looks at a white woman in a suspicious manner, he is lynched. I am not boosting lynching but under the above conditions I believe that lynching is justifiable

Ete — Ete.

(1) A

Comment by Mr. Carthy: Put no trust in such a report from a social worker. Splendid example of rape can be drawn from lives of negroes:

(1) During slavery a big black negroes 6 feet tall were used by their master to have intercourse with women slaves so as to bring into the world strong healthy slaves. After emancipation these negroes tried similar acts on the white women in order to avenge such insults. White men form posses, capture their victims, tar & feather him and burn same to stake. Remember

Perversion.

(2)

The nearest thing to 100% masculinity is the negro. Because of his strong bodily development & his weak mental development, his lack of aesthetic impulses, lack of love of beauty, culture and civilization he more closely approaches 100% masculinity. The more cultured man & races are weaker in this respect. The more cultured the race the nearer the approach to the feminine side. Jack Dempsey is the type of white man closest to the negro.

[Allen Univ. Alumni]

23-25-60

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
[illegible]erred Cable
[illegible]able Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

(102)

STANDARD TIME at point of destination

N182 PD 5 EXTRA=ZV WASHINGTON DC 23 1151A

1948 FEB 23 PM 1 04

DR W E BURGHARDT DUBOIS 409 EDGECOMBE

=CARE WALKER A WHITE APT 13B OR ROY WILKINS APT 7D
409 EDGECOMBE AVE NYK:

=MEMBER OF THE ALLEN UNIVERSITY ALUMNI CHAPTER #15 WASHINGTON DC CONGRATULATE YOU ON YOUR EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

=LEUI DELAINE PRESIDENT BLONDENA L WHATLEY SECY

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

23-25

735

Birthday Greeting by WESTERN UNION

1948 FEB 23

N153 PD=NEWYORK NY 23 1151A

:DR W E B DU BOIS=

:409 EDGECOMB AVE=

:HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES TODAY AND ALWAYS=

Mrs :MATTIE ALLISON=

211 W 149th St.,
House 2, Apt. 1-D
NYC

Autographed copy of THE WORLD AND AFRICA mailed May 6, 1948
by H. H. Smythe

Reg-Miscellaneous

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
Epsilon Omega Chapter
Baltimore, Maryland
2418 Montebello Terrace

May 1, 1948

23-31-17

Mr. Edward B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The Civic Contact Committee of Epsilon Chapter, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, has undertaken as its project for 1948 equipping a playground for Negro children in South Baltimore. At the present time there is no playground or recreational center for Negroes in this under-privileged area. The City has donated several vacant lots for this project. In order to buy the necessary equipment we are planning to hold a bazaar and sell various items of clothing and other personal effects donated by famous persons which the general public will be anxious to purchase for keepsakes.

Your name stands high on our list as one of the famous persons whom we are asking to make a donation. Will you assist us in this project by donating a personal item to be sold at our bazaar? Some article of clothing, or jewelry, a toy, a book, a vase--anything that you believe will serve our purpose. You may be sure that any gift from you which will help us promote this worthy cause we will deeply appreciate.

The bazaar will be held June 15, We shall be happy to receive your donation at your earliest convenience prior to that date. Enclosed is a self-addressed postal card which we are requesting you to fill out and mail at the time you mail your gift. This will serve as a check on items which might possibly get lost in the mail. It will also help us to identify our donations and their donors.

May we thank you now for your cooperation and donation.

Very truly yours,

Dollie R. Walker
(Mrs.) Dollie R. Walker
Chairman, Civic Contact
Committee

[Alpha Phi Alpha]

Lecture

1301 W. Clark St.
Urbana, Ill.
March 11, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40th St.
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois,

23-29-37

Tau Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity has begun making plans for the annual Education for Citizenship Week. It was the unanimous wish of the brothers, at a recent meeting, that efforts be made to contact you in order to secure your services as speaker for that occasion. We should be very pleased if you would consider our request favorably.

We are tentatively scheduling a program for either April 8, 15, 29 or at such other date as you may desire if you find it convenient to come. This program will be held on the campus of the University of Illinois with members of both racial groups in attendance. It would be an excellent opportunity to utilize your eloquence for the development of racial goodwill.

If you should decide to come, would you be so kind as to quote several alternate dates which you might find convenient on which to be with us. At any rate, we shall look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience. Thank you for any consideration you might give us.

Fraternally yours,

Emmett W. Bashful

Emmett W. Bashful,
Tau Chapter,
Alpha Phi Alpha.

May 24, 28

[Alpha Phi Alpha]

March 17, 1948

Mr. Emmett Bashful
1301 West Clarke Street
Urbana, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bashful:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois arrived during his absence from New York. He is on the West Coast lecturing, and will not return East until April 15. However, realizing the urgency of your request, I have forwarded your correspondance to him. As soon as I have heard from the Doctor, I will send you his answer.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

WHS:LW

Lecture Meeting

[Alpha Phi Alpha]

1301 W. Clark Street
Urbana, Illinois
March 27, 1948

23-29-44

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

In relation to our previous communication concerning your appearing at the University of Illinois as a speaker, please be advised that Tau Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha will not be able to sponsor your appearance because of limited funds.

However, we are contacting several other organizations on campus which may join with us in sponsoring your appearance here. After Easter vacation, I shall be able to definitely determine if there is such a possibility. I will wire you on Wednesday April 1, advising you of whatever developments which take place.

Fraternally yours,

Emmett W. Bas

Emmett W. Bashful.

[Alpha Phi Alpha]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
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SA900 S DG315 NL PD=CHAMPAIGN ILL 31

1943 MAR 31 PM 8 34

DR W E B DUBOIS=

20 WEST 40 ST NYK=

REGRET I HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO SECURE ORGANIZATIONS TO SPONSOR YOUR APPEARANCE HERE LETTER WILL FOLLOW=

EMMETT W BASHFUL..

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
Lecture engagement

23-29-4/2

Make Copy

[Alpha Phi Alpha]

lecture

WESTERN UNION

SA900S.Dg315 NL PD- CHAMPAIGN ILL 31
DR W E B DUBOIS
20 WEST 40 ST NYK-

REGRET I HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO SECURE ORGANICATIONS
TO SPONSOR YOUR APPEARANCE HERE LETTER WILL FOLLOW-

EMMETT W BASHFUL..

23 29 34

(This refers to a Lecture Engagement at the
University of Illinois)

-y name The Doctor is still out of the city,

but I

[Alpha Phi Alpha]

April 1, 1948

Mr. Emmett Bashful
1301 West Clark Street
Urbana, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bashful:

I have just received your wire to Dr. DuBois concerning your inability to secure organizations to sponsor a lecture by him. The Doctor is still out of the city, but I am forwarding your wire to him.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh M. Smythe

HMS:LM

[Alpha Phi Alpha]

lecture

1301 W. Clark St.
Urbana, Ill.
April 5, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

23-29-43

Dear Sir,

In my telegram of March 31, I stated that I had not been able to get the organizations to sponsor your appearance here as I had anticipated. I had contacted the local chapters of Alpha Kappa Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, Kappa Alpha Psi, Omega Phi Psi, Alpha Phi Alpha, and the Illinois Student-Community Interracial Committee.

All were very much desirous of having you come but several of them could not fit the dates mentioned into their semester's program.

Many of us sincerely regret that events were not favorable for your coming here at this time. We feel that the sage advise that you would give from your many years of experience, research and training would be almost invaluable to us. We shall be looking forward to the possibilities of bringing you here sometime in the future.

This letter comes from one who appreciates fully the contributions which you have made to American culture and to a struggling and determined racial group.

Yours very truly,

Emmett W. Bashful

Emmett W. Bashful

[Alpha Phi Alpha 7

April 5, 1948

Mr. Emmett W. Bashful
1301 West Clark Street
Urbana, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bashful:

I have conveyed your message, concerning your unsuccessful attempt to spomsor him in a lecture, to Dr. DuBois. I know, however, he appreciates your efforts.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Smythe

March 30, 1948

Mr. Nelson W. Ambush
23 Prospect Street
Worcester 5, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Ambush:

Thank you for sending me the program of the regional meeting on April 4. I plan to leave New York Sunday morning and should arrive in Worcester about 1:30 p. m. . I must leave Worcester Sunday evening in time to make the 7:35 p. m. plane.

I am looking forward to meeting you.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

April 8, 1948

Mr. Nelson W. Ambush
23 Prospect Street
Worcester 5, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Ambush:

It was very kind of you to send me the clippings of the Regional Meeting in Worcester, and I want to thank you for your thoughtfulness. I am sorry I did not have more time to spend with you. I enjoyed the meeting very much and am glad to see that the resolutions are being given the publicity they deserve. The conference offices are to be commended for conduction such a successful affair.

Perhaps when I come back to New England I may have a chance to see you. Meanwhile, please give my regards to the other members of the planning committee, and to you and Mrs. Ambush I extend best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

with INST.

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK

23-2 6-11

February 3, 1948

To the Members of the Academy
and the Institute:

At the Annual Ceremonial to be held in May, fifteen "Arts and Letters" grants of $1000 each will be given jointly by the Academy and the Institute, to younger men and women of demonstrated ability who are not members of either organization.

If you have any candidate to recommend to the Committee on Grants, please forward his name promptly together with some information about him. In the case of a writer or a musician, examples of his work should be supplied or mentioned by name. In the case of an artist, the Committee should be informed where his work may be seen.

Very sincerely yours,

Van Wyck Brooks

Chairman: Committee on Grants

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK

October 26, 1948

To the Members of the National
Institute of Arts and Letters:

The American Academy of Arts and Letters cordially invites the members of the National Institute of Arts and Letters and their wives (or husbands) for luncheon on Tuesday, November 23rd, 1948 at twelve-thirty o'clock at the Academy Building.

Following the luncheon, the members are invited to attend a private showing of Robert Flaherty's film "Louisiana Story." We have this great privilege through the courtesy of Mr. Flaherty and his Associates. This will be preceded by a short color film of the famous French tapestries which were recently exhibited in America.

Kindly respond on the enclosed slip.

Sincerely yours,

Van Wyck Brooks

Secretary

23-28-1

File

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK

December 27, 1948

To the Members of the
Academy and the Institute:

At the Annual Ceremonial to be held in May, fifteen "Arts and Letters Grants" of $1,000 each will be given jointly by the Academy and the Institute, to younger men and women of demonstrated ability who are not members of either organization.

If you have any candidate to recommend to the Committees on Grants, please forward his or her name promptly together with informative data, to Miss Felicia Geffen at the above address. In the case of a writer or a musician, examples of the work should be supplied or mentiond by name. In the case of an artist, the Committee should be informed where the work may be seen.

Very sincerely yours,

LEON KROLL, Chairman: Committee on
Grants for Art

GLENWAY WESCOTT, Chairman: Committee on
Grants for Literature

PHILIP JAMES, Chairman: Committee on
Grants for Music

23-28-3

American Association
for the Advancement of Science

1515 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

January 29, 1948

Dr. W. E. G. Dubois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Would you be willing to review for The Scientific Monthly the new book by Richard M. Weaver, "Ideas Have Consequences"? It purports to "lay bare the inner corrosion of modern civilization."

If you can do this for us -- and I hope you will find time for it -- we could use 300-350 words on it in our May issue. That is the Special Book Issue, for which the deadline is March 1.

Please let me know on the enclosed card whether you can do the review. The book will then be sent to you at once.

Sincerely,

Gladys M. Keener

(Mrs. John D. Keener)
Assistant Editor
THE SCIENTIFIC MONTHLY

April 9, 1948

S3-14

American Association for
The United Nations
45 East 65th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Sir:

Will you please be good enough to send this office a copy of MAJOR DECISIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY SESSION, September 16 to November 29, 1947?

Thank you for your courtesy in this request.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

POSSIBLE LECTURES

[American Brotherhood]

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National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.

To Promote Justice, Amity, Understanding, and Cooperation Among All Peoples

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2A-33-58

January 20, 1948

Mr. V. E. Burghardt Du Bois
c/o Viking Press
18 E. 48th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

We are enclosing a copy of our latest book list "Reading for Democracy - VI", just off the press. We know you will be interested to find your book, THE WORLD AND AFRICA, has been included.

Last year over 200,000 of these lists were distributed in this country and abroad. It is likely that this year's circulation will be even greater because of wider use in study groups, colleges, libraries and other adult education organizations.

Should you be in Chicago at any time, we would appreciate an opportunity to schedule you to address groups, if you would be interested in such engagements.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Lachman

Mrs. Harold Lachman
Chairman
Book Committee

DL:mw

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

41 EAST 42nd STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

• MURRAY HILL 2-4917 •

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July 12, 1948

Dr. Hugh Smythe
National Assn. Advancement Colored People
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Smythe:

You will be interested in the results of the Greater New York Educators' Seminar on the Palestine problem.

I am certain you will agree that excellent addresses were given by Dr. Earl Hollier Tomlin, Executive Secretary of the Rhode Island Council of Churches, who spent several months in the Near East last summer; by Michael S. Comay, Director of British Commonwealth Division of the Israel Foreign Office; and Edgar Ansel Mowrer, columnist.

Spontaneous action was taken by the 180 in attendance on two matters:

1. A resolution incorporating a six point program outlined by Mr. Mowrer was unanimously adopted and sent to the President, Secretary of State, our U.N. delegate, and the British Ambassador. The points were: (a) Stop aggression of Arabs (b) Arm Israel for self-defense (c) Grant Israel de jure recognition (d) Restore American and British solidarity by policies of friendship for both Jews and Arabs (e) Restore world confidence in U.S. by rehabilitating the U.N. (f) Develop the U.N. to a body capable of substituting law for national violence.

2. A motion was made and passed to establish an Educators' Committee within the American Christian Palestine Committee, whose business it would be to get in touch with faculty members throughout the nation, to help get them interested in this problem, be enlightened as to the facts, and use the facts as resource material for class work; this Committee to send out material under the signature of its various members.

To facilitate this most important work of our organization, won't you check and return the enclosed card signifying (1) your willingness to join the American Christian Palestine Committee, if you have not already done so, and (2) your desire to be listed as a member of our Educators' Committee. You will remember that there are no financial obligations to membership and excessive demands will not be made on your time. But your support is vitally important if our fellow educators across the nation are to be reached effectively.

With all good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Bryn J. Hovde

Bryn J. Hovde

BJH:BCS
Enc.

[Am. Committee for the Protection ...]
New York

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON DEPORTATIONS

SUNDAY · APRIL 4, 1948 · YUGOSLAV AMERICAN HOME · NEW YORK CITY

Sponsored by American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born • 23 W. 26th St., New York 10, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 4-3457

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lecture

23-29-39

February 27, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Dubois:

We cordially invite you to address the Emergency Conference on Deportations, which is to be held on Sunday afternoon and evening, April 4th, at the Yugoslav American Home, 405 West 41st Street, New York City.

We would appreciate your speaking for about ten minutes on the relationship between the current deportation drive and the Negro people during the afternoon session, at any time most convenient for you between 2:00 and 5:00 P.M.

We enclose a copy of the Conference Call, which sets forth the general purposes for which this Conference is being held.

We do hope that it will be possible for you to address this Conference. We would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible as to whether you can be present and wish to thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Darr, Jr

Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Chairman, Board of Directors

uopwa
16-96

[Enc.]

ADVANCE REGISTRATION BLANK

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE
ON DEPORTATIONS

Yugoslav American Home
New York City

Sunday, April 4, 1948

Name of Organization.....

Address .....

City, Zone, State.....

Representative .....

Address .....

City, Zone, State.....

Representative .....

Address .....

City, Zone, State.....

Representative .....

Address .....

City, Zone, State.....

Representative .....

Address .....

City, Zone, State.....

We enclose $..... for the Registration Fee for our Representatives. (Registration Fee: $2 for each delegate, observer, or visitor.)

☐ *The Registration Fee will be paid by our Representative at the Conference when registering.*

Our organization voted to contribute $..... to help defray the great expenses involved in organizing this Conference and the fight against the mass arrest and deportation of non-citizens. ☐ *Our contribution is enclosed.* ☐ *Our contribution will be made by our Representative at the Conference.*

Please fill out and mail as soon as possible to:

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
23 West 26th Street New York 10, N. Y.

264

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON DEPORTATIONS

SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1948
YUGOSLAV AMERICAN HOME
405 WEST 41st STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Sponsored by: AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

THE SECURITY of the American people is menaced by the threat of mass deportations.

The Justice Department is using the press, the radio, the Congress of the United States and other channels in an effort to create a public atmosphere for a mass round-up of legal residents and for the establishment of concentration camps in the United States for certain non-citizens.

Since October 1946, the Justice Department has initiated deportation proceedings in 11 states against 23 non-citizens of 14 different nationalities—all on the same ground of political opinions.

The Justice Department is trying to frame and bar from this country Charles A. Doyle, International Vice-President of the United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers of America, CIO, a legal resident of the United States for 24 years and father of four American-born children.

The Justice Department seeks to deport to Yugoslavia Joe Weber, of Chicago, former director of organization of the United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America, CIO, solely on the basis of 4-hour visit to Mexico in 1939.

These arrests and deportations are completely political in character. They violate our traditions as well as our Constitution. They threaten to destroy the Bill of Rights for all persons in the United States, citizens as well as non-citizens.

The American people have always defeated efforts to use the deportation laws for anti-democratic or anti-labor purposes. Under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, the people wiped out the Alien and Sedition Laws in 1800. Under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln, the people defeated the "anti-alien" campaigns of the Know-Nothings in 1860. In 1920, the people opposed and defeated the Palmer Raids. In 1932, the people ended the mass deportation drives of the Hoover administration with the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

PROGRAM
(Tentative)

SUNDAY, April 4, 1948

12:00 Noon — Registration of Delegates

2:00 P. M. — Afternoon Session
Guest Speakers
Reports

5:30 P. M. — Meeting of Conference Committees

8:00 P. M. — Evening Session
Discussion
Reports from Committees
Adoption of Program

Once again the American people and their organizations must be rallied to defend the Bill of Rights by defeating the attempt of the Justice Department to use the deportation laws as a means for destroying the constitutional rights of non-citizens and the liberties of the American people. Therefore, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is convening an Emergency Conference on Deportations, to be held at the Yugoslav American Home, 405 West 41st Street, New York City, on Sunday afternoon and evening, April 4, 1948.

We invite your organization to participate in this Emergency Conference for the development of a program of action to rally the American people in opposition to these deportations and to bring to an immediate end the unnecessary, illegal and hysteria-provoking arrests of legally-resident non-citizens.

AMONG THOSE facing deportation: *Greece* — Peter Harisiades; *British West Indies*—Claudia Jones, Ferdinand C. Smith; *Soviet Union*—Alexander Bittelman, John Nabeshka, Paul Cline; *Spain*—Juan Diaz; *Czechoslovakia*—Alex Balint, Charles Kratochvil, David Balint, Peter J. Warhol; *Rumania* — John Santo, Dr. John Greenberg; *Germany* — Michael J. Obermeier; *Latvia* — Harry Bersin; *Hungary*—Theresa Horvath, Alexander Stephens, Joseph Knerly; *Bulgaria*—Kondo Dimitroff; *Mexico* — Refugio Roman Martinez; *Austria* — Martin Karasek; *Ireland* — James J. Crain; *Poland* — Frank Carlson, Beatrice Siskind Johnson.

[American Committee for the Protection]

March 3, 1948

Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Chariman, Board of Directors
Emergency Conference on Deportations
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Darr:

Your letter of February 27 has arrived during the absence of Dr. DuBois from New York on a lecture tour to the West Coast. Unfortunately, on April 4 Dr. DuBois will be speaking in Texas. Consequently, he will be unable to address the Emergency Conference on Deportations. However, I shall be sure to bring your communication to his attention, and I know that he appreciates the honor extended him.

With thanks for your interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

March 30, 1948

Rev. John W. Darr Jr.
23 West 26th Street, Room 33
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Darr:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois, concerning the conference on April 10 at the Hotel Diplomat, has arrived during the Doctor's absence from New York. Although the Doctor sympathizes with your purpose, he will be unable to attend since he does not return to New York until late in April.

With thanks for your interest, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23-22-40

CALL

MASS DELEGATE CONFERENCE

23C-39

In Defense of

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1948 • 10:30 A. M.

HOTEL DIPLOMAT

108 West 43rd Street

SPONSORS: AMERICAN COMMITTE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN • CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS • FERDINAND SMITH DEFENSE COMMITTEE • CLAUDIA JONES DEFENSE COMMITTEE • IRVING POTASH DEFENSE COMMITTEE • JOHN SANTO DEFENSE COMMITTEE • JOHN WILLIAMSON DEFENSE COMMITTEE • CHARLES DOYLE DEFENSE COMMITTEE • ALEX BITTELMAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

FIVE MEN ON ELLIS ISLAND went on a six-day hunger strike to protest being held without bail, without trial and without being charged with any crime.

These five hunger strikers walked out free on bail on March 6. They had nipped in the bud the effort of the Attorney General of the United States to introduce the hated concentration camp in America. They had struck the first important blow against the mass deportation drive of the Department of Justice, which thus far has caught in its dragnet of political persecution 35 men and women, most of them militant trade union leaders.

But these five accomplished much more.

The response won in picket lines and protests in dozens of cities throughout the nation demonstrated that, with the same display of unity, the American people can defeat the many-sided assault on civil liberties which the Government has launched in every field of American life.

They showed the tide of suppression and repression can be turned. They showed the tide can be turned NOW. And they showed HOW. With an urgency no longer to be denied, every true American and his organization is presented with the duty of courageous resistance and struggle.

Overdue is the need for a united action program to preserve the Bill of Rights and defeat this calculated offensive of reaction:

> The club of lawless DEPORTATIONS to intimidate the millions of American foreign born.
>
> The smear technique of the UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE, aimed at destroying all progressive currents in labor, politics, education and social legislation; its power of "contempt" is now used to jail those who disagree.

The President's LOYALTY PURGE of 2,000,000 federal employes, aiming to drive from private as well as public employment all Americans who refuse to accept the political and social views of a bi-partisan Administration.

The TAFT-HARTLEY ACT which would destroy the economic and political power of the American labor movement.

The renewed attack on the life and liberty of the NEGRO PEOPLE, intended to deprive millions of Americans of their civil rights.

These steps, menacing a free American labor movement and threatening to establish racial, religious, political and minority group persecution as a way of life in America, can be stopped by a resolute mobilization of the people.

The undersigned organizations, therefore, join in sponsoring a mass delegate conference in defense of the Bill of Rights, to be held at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street on Saturday, April 10th. All organizations and individuals are invited to participate in this emergency conference.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr., *Chairman of Board*

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
George Marshall, *Chairman of Board*

FERDINAND SMITH DEFENSE COMMITTEE

CLAUDIA JONES DEFENSE COMMITTEE

IRVING POTASH DEFENSE COMMITTEE

JOHN SANTO DEFENSE COMMITTEE

CHARLES DOYLE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

JOHN WILLIAMSON DEFENSE COMMITTEE

ALEX BITTELMAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Hotel Diplomat **Saturday, April 10, 1948**

9:30 A.M. Registration

10:30 A.M. Opening of morning session

12:00 noon Lunch recess

1:00 P.M. Panel sessions

4:00 P.M. Concluding session

ADVANCE CREDENTIAL FORM

Conference in Defense of the Bill of Rights
23 West 26th Street, Suite 33
New York 10, N. Y.

Enclosed find $..... covering registration fees ($1.00 per person) for the following delegates:

Name.....

Address.....

Name.....

Address.....

Name of organization:.....

Address:.....

Our organization has voted to contribute $.....toward the expenses of the conference and furthering its objectives.

Make checks payable to Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.

Use separate sheet for names of additional delegates.

[American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born]

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
23 WEST 26 ST., NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 4-3457

HON. STANLEY NOWAK
National Chairman
REV. JOHN W. DARR, JR.
Chm., Board of Directors
ABNER GREEN
Executive Secretary
HARRIET BARRON
Administrative Secretary

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Dr. Harry F. Ward
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264

23-48-10

Fifteenth Anniversary
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
CONGRESS HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
December 11 and 12, 1948

October 30, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We cordially invite you to address the "Bill of Rights" Dinner, to be held on Saturday evening, December 11, 1948, at the Congress Hotel, in Chicago, in conjunction with the Fifteenth Anniversary National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

For 15 years, our Committee has assisted the foreign born in the United States with the special problems which face them due to their foreign birth. Thousands of non-citizens have, through our efforts, adjusted their status in this country and become American citizens. Hundredsof non-citizens have been saved from deportation and separation from their families and friends.

At the present time we are engaged in the defense of more than 65 non-citizens who face deportation because of their political opinions and progressive activities. The Conference and the Dinner will be a demonstration of our efforts to bolster the democratic rights of the non-citizens who are in this country, because any attempt to undermine their rights will inevitably lead to the destruction of the fundamental rights of all Americans.

We hope that your schedule will permit us the honor of your presence at the "Bill of Rights" Dinner.

We would greatly appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Stanley Nowak

Hon. Stanley Nowak
National Chairman

sn/bml
uopwa-16/96

[American Committee for the Protection...]

November 4, 1948

Hon. Stanley Nowak
American Committee For
Protection of Foreign Born
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

23-4/8-11

My dear Sir:

I have your kind invitation of October 30, but regret to say that I have no plans to be in Chicago at the time of your meeting, and, therefore could not speak without compensation.

I thank you for your invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[American Committee for the Protection...]

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
23 WEST 26 ST., NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 4-3457

HON. STANLEY NOWAK
National Chairman
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Max Weber

Fifteenth Anniversary
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
CONGRESS HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
December 11 and 12, 1948

Lecture 1948

November 5, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

23-48-12

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 4th.

As we are very eager that you participate in our Fifteenth Anniversary National Conference, we would appreciate it if you would let us know what compensation you would consider.

Sincerely yours,

Abner Green

Abner Green
Executive Secretary

~~H~~ 200

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uopwa
16-96

[American Committee for the Protection...]

November 9, 1948

Mr. Abner Green
Executive Secretary
American Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

23-418-12

My dear Mr. Green:

I have no other engagements in the Middle West in December and, therefore, I would have to make a special trip to speak at your conference. I do not see how I could do this at the charge of less than $200. This would, of course, include expenses of travel and hotel. I doubt if you ought to afford so great an outlay for one speaker.

I appreciate your kind invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[American committee for the Protection ...]

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
23 WEST 26 ST., NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
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Fifteenth Anniversary
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
CONGRESS HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
December 11 and 12, 1948

lecture

November 16, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

23-48-14

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 9th.

We would certainly like to have you address our Chicago Conference but at this time we are not in a position to know whether our finances would permit. We hope you will give us a little extra time to consider.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Abner Green

Abner Green
Executive Secretary

AG/bl
uopwa
16-96

264

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
23 WEST 26 ST., NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 4-3457

HON. STANLEY NOWAK
National Chairman
REV. JOHN W. DARR, JR.
Chm., Board of Directors
ABNER GREEN
Executive Secretary
HARRIET BARRON
Administrative Secretary

lecture

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230-48

Fifteenth Anniversary
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
CONGRESS HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
December 11 and 12, 1948

TO ALL SPONSORS:

Dear Friend:

We enclose a copy of the CALL AND PROGRAM for the Fifteenth Anniversary National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which is to be held at the Congress Hotel, in Chicago, Illinois, on December 11 and 12, 1948.

We cordially invite you to participate in this National Conference and call to your special attention the BILL OF RIGHTS DINNER, which is to be held at the Congress Hotel on Saturday evening, December 11th.

If you cannot participate, we hope that you will send us as soon as possible a special message we could read to those participating in the Conference in Chicago on December 11th.

We wish to thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Stanley Nowak

Hon. Stanley Nowak
National Chairman

sn/ms
uopwa
16-96

enc/ 1

23-26-16

Call and Program

Fifteenth Anniversary National Conference

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

CONGRESS HOTEL • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Saturday and Sunday, December 11 and 12, 1948

DEFEAT THE DEPORTATION DRIVE

WIN CITIZENSHIP FOR ALL NON-CITIZENS

PREVENT CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN AMERICA

END TERRORIZATION OF FOREIGN-BORN AMERICANS

The foreign born in the United States have been selected for special persecution as a part of the general assault on the rights and liberties of the American people.

More than 60 non-citizens have been arrested and held for deportation because of their political opinions.

More than 50 non-citizens are being prevented from becoming American citizens because of their participation in the democratic life of the United States.

Many naturalized citizens are being threatened with the revocation of their citizenship because of their political and social views and activities.

Efforts will be made in the 81st Congress for the enactment of legislation for concentration camps, for the annual registration of non-citizens, for widespread deportation, and other "anti-alien" proposals.

This many-sided attack on the rights of the foreign born is part of a planned campaign calculated to intimidate and terrorize the foreign-born communities and to establish the legal and political basis for the destruction of the Bill of Rights and the liberties of the American people.

It is essential that the American people and their organizations be mobilized in defense of our liberties and our democratic traditions. Therefore, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is convening its Fifteenth Anniversary National Conference, to be held at the Congress Hotel, in Chicago, Illinois, on December 11 and 12, 1948.

To this Conference we invite all organizations and individuals who wish to join in these efforts for the formulation of a program of action urgently needed to defend the democratic rights of the American people by protecting and extending the rights and liberties of foreign-born Americans.

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Max Weber

PROGRAM

(*Tentative*)

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1948

Morning Session — 9:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M.

9:00 A.M. — Registration of Delegates
10:00 A.M. — Opening Session
1:00 P.M. — Lunch

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1948

Afternoon Session — 2:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.

2:00 P.M. — Panel Meetings
5:00 P.M. — State Delegation Meetings

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1948

Evening Session — 7:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M.

7:00 P.M. — "Bill of Rights" Dinner

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1948

Morning Session — 9:00 A.M. to 12:00 Noon

9:00 A.M. — Committees of Conference
10:00 A.M. — Panel on Legal Defense

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1948

Afternoon Session — 12:30 P.M. to 4:00 P.M.

12:30 P.M. — Final Business Session
Reports from Panels
Reports from Committees
Adoption of Action Program

Advance Credential and Reservation Blank

FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY NATIONAL CONFERENCE

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

December 11 and 12, 1948

Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois

Name of Organization.....

Address.....City, Zone, State.....

We will be represented by: ..... delegates; ..... observers .....

Name of Representative.....

Address .....City, Zone, State.....

Name of Representative.....

Address .....City, Zone, State.....

We enclose $..... for the Registration Fee for our representatives. ☐ The Registration Fee will be paid at the Conference when registering. (Registration fee for each delegate, observer, or visitor: $2)

We wish to reserve ..... room(s) at the Congress Hotel, in Chicago, for ☐ Friday evening, December 10; ☐ Saturday evening, December 11.

Please reserve..... places at $5.00 each at the "Bill of Rights" Dinner to be held at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, on Saturday evening, December 11, 1948, at 7:00 P.M. Enclosed find $..... in payment for these reservations. ☐ Reservations will be paid at the Dinner.

Toward defraying the very considerable expenses of organizing this National Conference and continuing its important work, our organization has voted to contribute $..... (Contributions may be sent in advance or brought to the Conference).

(Individuals are invited to attend the Conference as visitors. Individuals should also register in advance, if possible. The above Advance Credential and Reservation Blank should be used). ☐ Visitor (check here.)

Send all communications to:

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

23 West 26th Street **New York 10, N. Y.**

CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS: Congress Hotel, 520 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. All sessions will be held at the Congress Hotel.

REGISTRATION: Starts on Saturday, December 11, 1948, at 9:00 A.M., at the Congress Hotel. Registration fee: $2 for each delegate, observer, or visitor. Registration fee may be paid in advance or when registering at the Conference.

REPRESENTATION: Organizations are invited to send one, two, or three delegates, or observers instead of delegates. Individuals are invited to attend as visitors.

"BILL OF RIGHTS" DINNER: Will be held at the Congress Hotel on Saturday evening, December 11, 1948, at 7:00 P.M. Reservations for the Dinner, at $5.00 each, should be made as soon as possible. Reservations may be paid in advance or at the Dinner.

ADVANCE REGISTRATION: Organizations are urged to register their representatives as soon as possible. Reservations for accommodations at the Congress Hotel (at $4 and $5 each) should be made in advance. Reservations can be made with the American Committee but should be paid to the Congress Hotel.

IMPORTANT: Your organization can help meet the great financial expense involved in organizing this National Conference and continuing its important work by making a substantial contribution. Contributions may be sent with the Advance Credential and Reservation Blank to the Conference. Please notify us immediately if your organization is sending representatives so that they may receive all announcements.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
23 West 26th Street 264 **New York 10, N. Y.**

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

W. E. B. DU BOIS
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

VICE-CHAIRMAN
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE FOREIGN-BORN:

As the descendant of Foreign-born Americans whose ancestors arrived here in the Seventeenth century, and have been giving blood, brain, and muscle for this land ever since, I want to greet this Congress and express my deep regret not to be present. My own Black Folk have suffered and are still suffering in America, but I am free to say that nothing Negroes have undergone here exceeds in crass cruelty some of the outrages now being heaped on American citizens whose only crime is not to have been born here or in Great Britain. These crimes must be fought, and first the battle must be waged within your own ranks.

35-10-1

You must convince the Foreign-born that it is no disgrace to have been born in Ireland, Italy, Hungary, Scandinavia or Africa; that no such person is safe today from persecution, and that all must stand together in common defense and in a pride of birth that does not in any way interfere with their loyalty to the United States.

You must not yield to the efforts to divide you from Americans or from each other. You must cease being ashamed of your fathers, their customs , and their mother tongue. Let no inner prejudices or jealousies keep you from uniting in defense of all foreign-born of every nation, color and race, and fighting a common battle against all attempts to divide Americans into

W. E. B. DU BOIS
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

VICE-CHAIRMAN
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

a series of mutually hating groups, sitting defenseless against attack and inuendo.

This means a real fight and a nation-wide organization. You must raise real money and not peanuts. This Congress should raise a Defense Fund of at least $250,000; it should organize a salaried staff of the finest legal ability in America. It should fight every single case of even the humblest victim straight up to the Supreme Court, and if you lose there, fight it back again and again. Above all, publicity and more publicity from an organized publicity bureau with periodicals, books, pamphlets, radio and television, until no American can fail to be aware of the systematic persecution of the foreign-born in this so-called Land of the Free and Home of the Brave.

35-10-2

2 Carbons

To the Congress of the Foreign-born:

As the descendant of Foreign-born Americans whose ancestors arrived here in the Seventeenth century and have been giving blood, brain and muscle for this land ever since, I want to greet this Congress and express my deep regret not to be present. My own Black Folk have suffered and are still suffering in America, but I am free to say that nothing Negroes have undergone here exceeds in crass cruelty some of the outrages now being heaped on American citizens whose only crime is not to have been born here or in Great Britain. These crimes must be fought and first the battle must be waged within your own ~~group~~ ranks. You must convince the Foreign-born that it is no disgrace to have been born in Ireland, Italy, Hungary, Scandinavia or Africa; that no such person is safe today from persecution and that all must stand together in common defense and in a pride of birth that does not in any way interfere with their loyalty to the United States. You must not yield to the efforts to divide you from Americans or from each other. Let no inner prejudices or jealousies keep you from uniting in defense of all foreign born of every nation, color and race, and fighting a common battle against all attempts to divide Americans into a series of mutually hating groups, sitting defenseless against attack and inuendo.

This means a real fight and a nation-wide organization. You must raise real money and not peanuts. This Congress should raise a Defense Fund of at least $250,000; it should organize a salaried staff of the finest legal ability in America. You should fight every single case of even the humblest victim straight up to the Supreme Court and if you lose there, fight it back again and again. Above all, publicity and more publicity, until no American can fail to be aware of the systematic persecution of the foreign-born in this so-called Land of the Free and home of the Brave.

from an organized publicity bureau with periodicals, books, pamphlets radio and television

35-10-121

You must Count being ashamed of your fellows, than Caucasian & Negro mobs

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1299

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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N68D68 3G NL PD

NEWYORK NY FEB 15 1948

W E B DU BOIS KY

409 EDGECOMB AVE NYK

WILL YOU JOIN WITH OTHER PROMINENT CITIZENS IN PROTEST AGAINST ATROCITIES ARRESTS EXECUTIONS COMMITTED AGAINST GREEK DEMOCRATS AND GUERILLA FIGHTERS BY FASCIST GREEK GOVERNMENT AND FOR CESSATION AMERICAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN GREECE. PROTEST DEMONSTRATION WILL BE HELD AT GREEK CONSULATE WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 18TH FROM FOUR TO SIX PM. CAN YOU PARTICIPATE IN DELEGATION TO CONSUL OR MAY WE ADD YOUR NAME TO STATEMENT OF PROTEST. PLEASE TELEPHONE IMMEDIATELY WISCONSIN 73072

M MANDELENAKIS SECRETARY
AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRATIC GREECE

1010P

152 W. 42 St.

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

February 26, 1948

Mr. M. Mandelenakis, Secretary
American Council for
Democratic Greece
152 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Mandelenakis:

Your wire of February 15, to Dr. Du Bois to join your protest meeting on February 18 at the Greek Consulate, arrived during his absence from New York. On that date he was lecturing in New England, consequently unable to be with you.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Amer. Council for a Democratic Greece]

23-30-10

April 5, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o Dr. J. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We were very pleased to learn of your acceptance as a Co-Chairman for the National Conference on American Policy in Greece. Please accept our warm thanks for your interest and support.

In addition to Louis Adamic and Carey McWilliams, the following have also accepted, since we last wrote to you, to serve as co-chairmen: Ira A. Hirschmann, Abraham Pomerants and Oreste Stephano.

We expect that the National Conference will be held early in June. Please let us know when you plan to return to New York since we would like to be in touch with you with regard to all plans and will welcome your advice and suggestions.

We will of course abide by your wishes, and will not mention the NAACP in using your name.

Once again, with many thanks,

Sincerely yours,

M. Mandelenakis

M. Mandelenakis
Secretary

MM:RB

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR A DEMOCRATIC GREECE

152 WEST 42nd STREET • WIsconsin 7-6744 • NEW YORK, 18, N. Y.

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Executive Secretary
EDITH ROSENBERG

July 1, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York City

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

Enclosed I am sending you the resolutions which were adopted at the National Conference on American Policy in Greece. I trust that these will be of interest to you.

As you will note from our letterhead, Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild and Mr. Abraham L. Pomerantz have accepted to serve as Co-Chairmen for the Council. As I have told you, we would be very happy to have you join with us on our national Board. I will take the privilege of telephoning you some time next week for an appointment so that we can discuss this further.

With all good wishes, and once again many thanks, I am

Sincerely yours,

Edith Rosenberg

Edith Rosenberg
Executive Secretary

ER:CD
uopwa-16
encs.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET
4901 S. ELLIS AVE.
CHICAGO 1
CHICAGO 15, ILL.
PHONE
Kenwood 8102

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Secretary

February 9, 1948

Dr. E. B. DuBoise
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18 New York

23-48-37

Dear Dr. DuBoise:

As you know, the Rosenwald Fund is about to complete its significant period of work in the field of human relations. A group of persons, familiar with the operations of the Fund, formed a committee to plan a program at the time of the Fund's closing. I have been selected as chairman of that committee and therefore have the pleasure of inviting you to participate in the activities we contemplate.

On May 14th we have scheduled an afternoon and evening session. The former will be devoted to a discussion of human relations in the United States (with emphasis upon race relations) during the span of years that the Fund has been in operation. In reviewing the possibilities of persons to discuss this problem, we could think of no one better able to undertake the assignment than yourself. Consequently, I am inviting you to join with us on this occasion, presenting a paper of not more than 40 minutes. We will be in a position to pay your expenses and offer an honorarium of one hundred dollars.

It is our hope to secure Dr. Gunnar Myrdal and another outstanding individual to join you in this significant discussion. I trust that it will be possible for you to be with us and shall await your early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver

uopwa-39-cio

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AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

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Secretary

February 10, 1948

23-46-32

Dr. W. E. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18 New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In my earlier letter to you, inviting you to participate in a discussion of human relations in the United States at the closing program of the Rosenwald Fund, I indicated that the date was May 14th. This was an error, since the date has been set as May 28th. I am sending this letter as I wanted to call this matter to your attention at once.

I hope that this mistake will not cause you any difficulty.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver

Robert C. Weaver

uopwa-39-cio
air mail
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AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

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LEONARD M. RIESER
Secretary

February 18, 1948

23-48-39

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your letter of February 13. You may be sure that we are happy to know that you will participate in the program on May 28.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver

uopwa 39 cio

[Amer. Council on Race Relations]

April 21, 1948

Dr. Robert C. Weaver
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Dr. Weaver:

I am writing for reservations at the Stevens Hotel for the 27 and the 28. I shall want, also, to attend the dinner on the 28. Will you see that I have two tickets and make any charge that is correct.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Amer. Council on Race Relations]

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

Robert Weaver

April 23, 1948

23-23-18

Dear Dr. DuBois: In Dr. Weaver's absence from the city I am replying to your letter of April 21. Enclosed are the tickets for the Seminar and Dinner for your guest as well as your Dinner ticket. I hope you will agree to sit at the Speakers Table.

It was such a pleasure to spend a few hours with you at the Lochard's, and I am looking forward to seeing you at the Stevens.

Very sincerely yours,

Hilde Reitzes

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, New York

[Amer. Council on Race Relations]

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ROBERT C. WEAVER, *Chairman*
WALTER WHITE
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LOUIS WIRTH

23-23-16

You are cordially invited

to attend the celebration

in connection with the closing of the

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

THE STEVENS HOTEL

CHICAGO

Friday, May the Twenty-eighth

PROGRAM

Normandie Lounge

2:30 P.M.—Human Relations in the Twentieth Century

W. E. B. DuBois
Gunnar Myrdal

Robert C. Weaver, Chairman

4:30 P.M.—Informal Reception to Visiting Fellows and Friends

PROGRAM

Grand Ballroom

7:00 P.M.—Dinner

Sterling Brown

Langston Hughes

Pauline Phelps

Lillian Smith

Edwin R. Embree

Ira DeA. Reid, *Toastmaster*

[Enclosure]
[American Council on Race Relations]

Persons invited to the celebration are limited to two tickets. Reservations must be received in Chicago on or before May 1, 1948.

The Sponsoring Committee has asked The Stevens Hotel to hold a block of rooms for out-of-town guests. *Individuals will have to make their own reservations by writing directly to the Hotel,* indicating that they will attend the Julius Rosenwald Fund celebration.

Please make checks payable to ROBERT C. WEAVER.

23-23-17

Please send me_____tickets(s) at $5.00 per cover for the Julius Rosenwald Fund Dinner to be held Friday, May 28, 1948 at The Stevens Hotel, Chicago.

My check for $_____is enclosed.

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

_____

*My Guest:*_____

*Address*_____

_____

23-23-15 [Enc.]

[American Council on Race Relations]

MR. ROBERT C. WEAVER

American Council on Race Relations

4901 Ellis Avenue

Chicago 15, Illinois

→ Rosenwald Fund

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET — CHICAGO 1 — PHONE [redacted]
4901 S. ELLIS AVE. — CHICAGO 15, ILL. — Kenwood 8101

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LEONARD M. RIESER
Secretary

May 7, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-3-8-5-8

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The plans for the Rosenwald celebration on May 28th are just about complete and I want to apprise you of the final developments. As you know, we have decided to limit the afternoon program to two speakers - Dr. Gunnar Myrdal and yourself. At that time, we want you to deliver a 30 minute paper and of course Dr. Myrdal will undertake a similar assignment.

In addition, we should like to ask whether or not you would consent to a 10 minute extemporaneous discussion of Dr. Myrdal's paper. I think you can appreciate the wisdom in a meeting of this sort to either plan for unlimited discussion or restrict it to the principals on the program. Due to the limitations of time, it has seemed more desirable to select the latter course. Before planning on it definitely, I want to be sure it is agreeable to you and to Dr. Myrdal.

We are, of course, looking forward to the afternoon seminar and are delighted to have you with us.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver

Robert C. Weaver

uopwa-39-cio

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[Amer. Council on Race Relations]

June 8, 1948

23-39-47

Dr. Robert C. Weaver
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Weaver:

Where is my manuscript?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Amer. Council on Race Relations]

June 9, 1948

Dr. Robert C. Weaver
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

23-23-14

Dear Dr. Weaver:

Since Dr. Du Bois wrote you, the check and the speech have arrived.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs. Henry E. Murphy)
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM

[Amer. Council on Race Relations]

Rosenwald Fund

June 15, 1948

Dr. Robert Weaver
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Weaver: Enclosed you will find the speech which Dr. DuBois delivered at the closing ceremony of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. This is the copy you sent for his revisions, additions, and corrections.

The Doctor has deleted the parts which he feels can be removed without changing the tone of the paper. This is about all that he thinks should be left out of the original speech.

If there is any further information you need or would like to have, please feel free to write us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosure

AMERICAN EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP
11 EAST WALTON PLACE CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

Publishers of PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

President
JOHN J. DeBOER

lecture 1947 (2)

January 20, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

23-26-11

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

The enclosed check is drawn in accordance with your agreement with Dr. Warren Seyfert for your appearance during the National Conference of the Fellowship.

May I again extend the thanks of the Committee for the Conference and the members of the Fellowship for your courtesy and cooperation.

Cordially yours,

John F. Bowman, Jr.

John F. Bowman, Jr.
Business Manager

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF INDIA

111 WEST 42nd STREET NEW YORK 18, N.Y.
Telephone BRyant 9-6342

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Edward E. Strong
C. Van Lydegraf
Martin S. Weg

(Partial list of Veterans who served in India)

23-48-2

257

February 3, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I'm writing, as you suggested in our telephone conversation this evening, about the memorial meeting for Mahatma Gandhi which we plan to hold on the evening of Thursday, February 12.

We should very much like to have you come and speak to us on your feeling about what Gandhi's life and death have meant to the freedom struggle of the colonial and oppressed peoples of the world.

As far as any of us knows, this will be the only Gandhi memorial meeting at which his fight against the communalists of India, and the effect of his death on that fight, and on the continuing struggle of the Indian people for full independence and a better life, will be discussed.

Besides yourself, we hope to have Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah of Kashmir or a member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, as well as our chairman, Harold Leventhal, who met Gandhi in India, and one of the Indian students studying here.

The meeting, at which we expect about 150 people, will be held at the Broadway Tabernacle Church, at 211 West 56 Street.

Sincerely yours,

Mill Roseman

Mill Roseman
American Friends of India

mr/jc
uopwa

February 6, 1948

Mr. Mill Roseman
American Friends of India
111 West 42nd Street
New York 18, New York

23-162

My dear Mr. Roseman:

Answering your letter of February 3, I am sorry to say that I cannot speak for you February 12. If this had been the only meeting in memory of Gandhi, I should have tried to comply with your request against my better judgment; but since there is going to be a meeting Saturday and there have been other meetings, I do not feel that it is absolutely necessary. I have a tremendous amount of work on hand and I hav to guard my strength very carefully. I am sorry to disappoint you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

National Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Honorary National Chairman
RUFUS M. JONES

National Executive Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

MIDWEST BRANCH

American Friends Service Committee
19 South Wells Street
CHICAGO 6, ILLINOIS
CENtral 2664

Rec'd by Smythe March 25, 1948

March 1, 1948

Walter White, Secretary
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

7393 MAR3 '48

Dear Walter White:

We have a problem on which we would like to ask your advice and counsel.

The problem is this. We are arranging an Institute of International Relations, under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, at Naperville, Illinois, from June 18 to 27, 1948. This Institute will give a number of ministers, teachers and other community leaders, from Illinois and Wisconsin, a chance to explore, under expert guidance, some of the problems of this strife-torn world and what can be done about them. There will be a faculty of more than a dozen people who are experts in various phases of international problems and who can discuss these problems on a high intellectual level and with honesty and integrity.

Some of the subjects we will discuss are Russian-American Relations, the problem of world economic reconstruction, America's relationships to the Orient, the related problems of disarmament and conscription, the problem of world organization and world government and the problem of individual personal responsibility for peace making.

We are anxious that our faculty diversified.

We would like to solicit your help in offering suggestions to us of people who are well qualified in one of the above fields and who are members of a ~~members of a~~ minority race. We would like our faculty to contain at least one of these but preferably more than one and we would consider it an asset if we had both a man with African ancestry and one with Oriental ancestry, or more than one of each.

Any suggestions or advice you can offer us along these lines will be greatly appreciated. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Truman Kirkpatrick

Truman Kirkpatrick,
Area Director of Peace Education
American Friends Service Committee

TK:lpp

American Friends Service Committee CLOTHING WORKROOM, 159 North Michigan Avenue (4th Floor), Chicago 1, Illinois, CENtral 2660

[American Friends Service]

[INCOMPLETE]

March 29, 1948

Mr. Truman Kirkpatrick
American Friends Service Committee
19 South Wells Street
Chicago 6, Illinois

Dear Mr. Kirkpatrick:

Your letter of March 1, to Mr. Walter White, has just been turned over to this office for reply. I hope, however, that the information I am sending you is not too late and will be of some assistance to you in planning your Naperville, Illinois Conference beginning June 18.

I should like to suggest for the subjects you mentioned that you write to:

Mr. A. G. Mezerik, 63 Washington Square South, New York, New York. This man, an outstanding writer on domestic and world affairs is one of the bestpossible persons you could have. I am sure that he would add much to the success of your undertaking.

Dr. L. J. Greene, Linclon University, Jefferson City, Missouri. Dr. Greene is a historian who has an excellent grasp of America's relationship with the rest of the world. He has both written and lectured on this subject. You will find him to be a first rate speaker and an excellent panel moderator.

At present I can think of no Oriental individual to suggest. However, I suggest that youw write to any one of the following and I am sure they will be able to furnish the name of a competent person who can handle quite ably the topics you are to discuss.

[Amer. Heart Assn.]

UNION BANK BUILDING
PITTSBURGH

August 19, 1948

Mr. William E. B. Du Bois
Director of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

23-47-7

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

The Board of Directors of the American Heart Association would count it a privilege to list your name as a sponsor. It is an organization made up of physicians, scientists and laymen devoted to the prevention, alleviation and cure of heart disease. Enclosed is a copy of "One Out of Three" which will give you a general idea of its objectives and program. Shortly we will be seeking funds for the purpose of carrying on a program to combat diseases of the heart - our greatest public health problem.

This letter is a cordial invitation to become a member of the National Sponsors Committee of two hundred which is now in the process of formation. It would help greatly for the public to know that men of your caliber are actively interested in this program. You may be sure your sponsorship of this important work will involve no burdensome duties. It should not be necessary to hold a meeting of the Committee.

It is our fervent hope that you will consider this invitation favorably. If you desire further information, please write to us.

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Robertson

A. W. Robertson
Chairman of the Board,
American Heart Association;

Yes

23-47-8

August 23, 1948

Mr. A. W. Robertson
Chairman of the Board
American Heart Association
Union Bank Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Robertson: Your letter of August 19 has just come to my attention. I appreciate the courtesy extended me and want to say that I shall be glad to become a member of the National Sponsors Committee.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[American Heart Association]

UNION BANK BUILDING
PITTSBURGH

P. O. Box 1017
Pittsburgh 30, Pa.

August 24, 1948

file
Reg. Mail

23-31-21

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
Department of Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We are very pleased that you will accept our invitation to become a member of the Sponsor's Committee of the American Heart Association. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Robertson

A. W. Robertson
Chairman

The American Historical Review

GUY STANTON FORD, *Managing Editor*

Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex
Washington 25, D. C.

UN Petition Corresp

January 26, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-19-15

Despite my interest as an individual in AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, I must decide, as an editor, that it does not fall in the category of reviewable books. This is following precedents applied to similar material sent in by other groups within and without our boundaries who are making a plea to the United Nations or American public opinion.

May I keep this copy for myself, or shall I return it?

Sincerely,

Guy Stanton Ford

Guy Stanton Ford
Managing Editor

GSF/ad

[American Jewish Congress]

American Jewish Congress

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1834 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • CIRCLE 6-1900

January 2, 1948

Dr. Smythe
National Association for Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

22-27

Dear Dr. Smythe:

I have just been informed by Mr. Ben Sharaga that the meeting place of the January 21st Parkchester meeting has been changed to Chester House in Parkchester. It's located between Macy's Department store and the Loew's Theatre, in the center of Parkchester. Please advise Dr. DuBois of the change.

Sincerely yours,

Edythe Bukowsky

Edythe Bukowsky
Secretary to Julius Schatz

/eb

[American Jewish Congress]

lecture

January 26, 1948

Mr. Ben Sharaga
1590 Unionport Road
Bronx, New York

Dear Mr. Sharaga:

In checking over our records I haveen unable to locate your check for $50, payable to Dr. DuBois for his services in connection with the Parkchester Civil Rights Meeting on Wednesday, January 21, 1948. Perhaps it has gotten lost or delayed in the mail, but I thought you would like to know should this be the case.

Thanking you for your attention to this matter, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

[American Jewish Congress]

lecture completed

BARNEY ROSENSTEIN
ATTORNEY AT LAW
401 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

Digby 9-1670

23-38-107

January 29, 1948

Dr. W. E.B. DuBois
c/o N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr.DuBois:

I am enclosing herewith a check for $50.00 in connection with the talk given by you at the Parkchester rally. We thought you might be interested in reading the press notice that appeared in our newspaper in connection with the meeting.

We want to thank you very much for the inspiring message you gave to our audience.

Very truly yours,

Barney Rosenstein

Barney Rosenstein

BR:hp
Enclosures

[American Jewish Congress]

January 30, 1948

Mr. Barney Rosenstein
Attorney-at-Law
401 Broadway
New York 13, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenstein: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 29, with the enclosed check for Dr. DuBois and the clipping of the Parkchester meeting. Dr. DuBois wishes to thank you for your attention and for your courtesy in sending him the clipping, which he is glad to have for his files.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

[2/25/48]

SPEAKERS' BUREAU
[AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS]
1834 Broadway
New Y ork 23, New York

CONFIRMATION OF SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT

From: Speakers' Bureau To: Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Dir. Date: 5/10/48
NAACP
20 West 40th St., NYC 18

This will confirm the arrangements agreed upon for you to speak

on May 25, 1948 (Date) Tuesday (Day) 8:30 PM (Hour)

Auspices West Side Coordinating Committee

Purpose of Meeting Palestine Rally Size 2000

Person in Charge Leon Quat

Address 7 West 96th St., NYC 25 Tel: BA 7-8311

Place of Meeting Riverside Plaza (main ballroom)

Address 253 West 73rd Street

Borough or City Manhattan State N.Y.

Subject of Address SAVE PALESTINE - SAVE THE UN

Traveling Directions

Lodging (out of town)

Costs

Thank you for your willingness to serve.

Signed Julius Schatz
Director, Speakers' Bureau
OD-CSB-17
2/25/48

REMARKS:

23C-38-50

[Amer. Jewish Congress]

March 1, 1948

Mr. Morris Fine, Acting Director
Library of Jewish Information
The American Jewish Committee
386 4th Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Fine:

This office would be pleased to be placed on your mailing list to receive regularly issues of Articles of Interest in Current Problems, and other literature.

Would you be good enough to see that this material is also sent to and that the following individual is placed on your mailing list:

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
2225 5th Avenue
New York, New York

Sincerely,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:lm

March 30, 1948

Dr. Alfred Marrow
Commission on Community InterRelations
American Jewish Congress
386 4th Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Marrow:

This office is interested in receiving a copy of the recent survey, made by your commission for determining the degree of prejudice in a given community. If such are available will you please be good enough to send us one, since we are sure that we will find it of immense value and help in carrying on our work.

With thanks for your courtesy in this request, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

American Jewish Congress

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1834 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • CIRCLE 6-1900

lecture

May 5, 1948

23-38-124

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Director
National Association for Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Burghardt:

I am writing this as you had suggested in our telephone conversation of this afternoon.

The Palestine meeting is being sponsored by a committee of the West Side representing the American Jewish Congress and some other fifteen organizations in cooperation with the Manhattan Division of the American Jewish Congress. This meeting will be held on Tuesday evening, May 25, at the Riverside Plaza, 73rd Street, west of Broadway, in the main ballroom which seats about 2500 people.

We would appreciate it very much if you would consider acceptance and consent to address the meeting for about ten or fifteen minutes.

Please advise as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

yes

Julius Schatz

Julius Schatz, Exec. Secy.
Community Service Bureau

JS:ebb

American Jewish Congress

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Lecture

May 21, 1948

23-38-108

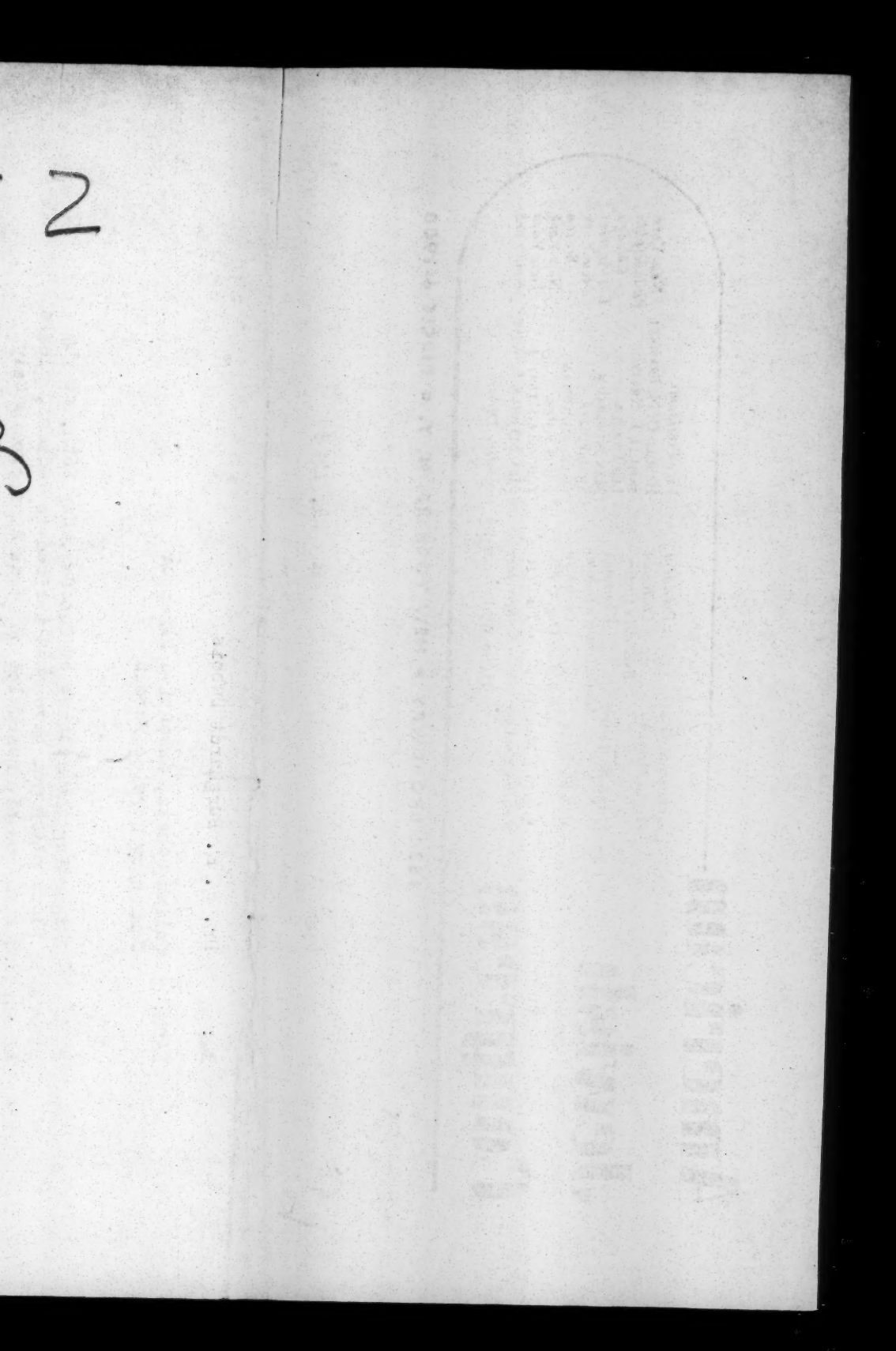
TO: Dr. W. E. Burghardt Dubois

FROM: Julius Schatz, Executive Director
Community Service Bureau

Regarding the meeting of Tuesday, May 25th, at the Riverside Plaza which you have been invited to address, please be advised that you are scheduled to speak at approximately 8:15 PM.

253 West 73rd Street.

25
W
73



November 22, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

[American Jewish Congress]

lecture

Mr. Julius Schatz, of the American Jewish Congress, called this morning and would like for you to call him as soon as you come in:

CIrcle 6-1900

Ext. 138 or 139

23-26-10

accepted lecture for Nov. 30, at Manhattan Center (with Rabbi Wise)

[AMER. LABOR PTY. - N.Y.S.]

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1-52-22

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W. E. B. Du Bois

Monday, October 18, 1948

at 7:00 p.m.

Hotel Commodore, Grand Ballroom

Couvert $7.50

R.S.V.P.

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July 12, 1948

The Editor
American Magazine
Crowell-Collier Publishing Company
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

The Julius Rosenwald Fund recently finished thirty years of social work chiefly among Negroes. At its concluding meeting in Chicago, May 28, I was asked to summarize the improvement in Race Relations in this period of time. My investigations made me realize as never before what organized and persistent social effort can accomplish in a generation. Due to the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro colleges, Foundations like the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board and others, these things have been accomplished:

1. The capability of Negroes to receive the highest education has been universally conceded.

2. Race differences have been minimized.

3. Race amalgamation is regarded as not necessarily evil.

4. Factual, scientific study of races has begun.

5. The Negro population is increasing and its health is improving.

6. Illiteracy is decreasing and Negroes in colleges have increased from 10,000 in 1917 to more than 70,000 in 1947.

7. Negro occupations are shifting from farming and domestic and personal service, to trades and professions, with about the same proportion in manufacturing and transport.

8. There has been a large increase in teachers and nurses; a small increase in lawyers, physicians, and dentists.

9. Negroes are receiving recognition in academic circles, in art and literature, in science and in sports.

10. Negroes are successfully fighting for political and civil rights. Lynching has been decreased from 64 in the year 1918, to 1 reported case in 1947. There have been 23 cases, involving legal rights, won before the United States Supreme Court between 1915 and 1948, including the constitutionality of the Fifteenth Amendment, annulling segregation by ordinance, outlawing the white primary and the housing covenant.

11. The Negro vote today is recognized and courted by all parties and cannot be bought simply by appointment and purchase.

12. The Negro is entering the Labor Movement in increasing numbers, and in other ways is taking part in social uplift movements in the United States.

This is just a rough and very general outline of progress in race relations in a generation.

I am writing to ask if you would consider an article outlining this development and drawing some conclusions from it?

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Magazine Collection

EDITORIAL ROOMS

July 15, 1948.

23-33-10

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th St.
New York 18.

Dear Mr. DuBois:-

Very many thanks for giving us a rough outline of the progress made in race relations in a generation. However, I regret to say we cannot use anything on the work of the Julius Rosenwald Fund among Negroes at this time.

Very sincerely yours,

Mabel Harding

Associate editor

July 12, 1948

The Editor
American Mercury
570 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

The Julius Rosenwald Fund recently finished thirty years of social work chiefly among Negroes. At its concluding meeting in Chicago, May 28, I was asked to summarize the improvement in Race Relations in this period of time. My investigations made me realize as never before what organized and persistent social effort can accomplish in a generation. Due to the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro Colleges, Foundations like the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board, and others, these things have been accomplished:

1. The capability of Negroes to receive the highest education has been universally conceded.

2. Race differences have been minimized.

3. Race amalgamation is regarded as not necessarily evil.

4. Factual, scientific study of races has begun.

5. The Negro population is increasing and its health is improving.

6. Illiteracy is decreasing and Negroes in college have increased from 10,000 in 1917 to more than 70,000 in 1947.

7. Negro occupations are shifting from farming and domestic and personal service, to trades and professions, with about the same proportion in manufacturing and transport.

8. There has been a large increase in teachers and nurses; a small increase in lawyers, physicians, and dentists.

9. Negroes are receiving recognition in academic circles, in art and literature, in science and in sports.

10. Negroes are successfully fighting for political and civil rights.

11. Lynching has been decreased from 64 in the year 1918, to 1 reported case in 1947. There have been 23 cases, involving legal rights, won before the Supreme Court of the United States between 1915 and 1948,

including the constitutionality of the Fifteenth Amendment, annulling segregation by ordinance, outlawing the white primary and the housing covenant.

12. The Negro vote today is recognized and courted by all parties and cannot be bought simply by appointments or purchase.

13. The Negro is entering the Labor Movement in increasing numbers and in other ways is taking part in social uplift movements in the United States.

All of this is just a rough and very general outline of progress in race relations in a generation. I am writing to ask if you would consider an article outlining this development and drawing some conclusions from it?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HIS

Mag Zine

THE AMERICAN MERCURY *A Monthly Publication*
Lawrence E. Spivak, Publisher. 570 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

Charles Angoff, Managing Editor

July 14, 1948

23-33-12

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The article that you outline would interest us, and we shall be very glad to see it. You understand, of course, that this is not an assignment but only an expression of interest. The average length of our pieces is three thousand words.

Cordially,

Charles Angoff

Charles Angoff

CA:ch

DuBois Biography

American Peoples Encyclopedia

153 NORTH MICHIGAN AVE. CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS

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President Emeritus Northwestern University
CHAIRMAN EDITORIAL BOARD

FRANKLIN J. MEINE, A. M.
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

January 17, 1948

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Some time ago you contributed material to our proposed one-volume encyclopedia, which was to have been called The American Peoples Encyclopedia.

This project had to be put aside long before its completion, in order to effect a revision of our 15-volume set of Nelson's Encyclopedia. The job of revising that set became far more comprehensive than was originally planned, with the result that scarcely any of the material in the original was left standing. The new set will be almost entirely the work of American scholars and educators, with a modern American point of view. We felt, therefore, that this set should be given a new name -- and the one we have selected is The AMERICAN PEOPLES ENCYCLOPEDIA, the name which had been chosen for the one volume.

Quite possibly The American Peoples Encyclopedia will come to your attention, inasmuch as it will be widely circulated. This letter is by way of explaining why the material you wrote for the one-volume encyclopedia does not appear in this larger set. In view of the tremendously greater amount of space available, the very brief articles done for the one-volume book were generally found not suitable, in the sense that they were too brief or inadequate for the purpose of the longer, more comprehensive presentation. Consequently this shorter material is being held for the future, with a view to renewed work on the one-volume encyclopedia at a later date.

Permit me again to express our renewed thanks and appreciation for your contribution to the original project. As soon as the work is continued we shall get in touch with you again.

Sincerely yours,

Franklin J. Meine

Franklin J. Meine
Editor-in-Chief

fjm:ka

Russia

May 24, 1948

The American-Russian Institute
58 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

On May 13, I sent you a check for $15.00 for two tickets to the American Russian Institute Dinner, June 2. One for myself and one for my guest, Miss Shirley Graham. You have sent me one ticket, and Miss Graham has received none. Her ticket, of course, ought to have come to me, as she is my guest.

May I ask you to correct this mistake immediately.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Telephone: LEXINGTON 2-5472 *Cable Address:* AMRUSCUL

THE AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE
a non-profit corporation
Research · Education · Information · Public Service
58 PARK AVENUE · NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

June 16, 1948

Dear Friend:

I am sure that, like all of us who attended the Annual Dinner of the American Russian Institute on June 2nd, you were deeply impressed by the tribute paid the organization by the distinguished guests of honor.

In a time when agreement is important, there was universal agreement on one all-important point -- that the strengthening of cultural bonds between our country and the Soviet Union is more important than it has ever been in the twenty years since the founding of the American Russian Institute.

There are few levels left, unfortunately, on which an interchange of non-partisan, non-political information between the two countries can be accomplished. The Institute provides one of these opportunities. Its informational services, used by scores of industrial concerns, national magazines, government agencies, and alert and thoughtful citizens in every area of American endeavor, are recognized as a major source of thoroughly reliable, and often otherwise unobtainable factual material on the U.S.S.R.

It is only through knowledge of the sober facts that we Americans can wisely and effectively do our share in building an enduring peace based on mutual understanding and cooperation.

I am confident that you will recognize the vital import of a continuation and expansion of our work, and will want to join with us in its support. Won't you please fill out the enclosed card and return it to me today?

Very sincerely,

Henry H. Collins, Jr.

hhc:hb
enc.

Henry H. Collins, Jr.
Executive Director

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The ΦBK Quarterly

5 East 44th Street

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November 3, 1948

23-16-14

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mr. Haydn thought you would like to see the page proof of the article about you which we are running in the Winter number - out early in December.

Sincerely yours,

Lucia Morehead

Lucia Morehead

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

lm
enc.

November 9, 1948

Miss Lucia Morehead
THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR
5 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

My dear Miss Morehead:

I thank you for the page proof of the American Scholar article which you kindly sent me. I was much interested in it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University
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Editor, American Sociological Review

The American Sociological Society

April 1, 1948

23-30-1

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It is true, as you can see from the above, that I am president of the American Sociological Society for the year 1948. So far as I know you are correct in your statement concerning Just, and moreover, so far as I know my election is the first time that a Negro has been made president of a national learned society.

You may be interested to know that the Land-Grant College Project is coming along very well and we hope to have the first truly cooperative publication this year.

Very truly yours,

E. Franklin Frazier

EFF:W

E. Franklin Frazier

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[Amer. Sociological Soc.]

April 5, 1948

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Dr. Frazier:

Thank you for your letter of April 1 to Dr. DuBois. The Doctor is still out of the city but I shall bring your letter to his attention when he arrives around the middle of the month.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

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Second Vice-President

ROBERT C. ANGELL, University of Michigan
Editor, American Sociological Review

The American Sociological Society

December 1, 1948

Dear Member:

The 43rd Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society will be held at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, December 28-30, 1948. Although the central theme of the meeting will be "Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World," the program will include papers on the present status of sociology and studies in other fields of our discipline.

230 - 30-2

Since the phenomenon of race and culture contacts has assumed so much importance in the crisis of the modern world, it is appropriate that sociologists should make a critical evaluation of the contribution of their discipline to the understanding of this problem. This will include not only a critique of the tools which we have developed but also an analysis of our conception of sociological problems which we undertake to study.

The program of the 43rd Annual Meeting has been arranged, in response to the expressed wish of many members, to provide ample opportunity for discussion from the floor. Moreover, the business meetings will offer an opportunity for the consideration of problems and issues in regard to our future as a scientific study in a changing world.

I should like to call your attention at this time to the fact that the Society will operate an employment and personnel clearing house in connection with the Annual Meeting. Persons seeking personnel or positions are invited to register their wants at the registration desk.

It is my hope that every sociologist in the United States will find it possible to attend the 43rd Annual Meeting.

With cordial greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

E. Franklin Frazier.

E. Franklin Frazier, President

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THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON PRESS-RADIO WING
808 17th ST., N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C. REPUBLIC 8643

23-38-109

February 9, 1948

Dr. William E. B. Dubois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Doctor: —
You are due
in Wash. D.C.,
APRIL 12
to Receive
this award.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

It is a pleasure to inform you that you have been unanimously selected by the National Administrative Committee of the American Veterans Committee as "AVC Man of the Year for 1948."

This award has been established as an annual citation by AVC to one person for his support of civil rights. In the words of the selection committee....."no one in the last 50 years has rendered more service to the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States than Dr. William E. B. Dubois."

If you are willing to receive this citation, it will be appreciated if you will indicate your acceptance as soon as possible. The award will be presented formally on April 12, the anniversary of the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, at a civil rights banquet in Washington, D.C.

The civil rights banquet and award are sponsored by the Washington Press-Radio Wing of the American Veterans Committee.

Thank you for an early reply.

Very truly yours,

Carl Gebuhr

Carl Gebuhr
Vice Chairman, P-R Wing
(Chairman, Civil Rights Banquet)

I shall be glad to accept the award?
Thank you
April 12, 1948

[American Veterans Committee]

23-33-21

Feb. 11, 1948

Dear Mr. Gebuhr:

I shall be glad to accept the award of the American Veterans Committee, April 12, 1948.

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) W. E. B. Du Bois

March 9, 1948

Mr. Carl Gebuhr
American Veterans Committee
808 17th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gebhur:

In regard to your banquet on April 12, honoring Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the Doctor would like to know if you will be kind enough to invite as his guest Professor and Mrs. Cedric Dover, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee. If this is possible, will you kindly let me know at your convenience so that I may inform Dr. DuBois who is away lecturing on the West Coast.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Cedric DOVER

THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON PRESS-RADIO WING

808 17th ST., N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C. REPUBLIC 8643

March 23, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
NAACP
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Please excuse my delay in answering your letter requesting our inviting Professor and Mrs. Cedric Dover as Dr. DuBois' guests for the AVC Civil Rights Banquet on April 12.

We are pleased to inform you that we have this date invited Professor and Mrs. Dover according to your letter.

Thanks much for the privilege.

Very truly yours,

Carl Gebuhr

Carl Gebuhr
Chairman
Arrangements Committee

23-27-10

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
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WU N4 NL PD=WASHINGTON DC MAR 31

APR 1 1948

DR W E BURGHARDT DUBOIS.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT
OF COLORED PEOPLE:

15TH.903A. APR 1.

23-38-110

=SINCERELY REGRET LAST MINUTE CHANGE. IMMINENCE OF NEW AVC CLUB HOUSE IN WASHINGTON MAKES CIVIL RIGHTS BANQUET MOST APPROPRIATE AS GRAND OPENING. DATE NOW SET FOR MAY 15TH. SENATOR WAYNE MORSE SCHEDULED AS MAIN SPEAKER. MORE DETAILS FOLLOW BY LETTER. FEEL SURE YOU WILL =UNDERSTAND REASON FOR CHANGE=

:CARL GEBUHR.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

April 1, 1948

Mr. Carl Gebhhr
American Veterans Committee
808 17th Street North West
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gebuhr:

I have just received your wire, informing Dr. DuBois that the banquest has been changed to May 15. The Doctor is still out of the city, but I shall inform him of your telegram. Although I cannot say definitely, I believe the new date will be quite satisfactory. However, you will hear from him directly about this.

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON PRESS-RADIO WING

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

1751 New Hampshire Avenue, n.w. ADams 5913

May 2, 1948

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thanks much for your patience with us because of the delay in AVC's civil rights banquet for 1948.

We have now moved into our new clubhouse. Alterations are under way, and if we have to balance a paint brush in one hand and a dinner plate in the other, we are going ahead on schedule with the banquet on May 15 at 8 p.m. As noted above, the address is 1751 New Hampshire Avenue, n.w.

Incidentally, the occasion will not require formal dress. We are expecting a capacity crowd of 100, our maximum until further alterations in the building are completed.

With Senator Wayne Morse as our speaker of the evening and your presence, we are looking forward to a memorable banquet.

Please let me know if you need further details. I shall be at the clubhouse most of the day on the 15th if you would like to clear any arrangements at the last minute.

Very truly yours,

Carl Gebuhr

Carl Gebuhr
Chairman, Arrangements
Committee, Civil Rights
Banquet

May 6, 1948

Mr. Carl Gebuhr
The American Veterans Committee
1751 New Hampshire Avenum, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

2-38-16

My dear Mr. Gebuhr:

I have your letter of May 2. I shall be on hand, at your new club house, May 15, at 8:00P.M.

I imagine you will not want any words from me, or at least not more than 10 or 15 minutes.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Southern Negro Youth Congress

7-d -

AMERICAN YOUTH FOR A FREE WORLD

144 BLEECKER STREET • NEW YORK 12, N. Y. • AL 4-9822-92

DORIS SENK, *Executive Secretary*

May 24, 1948

Dear Friend:

The enclosed document speaks for itself.

We are sure you will find its contents extremely interesting. Should you have any questions or desire further information please write our office or the Southern Negro Youth Congress directly. Their headquarters are located at:

526 Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Since time is of the essence, we want to urge you to consider this matter very seriously and to make every effort to help in whatever way you can.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

AMERICAN YOUTH FOR A FREE WORLD

enc.

23-16

AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

• National Office •

1151 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 1, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-6411

January 6, 1948

Co-Chairmen:
WINIFRED NORMAN
VINCENT PIERI

Executive Secretary
HERBERT SIGNER

Secretary-Treasurer
JULIAN LOWITT

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Nat'l. Assoc. for the Advancement of
Colored People
20 West 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Bill Labov, editor of the NEW STUDENT, the intercollegiate publication of American Youth for Democracy, spoke to you last week about writing an article for us on the Negro people since the war. He asked me to write you from the AYD national office confirming the interview and specifying the kind of article needed.

22-31-20

As you will see from the enclosed copy of the NEW STUDENT, all the articles are centered around the campus, around intrinsically student issues. However, in the evaluation of the first issue, all of us on the editorial board were severely self-critical about the absence of any adequate presentation of the Negro question in the United States. After a long and valuable discussion, in which we projected articles for future issues on the Negro colleges, on discrmination, on student chapters of NAACP and on the significance of the Fiske inauguration, we decided that any or all of these articles would in some sense be inadequate; too many students are ready to admit a theoretical equality to the Negro and let the matter rest just there; they have the "Sure, we're against discrimination" attitude but they have little understanding of the Negro question. We felt, therefore, that what is needed in the second issue of our magazine (which is receiving a larger and broader circulation than we ever dared hope for) is an article, not on the Negro student, but on the whole Negro people in America, an article that will emphasize the struggles on the part of the Negro people themselves through such forms as the NAACP, stress their achivements since the beginning of the war and give a perspective for the further carrying on of their struggle for full equality and recognition.

If you or your assistant can find time to write such an article before February 1st, its value both to the magazine and to the progressive student movement will be inestimable. We are truly ashamed of our lack of attention to the Negro question in our first issue, and with our second issue appearing

during Brotherhood Month, when AYD all over the country will be conducting many-sided campaigns for Negro-white unity, another such omission would be unforgiveable.

If you are able to write the article will you send it to me here at the national AYD office by February 1st? I want to thank you very much for the consideration you have already shown us.

22-31-21

Sincerely,

Stuart Cleveland

Stuart Cleveland
Mng. Ed., YOUTH

January 13, 1948

Mr. Stuart Cleveland
American Youth for Democracy
1151 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Cleveland:

I am writing in reply to your letter of January 6. Dr. DuBois wants you to know that he appreciates your asking him to do an article for the publication NEW STUDENT. However, because of previous commitments and the taxing schedule of his lecturing he will be unable to comply with your invitation. As you probably know, he has very little time to devote to unscheduled matters and the doing of an article such as you propose would necessitate serious prepration, since he would want to do justice to the subject you mentioned.

Unfortunately, I am loaded with work that will keep me busy until late spring, otherwise I should be happy to write the article. Perhaps at a later date it may be possible that we can serve you and I hope you will feel at liberty to call upon us.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Organized June 10, 1893, Chicago, Ill.
Incorporated Nov. 13, 1901
Washington, D. C.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ARABIC ORDER NOBLES OF THE MYSTIC SHRINE OF NORTH & SOUTH AMERICA & ITS JURISDICTIONS, INC.

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Des Moines 1, Iowa

OFFICE OF:
DEPUTY IMPERIAL PUBLICIST AND EDITOR
330 AUBURN AVENUE

OASIS OF ATLANTA — DESERT OF GEORGIA

26 day of month Jomadi I — which corresponds to
Hegira 136 7 — 5 April 194 8

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Chicago Defender Newspaper
3535 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Editor:

Because of the large number of newspaper people we must reach this letter is being prepared in this way and manner, but we hope each of you will consider it a personal note. We are sending this letter to you at the end of the first six months of this Convention year of the Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine.

First. you will be pleased, I am sure, to know of the many fine comments your treatment of Shrine news releases and other Prince Hall Masonic information have evoked from members of our Order all over the nation. We are well aware of the difficulties our editors are having these days with newsprint and the increased production cost.

Every where we go, including our Imperial Potentate Raymond E. Jackson, more and more of our people are expressing keener appreciation of our race news folks. They constantly praise the fairness and impartial treatment accorded in your news columns. Many papers on my mailing list I do not have the opportunity to see, but members of the Order in your community write us often praising your cooperation and support of our many local and national projects.

Because of the increasing support during these past six months you and others in the Negro Press group have given us we are sincerely thankful.

Here after we want to improve our relationship with so many good friends in the newspaper field. As we travel about the country we will stop in to personally express our appreciation. Meantime we always appreciate letters of suggestions from you on how we may better serve your newspaper.

Very truly yours,
Paul E. X. Brown
Paul E. X. Brown,
Deputy Imperial Publicist
and Editor

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. W. H. Smythe
NAACP
20 West 40 St
New York 18, N.Y.

43148

Dear Mr. Smythe:

The keys arrived safely. I thank you for your courtesy.

Cordially,

Hubert Opthecker

04-22

1015 Washington Avenue
Brooklyn 25, New York
5 January,1948

Dr. W.E.B.Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18,N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

23-38-147

I write,in particular, to inform you of my latest rejection in connection with the contemplated edition of your letters. This one is from Columbia University Press, and here I had gotten to the point of actually discussing the project with the production manager. The letter to me from this personage - one Henry H. Wiggins - is dated December 17,1947 and reads as follows:

In accordance with our conversation of November 24th,I have discussed this project with other members of the Press staff and have laid it before the Publication Committee.

There is a general agreement that the book which you plan will be interesting and provocative. In view of our heavy commitments and of current high costs, however, the Committee does not feel that it could make any contract under which you would be assured of the advance royalty that you would need in order to get the leisure to prepare the manuscript. Indeed, the Committeee doubts that we could undertake, even if you did not stand in need of the advance, to commit ourselves at this time to the publication of such a substantial work, given that the manuscript would not be available for nearly two years and that we have no way of knowing what publication costs will be at that time.

It was good of you to think of us in connection with the project and I am sorry that we cannot be helpful.

In conversation with Mr.Wiggins he made a significant remark. He declared that he hoped I would understand that there might be some members of the Publication Committee of Columbia University who would not be anxious to see the lettersof Du Bois published. I replied that this had occurred to me, and I added, somewhat wryly,I fear, that it might also be true that some members of the Committeem would not be overjoyed to see as the editor of such letters so noterious a character as Aptheker! His reply was a weak smile of agreement, and the statement that none of this would of course appear in his official communication with me.

So there I am. Other letters are out,and so far as I'm concerned the battle has just begun. I am very much bothered by this consideration, however. The basic point is, of course, to publish your letters and papers because they are indispensable for an understanding of the history of the Negro people for the past half-century. How much deterring effect on the accomplishment of this prime task is my association with it having? This troubles me very much. If you feel for a moment that a somewhat more respectable - and perhaps,more capable - person engaged in this effort might have better luck in accomplishing the main job, please be good enough to indicate that to me.

I send you my warmest greetings for the new year; may it bring consternation to the enemies of the people!

Respectfully yours,

Herbert Aptheker

Hold this aside

23-38-148

January 8, 1948

Mr. Herbert Aptheker
1015 Washington Avenue
Brooklyn 25, New York

My dear Mr. Aptheker:

I think that your are by far the best fitted person to edit my letters and I hope you will not consider giving up the job, although, as I said before, it is going to be difficult.

There is at Fisk University a Mr. Cedric Dover, who would be interested in my work and he has been doing something toward commemorating it through the celebration of my eightieth birthday, which is February 23, 1948. You might communicate with him and tell him what you are doing. Perhaps in some indirect way he could help.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

21 Feb.1948

Dr. Du Bois,

You once asked me if I had come across a letter from Bliss Perry of the old Atlantic telling you that it might be well if you did not confine your writing to the Negro question. I replied that I had and you then asked that when I see it again I bring it to your attention. The letter is as follows:

22-40-3

December 20,1904

Dear Mr. DuBois,

I am obliged to you for the opportunity of meeting Dr. Plenge. I found him a very agreeable man.

Is it not about time for you to write another Atlantic article? If it should happen not to be upon the race question, I should be just as ~~pleased~~ well pleased. I daresay you yourself do not wish to be constantly identified with a single department of discussion, and if you should find yourself some day possessed of an essay on any topic calculated to interest the readers of the Atlantic, I wish you would send it to us.

This letter is in folder number 5 of the material I have so far collated.

H. Aptheker

Preface - Aptheker Book

22-40-6

It is a dream come true to have the history of the Negro in America pursued in scientific documentary form. When the attempt was made in the 19th century by Nell Wells Brown and George W. Williams, the results were received with tolerance, but with little sympathy or serious comprehension. Historians were not prepared to believe that Africans even in America had any record of thought or deed worth attention. Then came the long hammering of Carter Woodson, the series of researches by a continuous line of students, black and white; and especially the painstaking and thorough scholarship of Herbert Aptheker.

At long last we have this volume which rescues from oblivion and loss, the very words and thoughts of scores of American Negroes who lived slavery, serfdom and quasi-freedom in the United States of America from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. For fifteen years Dr. Aptheker has worked to find and select 450 documents to make an authentic record and picture of what it meant to be a slave in the Land of the Free, and what it meant to be free after the Emancipation Proclamation.

Historical scholarship has done all too little of this sort of research. We have the record of kings and gentlemen ad nauseum and in stupid detail; but of the common run of human beings; and particular of the half or wholly submerged working group, the world has saved all too little of authentic record and tried to forget or ignore even the little saved. With regard to Negroes in America, in addition to the common neglect of a society patterned on assumed aristocracy, came also the attempt, conscious and unconscious, to excuse the shame of slavery by stressing natural inferiority which would render it impossible for Negroes to make much less leave any record of revolt or struggle, any human reaction to utter degradation. Many of us for years have known the existence of wide literature which contraducted such assumptions and efforts. I hasten to greet the day of the appearance of this volume, as a milestone on the road to Truth.

Affiliates

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO People

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184. The First Year of Radical Reconstruction in the South, 1867

185. Undermining Reconstruction: 1) Uncle Tomism, 1868-72

186. Undermining Reconstruction: 2) Legal Tactics, 1868

187. Undermining Reconstruction: 3) Violence and Fraud
A. Individual Testimony, 1871-76

188. Undermining Reconstruction: 3) Violence and Fraud
B. Group Testimony, 1871-74

189. The Negro in Congress During Reconstruction, 1871-76

190. The Negro in the North and West During Reconstruction, 1866-74

191. The Negro on the National Scene During Reconstruction

192. The Post-Reconstruction Generation
- I. Proposals and Programs
- II. Negro Organizational Activity
- III. Exodus
- IV. Negro Participation in General Mass Organizations
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193. American Imperialism Appears, 1890-1900
- I. What Is To Be Done?
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- III. Negroes Struggle Against Disabilities
- IV. Lynching
- V. Populism and ~~Strikes~~ Labor Movement
- VI. The Negro and the Two Major Parties
- VII. The Spanish-American War and the Philippine Islands

194. The Developing Negro Liberation Movement, 1901-10
- I. The Negro's Life, 1901-10
- II. The Negro Press
- III. The Negro and Politics
- IV. Miscellaneous Matters, 1901-10
- V. Booker T. Washington: Pro and Con
- VI. Negro Organizational Activity, 1901-10
  - A. Continuing Efforts
  - B. The Niagara Movement
  - C. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

22-40-14

March 23, 1948

Arco Publishing Company
480 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

We have just had brought to our attention your recently published volume, "JESUS,JEWS AND GENTILES." Since we feel this is the type of book we should like to bring to our audiences which we reach in writing and speaking. Would you please be good enough to send us a copy for examination. We shall be glad to return it after we have looked it over.

With thanks for your courtesy in regard to this request, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

"Little Assembly"

Argentine Embassy
to
The United Nations

New York, February 6, 1948

23-4/6-15

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director, Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Sir:

I take pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your letter dated 22nd January 1948, and wish to express my sincere appreciation for your sending me a copy of the booklet entitled An Appeal to the World.

Yours very truly,

José Arce

JOSÉ ARCE
ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR
TO THE U. N.

EMBAJADA de la REPUBLICA ARGENTINA

OFFICE OF PUBLISHER
A. G. SHIELDS, JR.

PHONE 2-2723
ALL DEPARTMENTS

Newsp. Syndicate

ARKANSAS WORLD
ARKANSAS LARGEST NEGRO JOURNAL

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE
ARKANSAS WORLD PUBLISHING COMPANY
9TH & GAINES STREETS

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

July 14, 1948

23-39-91

Department of Special Research
Dr. W. E. Dubois, Director
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois,

Please excuse the delay in answering your letter of May 19, for I have been out of the office for some time.

Since we carry only eight pages in our paper, we are unable to accomodate you at the present time, but will keep your letter on file for future reference.

We appreciate your offer very much.

With all good wishes,

A. G. Shields, Jr.

AGS:cda

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
ONE MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

DONALD B. ARMSTRONG, M.D.
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
HEALTH AND WELFARE

February 10, 1948

23-25-30

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Alexander:

Let me acknowledge the invitation, addressed to Dr. and Mrs. Armstrong, in their absence from town. They plan to be away until March 1st, and will therefore be unable to attend the dinner in honor of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois on the occasion of his Eightieth Birthday.

Very truly yours,

M. Newmarke

Secretary to D. B. Armstrong, M.D.
Second Vice-President

Far East

File

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of

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Nineteen Hundred and Forty-eight

Seven East Seventieth Street

New York City

Indonesian Dances Refreshments

R. S. V. P.*

* Admission Will be by Card Only

23-17

December 15, 1948

2-10-19

The Board of Trustees
The Asia Institute
7 East 70th Street
New York 21, New York

Gentlemen:

I regret to say that I am lecturing at The New School on Monday evening, December 20, and therefore cannot avail myself of the pleasure of accepting your kind Indonesian meeting.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Association of American Colleges • 726 JACKSON PLACE, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C.

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December 21, 1948

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
Assistant Director of the Department of Special Research
National Association For the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Your article on "Recent Trends In Negro Land-Grant Colleges Programs", submitted by Mrs. Murphy is accepted for publication in an early issue of our BULLETIN.

Season's greetings and best wishes.

Faithfully yours,

Guy E. Snavely

cc: Mrs. Lillian Murphy

23-20-32

[Atlanta Ga Board of Education]

December 8, 1948

The Superintendent
The Board of Education
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

In regard to the Authorized Construction Costs of Atlanta School Plant Development (Projects Planned in Bond Program, 1946), we would be pleased to have you explain the following:

White		Negro	
No. Projects	Amount	No. Projects	Amount
17	$3,264,000	8	$2,083,450
Total difference between authorized costs and bond allocation	$1,126,409 More 26% More		$ 20,178 Less 1% Less

We ask this especially in view of the published statement of the Board and Superintendent that the Board "has no policy for Negro schools separate or different from that for white schools," and its frequently announced policy of "treating all school children alike."

Awaiting your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

COPY [Atlanta Board of Education]

BOARD OF EDUCATION

Of the City of Atlanta

Atlanta, Georgia

December 14, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe,
Assistant Director,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-20-21

Dear Sir:

Replying to your letter of December 8, the figures and and inferences contained in your letter are incorrect. The construction program of the Board is a matter of public record, frequently published, and available at the office of the Board to all legitimate inquiry. We can see no purpose in entering into gratuitous argumentative discussions by correspondence.

Neither the number of projects authorized nor those yet to be authorized nor the costs thereof are in accordance with your letter. We respectfully suggest that further correspondence along t is line might be more profitable if you would give us the source of your information.

Very truly yours,

(signed) Ed. S. Cook, President.

ecs/fr

Original sent to
Robt. A. Thompson
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Ave. N.E.
12-16-48

Mail Trader: Magazine Articles: Proposed

23-32-13

June 8, 1948

The Editor
The Atlantic Monthly
2 West 45th Street
New York, New York

8 Arlington Street
Boston 16, Mass.

Gentlemen:

The development of the American Negro Problem in the last 30 years during which the Rosenwald Fund functioned, and also the international aspects of the Negro Problem, seem to me of enough current importance to call for an article on the subject.

I should like particularly to stress the way in which the colonial center of the British Empire is being transferred from Asia to Africa; and the part that Black Africa is going to play in the future developments which will follow such action. Then there are the analogous problems in the Congo, and attempts at native intergration in Portuguese Africa, and especially in French Africa. The article might go further and consider the current political and labor movement in the Caribbean, and the way in which all of this relates itself to the American Negro.

Would you be interested in having me prepare such an article?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

OFFICE OF THE
EDITOR

8 ARLINGTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASS.

The Atlantic Monthly

June 18, 1948

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Your letter makes me very curious to see that paper which you have in mind on the developments now taking place in Africa. The subject is a large one and susceptible of many aspects. Can you compress the gist of what you want to say within 5000 words? And will it be satisfactory if I guarantee you a down payment of $100 and an addition of $150 if, as I hope, the article proves to be acceptable?

Faithfully yours,

Edward Weeks

23.38.23

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

MILLERS FALLS
ERASE
RAG CONTENT

OFFICE OF THE
EDITOR

8 ARLINGTON STREET
BOSTON 16

The Atlantic Monthly

July 14, 1948

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Good for you! I'll be on the lookout for your article as the twentieth draws near.

Faithfully yours,

Edward Weeks

Mr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-38-21

COPY

July 26, 1948

Dear Mr. Weeks:

Here is the article. I spent nearly as much time cutting it down to 5000 words, as in writing it. I did not succeed. But I am sending it on.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. DuBois

23-32-24

Mr. Edward Weeks, Editor
The Atlantic Monthly
8 Arlington Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

NOTE: (Letter was typed by Dr. DuBois himself at home. Address was inserted by Hugh H. Smythe and the letter forwarded with article)

23-38-22

September 27, 1948

Mr. Edward weeks
THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY
8 Arlington Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

My dear Sir:

On July 26, I sent you a manuscript according to arrangement. I have heard nothing from you and I am wondering if it is possible that the manuscript was not received. Will you kindly let me know?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

OFFICE OF THE
EDITOR

8 ARLINGTON STREET
BOSTON 16

The Atlantic Monthly

September 30, 1948

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I regret to say that your efforts to compress a monograph into the compass of a magazine article presents much more of a difficulty than I had anticipated. There are good forceful passages all the way through this long summary of yours. But the effort to slice it down has cut seriously into the logic of your argument and has destroyed that cumulative effect which is achieved so well in the fuller treatment. I wish I did not have to send you a disappointing report.

Faithfully yours,

Edward Weeks

23.39.29

Mr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

AUTHOR'S & WRITER'S WHO'S WHO

PUBLISHED WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF:

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The Institute of Journalists
The Library Association
London Writer Circle
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F.S.A. (Scot)

The Literary Reference Work
and Editor's & Publisher's Guide

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230-13

Dear Sir,

Would you mind letting us have a reply by return?

Some weeks ago we asked you to supply particulars of your literary career for inclusion in the forthcoming 1948 "AUTHOR'S & WRITER'S WHO'S WHO", published in London. This matter is now urgent as the editorial matter for this Who's Who is shortly being sent to the printers and, as you will appreciate, the compilation of so detailed a work is an enormous task.

So will you please turn overleaf, fill in particulars requested in the spaces provided, and mail the Form to our New York representatives at once. This will take you only a few minutes, but I shall appreciate your co-operation. And, as you know, the information is for editorial use – no obligation to you is involved.

The description overleaf, will give you some idea of the great scope, interest and value to you of this AUTHOR'S & WRITER'S WHO'S WHO. It is not only a complete biographical record of 15,000 contemporary Authors, Editors, Writers and Journalists, but the 56 exhaustive Reference and Information Sections comprise an authoritative Standard Reference on Literature and Journalism in the English-speaking world.

You will, we believe, find this volume directly helpful to you in your work, for it places an immense amount of usable information at your immediate disposal. But paper rationing restricts us to printing only enough copies to meet advance orders. So the only way you can make sure of securing a copy containing your entry is to sign the coupon on back page overleaf.

If your biographical entry is now on the way to us, please disregard this letter. If not, please fill in the facts requested, and mail the Form today.

Yours faithfully.

The Editor

AW7.10

For the Editor of

THE AUTHOR'S & WRITER'S WHO'S WHO

1948 EDITION

The Authentic and Comprehensive Literary Reference Work and Editor's and Publisher's Guide

Please fill in as many of the following particulars as possible using BLOCK LETTERS for all names

Name ..... Christian Names .....

Address .....

.....

..... Telephone No. .....

Birthplace ..... Year of Birth .....

Education .....

.....

Distinctions (if any) .....

Married to .....

Family :— Sons ..... Daughters .....

Profession or Occupation .....

Newspaper and Periodical Editorial and other Appointments (with dates) .....

.....

.....

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.....

Principal Books Published (In Order of Importance) :—

1 .....

2 .....

3 .....

4 .....

5 .....

6 .....

7 .....

8 .....

Contributor to (newspapers and periodicals) :—

1 ..... 6 .....

2 ..... 7 .....

3 ..... 8 .....

4 ..... 9 .....

5 ..... 10 .....

Subjects you Specialise in .....
(For entry in Register of Writers on specialised subjects)

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Recreations .....

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Other Interesting Details of Career .....

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Also Be Sure to Fill In Coupon at Foot of this Page to Secure Your Copy

This Reference Work Meets All Your Literary Needs

THE new 1948 " AUTHOR'S & WRITER'S WHO'S WHO and Reference Guide " will be the first post-war edition of this standard and authoritative Directory and Guide to Literature and the Press. It will contain more than 80,000 up-to-the-minute facts and figures, indexed and classified for easy reference, which are of use and value to writers.

To Authors, Editors, Journalists, Publishers—in fact, to everyone connected with the Writing Profession—it will give invaluable day-by-day assistance which cannot be obtained elsewhere. For this remarkable Volume is more than a " Who's Who." Besides including a complete biography and literary history of every leading British and Overseas author and writer, it will contain 56 distinct Reference Sections dealing with Periodicals and Newspapers, Book Publishers, Sources of Information, Literary Facilities and Statistics, etc., etc.

A special feature is the cross-reference Index to writers under Subjects on which they are Authorities, so that Publishers and Editors can see at a glance the authors and contributors capable of handling specialised subjects. It is one of many exclusive features which have made this Work the most widely-used Reference in its field.

" AUTHOR'S & WRITER'S WHO'S WHO and Reference Guide " is published with the co-operation of the leading Literary and Journalistic Associations and an Advisory Committee of distinguished Authors and Writers It is therefore completely reliable and authentic. The Volume is divided into the following main headings :—

1. WHO'S WHO SECTION - **15,000 Biographies**

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—New and Changed Publications.

You will find the above information and MUCH MORE besides in this Authentic and Comprehensive Work.

YOU WILL NATURALLY WANT TO HAVE A COPY of this new 1948 AUTHOR'S & WRITER'S WHO'S WHO on your bookshelf in order to keep this permanent record of your own Life and Works, with that of thousands of other Authors and Editors, together with the 56 practical Reference and Information Sections, ready at hand for quick and constant use.

To make sure of securing your copy you must send your order NOW—for we are strictly rationed as to paper and we can print only enough copies to meet advanee orders. So we urge you to act promptly by signing and mailing the form below TO-DAY

To Secure Your Copy of "Author's & Writer's Who's Who" You Must Fill In Below & Mail This Form NOW

To the Editor, " Author's & Writer's Who's Who,"
c/o Effingham Publishing Company Inc., *American Distributors*,
2, East 45th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

Please send me, all delivery charges pre-paid, one copy of the 1948 AUTHOR'S & WRITER'S WHO'S WHO immediately on publication, for which I enclose remittance value $8.00 in full payment.

Name .....

Address .....

AWBFN4

5667

[1]

Mrs. Julius N. Avendorph

734 Oakwood Bd
Chicago. 15. Ill
Feby 20" 1948.

23-25-05

Dear Doctor & Mrs. Du Bois

We have had so many mutual friends, that I desire to send my congratulations & wish you each every blessing.

Dr. or our Sally sent me an invitation & regret I cannot be present.

Julius will be aw as 25 years in May & I will finish 25 years in June with Supreme Liberty Life Ins Co.

I am so thankful for my cherished friends & my blessings. and will round out my Eightieth Year in Oct.

[3]

May you be spared to us
many more years.

Sincerely

Jennie L. Svendsbe

Request for Information

22-39-25

225 Broadway,
New York City, N.Y.,
August 26, 1948.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecomb Avenue,
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It has been suggested to me that I undertake the research and writing of a biography of Booker T. Washington. My slight knowledge of the relevant material, and my information as to material not yet used but available, lead me to believe that a definitive work on Washington should be written.

My previous works include Anatole France--A Life Without Illusions--Harper's 1944, Patrick Henry--The Voice of Freedom--Random House 1947, and various articles, book reviews etc.

I should very much like to have a conference with you on this subject, and to obtain, if possible, your advice and suggestions on the project. Would it be possible for me to see you at any time after Labor Day at any place most convenient to yourself?

May I assure you of my deep appreciation for any help you may feel free to give me?

Sincerely yours,

JACOB AXELRAD.

Jacob Axelrad

32-37-3b

September 24, 1948

Mr. Jacob Axelrad
225 Broadway
New York, New York

My dear Sir:

A complete new life of Booker T. Washington is being written and perhaps is already published by Charles Thompson, Dean of the Graduate School, Howard, University, Washington, D. C. It is based upon Mr. Washington's letters and papers, which Howard University bought. I think if you have any plans for further writing on the subject, you might communicate with Mr. Thompson.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

Negro Problems

23-29-1

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
LINCOLN 8, NEBRASKA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

114 Social Sciences Hall,
Jany. 10-1948

Dr W. E. B. DuBois,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr DuBois=

I had the pleasure of meeting & seeing you on a slight way many years ago when you came to Lincoln, at the instance of our Unitarian Minister Arthur L. Weather, now deceased. It was I who met you at the Burlington Station, and drove you in my auto down to some residence on So 14th Street where you were to be entertained during your stay here. I am quite sure you would not have been allowed to register at any hotel here at that time. Even Marian Anderson was refused admittance on her first appearance here. But on her last appearance last year she was received at the Cornhusker, the best hotel in the City. Thus the fierce Slowly walls of prejudice are beginning to crumble & even to crack almost wide open in some spots.

But I must turn to my main purpose in writing to you. I have long been interested in the discriminations against our some 13 million Negro citizens. This interest was heightened by a 5 months sojourn in Jacksonville, Fla, last winter when I have a daughter teaching in the public school system. I am a member of the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Conference

for Human Welfare, and the N.A.A.C.P. As a Political Scientist (on the Union) Neb faculty for about 40 years, but now retired) I have been particularly interested in the steady push in recent years to secure, through the U.S. Supreme Court especially, the application to actual conditions of the real intent and meaning of the fundamental principles of our national constitution and Bill of Rights, to secure a thorough examination of the principle of "separate but equal" in its actual workings as to Education, housing, transportation, medical care, professional training, employment, administration of justice, etal.

And now the movement has widened from State and Nation to the United Nations and our new position in international affairs with their possible, yea probable, influence in bringing our domestic practice in regard to racial and religious minorities more in conformity with our professions and practices and our fundamental constitutional principles. This at last brings me to the main point of my letter, namely, information as to how I can secure a copy of the petition or report on the condition of negroes in our country, prepared by you for presentation to the proper agencies of the United Nations? I would very much like to secure a copy.

With best wishes for your family and your long continued service not only to your fellow Negro citizens but also to our whole nation, I remain,

Cordially yours,

L.E. Aylsworth

L. E. Aylsworth, Professor Political Science Emeritus

1938

THE BAHA'IS OF NEW YORK
Cordially invite you to an evening of
BAHA'I FELLOWSHIP, Sunday, May 2nd, at 8:30 P.M.

Guest Speaker - Dr. Hugh Smythe
Special assistant in the Research
Department of N.A.A.C.P.
Subject - The Negro and Religion

Baha'i Speaker - Borrah Kavelin

Songs - Sammy Heyward

Chairman - Mr. J. A. Rogers
THE BAHA'I CENTER

119 W. 57th St. New York City
Admission Free No Collections

230-14

January 12, 1948

Mrs. Pearl Bailey
212 West Penn Street
Germantown, Philadelphia
Pennsylvania

22-31-22

My dear Pearl:

May I thank you and the Dr. for your hospitality on my last visit. I was particularly pleased to find you so much better. I was a little alarmed at your condition when I was there before. Please let me know your plans, I should like to see you again before you shake the dust of this country off your feet.

My best regards to both of you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Pearl S. Bailey]

Dear Dr. DuBois

Congratulations and all the best to you on having achieved your 80th birthday. It's so grand to be hale, hearty and so well esteemed after having traveled life's highway past one's allotted three score and ten, on to four score. Keep it up.

Congratulations again on such a successful broadcast last week. Your talk was, as always, tops in subject matter, clarity and delivery. I hope, though, you have discarded by now that throat huskiness which disturbed you a bit. We could hear you clearing your throat as the announcer was presenting you. We sympathized with you, too, because we knew you were sorry Lena Horne had to be way out in California while you were here in N.Y. What bad luck for you.

Again the best of everything. Sincerely. Pearl.

2

Sorry we won't be able to get to the testimonial dinner, but we'll make it up when you come to dinner with us in Jamaica.

Pearl

23-25-86

ARS SACRA
152

[Bailey]
[2]

3 Bradley Ave.,
Half Way Tree P.O.,
Jamaica B.W.I.
Dec. 16th, 1948.

My dear Dr. Du Bois,

Greetings from Jamaica where skies are sunny, blue, and hot; where windows and doors are open all day long; where summer attire is in order daily, but where there are no "5 and 10 ies", where no Salvation Army lassies stand on corners with 3 legged pots and tambourines; and yet, where Xmas is supposed to be in the air. On this point I'm from Missouri. More anon.

We are now comfortably settled in this new very modern home in a fine residential suburban section with good yard space, garage, servants quarters, etc. (yes, I have them, so there). Dr. "B" has a position on the staff of the Mental Hospital at a very sizable stipend from 9-12 daily & goes to his own private office from 2-4. (Ten patients yet) No night hours; Sunday is optional.

We are broke from travelling & settling expenditures but not hungry. Plenty & good here if you "stand in" and I "stand in". Things are exceedingly high. Hams are scarce. So send mine along for Xmas or New Years. Hope you are well & things are going smoothly. Best wishes every time to Dr. B.

[3]

We have a niece, Mrs. Violet Bailey, of 57 - 59 St. Nicholas Ave. who is sailing on the 22 nd of December for Jamaica who will bring over the ham and oh! yes, some books to read & magazines. The books are very important. Get them to her by the 21st. at latest.

Pearl

6th floor - Apt. 20
Self service elevator.

Put a 10 cent AIR MAIL stamp on letter.

23-11-42

[47]

Seasons greetings

to

Dr. & Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois,

from

Dr. Mrs. R. Wellesley Bailey.

1948

No. 182
BURGOYNE
PHILA.

April 8, 1948

Mr. William W. Baker
171-45 Liberty Street
Jamaica , L. I., New York

Dear Mr. Baker:

When I spoke in Worcester, Massachusetts, on April 4 I had occasion to refer to your difficulty in trying to gain admittance to the university there for engineering training. The Inter-Racial Council, of Worcester, became interested upon hearing this, and wrote me for information about the matter. They wish to follow through on it so that in the future other Negroes and members of minority groups will not be restricted [redacted].

I would appreciate it if you would be good enough to send the facts of the case, including the name of the Dean and any other teachers there with whom you talked and who discouraged you, the date and year of the incident and any other details that were connected with your application, to Dr. Franklin P. Hall, Inter-Racial Council of Worcester, 20 Indian Lake Parkway, Worcester 5, Massachusetts. It may be that you will receive a letter from Dr. Hall meanwhile. This office would like to receive a copy of the letter containing the facts of your experience in Worcester.

We appreciate your fullest cooperation and courtesy in this matter. If we can be of help to you at any time, do not fail to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Discrimination (Education)

103-34 177th Street
Jamaica 5, New York
May 15, 1948

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, New York.

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Letters from you and from Mr. Franklin P. Hall have reached me, requesting a summary of my experiences in Worcester. These are the facts as I have presented them in a letter to Mr. Hall.

23-27-12

Worcester Institute of Technology was suggested to me in January, 1946. I was aboard ship, returning from the Pacific. The first week of February, I went to the Institute, and I was granted a personal interview with Dean Howe to discuss possibilities of my entering in September, 1946.

At this interview, I presented my Honorable Discharge and a copy of my transcript of pre-war college record,

which showed an average of B+ for three years' work. I requested admission, either with advanced standing, or, to the Freshman class, should the Institute choose not to honor my previous college work.

The Institute, I was advised, did not consider work done in Southern Negro schools ample for admission requirements, and my application would, therefore, stand very little chance of approval, even for the Freshman class.

After office hours, a renewal of our discussion on an unofficial basis disclosed these additional points:

1. Dean Howe could recall less than six Negro graduates in Worcester's history as an Institute.
2. He considered the industrial demand extremely small for Negro engineers.
3. Two weeks earlier, Dean Howe had been contacted by a representative of Hampton Institute who was in search of trained personnel.
4. The Dean refused to make

23-27-13

a promise, but invited me to contact him again, should further quests prove unsuccessful.

You have, now, a complete summary of the case. To me, it appears odd especially when compared with similar experiences elsewhere. Consider, for instance, these cases:

23-27-14

Case I. Dean Howe suggested that this phase of the Institute's policy was in keeping with that of the New England School System; however, at least six of my school mates are enrolled in Boston University.

Case II. One week later, I presented my same request to Dean Bryan of New York University School of Engineering. He at once assured me of Fall admission, with advanced standing.

Case III. Shortly afterwards, I

changed my plans. Then, in January 1947, I applied for admission to Columbia. One month later, I was permitted to enroll there as a pre-engineering student, with credit where possible for my past work. I still attend classes at Columbia on that basis.

I have invited Mr. Hall to call upon me for any additional help which may be desired. I shall be more than repaid for my efforts if through your interests, a new avenue to opportunity is opened for oppressed Americans.

Very truly yours,

Wm. Waverly Baker

Wm. Waverly Baker

23-27-15

May 18, 1948

Mr. William W. Baker
103-34 177th Street
Jamaica 5, New York

Dear Mr. Baker:

I have just received your letter concerning the Worcester incident with Dean Howe of the school there. I want to thank you for your cooperation in this matter, and I am sure that the interracial body in Worcester, directed by Franklin P. Hall, will follow through the case. What you have done should enable them to obtain some positive results and make it possible for future Negro students to gain admission to Worcester Institute of Technology.

Again thanking you for your efforts, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
Research Specialist

HHS:s

23-27-16

October 21, 1948

Mr. Carl Murphy
BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Mr. Murphy:

I am enclosing copies of some letters which I have recently received. They cannot, of course, be printed without permission of the writers, but if you wish there is no reason why some quotations could not be made.

I am also enclosing a copy of the vote which the Board passed when I left in 1934. There seems to be an impression that I was asked to leave. Quite the contrary is the fact.

I appreciate the attitude which you have taken in this matter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

Enclosures:

23-37-80

Mrs. J. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

My dear Mrs. Banks:

I have been in New York now several days and am getting my desk in order.

I stopped several days in Baltimore with Mrs. DuBois. She seems comfortable and fairly content, but very helpless. She does a good deal of reading and listening to the radio. The rest of the family is quite well, and the household matters are going all right.

I am in excellent health, and I think with great pleasure of the days which I spent in Texas. However, I am still blaming myself for coming at so critical a time.

I hope that you will take care of yourself and make that a major interest. Do not worry about the house, and in order not to worry, keep down the number of guests and visitors. You cannot take care of them as you once did, and it will irritate you and set you back if you try to. If you give most of your time to the primary job of getting well, you will have many more years of healthful and interesting life.

Give my best regards to Mr. Banks. I heard of him, of course, while in Atlanta, but did not see him. I hope that he, too, will give some head to overwork.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

23-32-11

State College
Prairie View, Texas
June 2, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

It is June in Texas and our regular session has closed and we face 1800 more for summer school. It is hot in the day, but still swell at night.

I am glad you reached home and New York all safe and sound. You were glad to find Louise Dania Shirey I know. Recently I had a fine letter from Elizabeth Bampfield Woolsey of Washington, D. C.

My health seems better now. I can use the left hand more each day. I shall always be grateful for the double visits of those two weeks. And I shall always treasure the chats we had. It was kind of you to do all that you did for me.

23-37-12

Mr. Banks has been to Georgia once and to Dayton, Ohio and to Birmingham Alabama recently. I cannot make him stop. But I rest and sleep and try to eat sensibly.

I see by the paper — another man writing in your Defender space. Why??

23-37-13

Where did you decide to send the granddaughter?

Please do not think about this Texas trip. Only remember that I never saw enough of you. I was so sorry to be in bed. But Mr. Banks did all he could and you took it all so nicely. DO come back.

Love to you and yours. I shall take your advice and try to get well.

Your student,

Gloriva Virginia Perry Banks.

June 29, 1948

23.37-14

Mrs. J. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Mrs. Banks:

I have your kind letter of June 2. I hope you are still improving and that the heat is not too great. Keep cool and calm and do not try to entertain too much. I understand that you have a large enrollment.

Best regards to you and Mr. Banks. Mrs. Du Bois is still about the same and I am in good health.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

THE TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY FOR NEGROES
THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

W. R. BANKS, VICE CHAIRMAN
PRAIRIE VIEW A. & M. COLLEGE
PRAIRIE VIEW, TEXAS

January 17, 1948

23-37-9

My dear Dr. DuBois!

I am particularly happy to join my Wife, Mrs. Banks, in extending you a most cordial invitation to be our guest on your return from California in the early Spring. We shall be most happy to share with you such food as we might have as Chicken, Turkey, lamb, steaks, vegetables from my own garden, Milk, butter, Oysters, fish of all kind, Salmon, Sardines, Cereals, Apples, Oranges, Lemons, Grapes, pears, Grape fruits, bananas, figs, peaches, Wines, etc — Also you may have two beds to sleep in — one for night & one for day. Cement walks & lawns beautifully carpeted with green Grasses & clovers. & plenty sun shine & a very little rain —

And now in view of all these things & others too numerous to mention May we expect you?

I am

Yours Truly
Willette Reuther for Banks.

January 23, 1948

President J. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Mr. Banks: I have your letter of January 17, with the quite unbelievable promise of food in Texas! I am coming down to see if it is really true. As I now plan, I hope to spend with you the week beginning March 21. If I have to change this date, I will let you know soon. While in your home should the state of Texas want a lecture, they can have it for $100.00. But this is entirely up to them, for I am not seeking lectures on this trip.

23-37-10

My best regards to you and Mrs. Banks.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[Barbados Progressive League]

WEST INDIES

BARBADOS PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

FOR THE YEAR 1947–48

Presented at the Annual General Meeting on June 28th, 1948

The Committee of Management have the honour to present the following report for the year 1947-48.

2. The Officers and Committee of Management at the beginning of the year under review were :—

Mr. G. H. Adams, M.C.P.,	—	President
,, M. E. Cox, M.C.P.,	—	Vice-President
Dr. H. G. Cummins, M.C.P.,	—	Treasurer
Mr. H. W. Springer, M.C.P.,	—	General Secretary
Mr. F. L. Walcott, M.C.P. ,, R. G. Mapp, M.C.P. ,, C. A. Bushell	}	Members of the Committee of Management.

Correspondence

3. The Committee once more place on record their profound thanks for the valuable literature and letters received from the following :—

The League of Coloured Peoples, The National Council for Civil Liberties, The Fabian Colonial Bureau, The British Labour Party, The British Trade Union Congress, The National Council of Labour, The Workers' Educational Association, The W. F. T. U. C., The Trinidad Labour Party, The "Vanguard", The International Labour Office, The Publishers of "Empire", The Labour Woman, The Labour Party "Bulletin", The "Industrial News", "The Call' (U.S.A.), "The Crisis" (U.S.A.), The "Workers' Weekly" (St. Kitts), "The Masses" (Jamaica), The C.L.C. "Bulletin".

Resignations

4. Mr. H. W. Springer, General Secretary, resigned from the League on the 31st October, 1947 to take up the appointment of Registrar of the University College, Jamaica.

5. Mr. Springer's departure was a great loss to the League and the Island generally, but, the Committee are glad to know that his talents and ability will be used for the benefit of West Indians in the important and vital sphere of education.

6. The Committee place on record their high appreciation of the unflinching service he has rendered to the League at personal inconvenience and extend to him their very best wishes in his new sphere of duties.

7. Mr. J. T. C. Ramsay, tendered his resignation as a member of the League on the eve of his departure from the House of Assembly to take up an appointment as Building Supervisor to the Vestry of St. Michael.

Leave

8. Mr. G. H. Adams, President, Mr. H. W. Springer and Mr. F. L. Walcott were granted leave to attend the Conference of the Caribbean Labour Congress at Kingston, Jamaica in September, 1947.

9. The President, Mr G. H. Adams, was elected President of the Caribbean Labour Congress and Mr. H. W. Springer re-elected Treasurer.

10. Mr. G. H. Adams was called upon to leave the Island on many occasions during the year under review.

11 Consequent on the departure from the Island of Mr. H. W. Springer, Mr. G. H. Adams visited Jamaica as a member of the Provisional Council of the West Indian University.

12. Visits to St. Kitts and Antigua were made by the President supporting the Labour Movement in both Colonies.

Political Council

13. The Political Council again carried out the usual function of meeting to prepare for parliamentary duties and general planning of the organisation Many meetings were held during this period as the Council made plans for a series of "The Challenge to Progress" meetings to be held throughout the Island which started from the beginning of the year 1948.

Politics

14. Since the last report the biggest event in the realm of politics was the West Indian Conference on Closer Association at Montego Bay, Jamaica, which was opened by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, The Right Honourable Arthur Creech Jones.

15. This Conference can safely be described as the biggest and most historic to have taken place in the West Indies, and from the results of this Conference posterity will record the foresight and statesmanship shown by the delegates.

16. The Committee are pleased to record that the President played an important part at this history making Conference as one of the Barbados Delegates.

17. As a result of the Conference the House of Assembly agreed to the recommendations of the Montego Bay Conference, and the Chairman of the Standing Committee for Closer Association is at present in Barbados and expects to begin his labours in the near future.

18. In local affairs, one of the most important events that took place was the split on the Executive Committee, when Mr. W. A. Crawford refused to rejoin the Executive Committee on the grounds that the Leader of the House should have nominated Mr. J. E. T. Brancker to the Executive Committee.

19. Consequent upon Mr. Crawford's resignation and the departure from the Island of Mr. H. W. Springer two vacancies were created on the Executive Committee, and Dr. H. G. Cummins and Mr. C. E. Talma were appointed.

20. The Committee welcome to the League Mr. H. D. Blackman, M.C.P., Mr. C. E. Talma, M.C.P., Mr. A. E. S. Lewis, M.C.P., and Mr. C. Henderson Clarke, K.C.

21. The ministerial experiment has not been given the opportunity to function as was expected in view of the Government minority in the House, but with a minority we see good prospects for the future constitutional development of the Island.

22. The Leader of the House has shown great restraint and tolerance throughout a difficult period and the Committee appreciate the admirable and statesmanlike manner in which he has conducted the business of the Government.

Caribbean Labour Conference

23. A meeting of the Caribbean Labour Conference was held at Jamaica in September, 1947, as mentioned earlier in this Report. Messrs. G. H. Adams, H. W. Springer and F. L. Walcott attended the Conference.

24. The most important item on the agenda was the question of West Indian Federation with Dominion Status. This question was discussed on a high level, and the recommendation of the Conference gave the delegates to the Montego Bay Conference (who were members of the C.L.C.) a clear and definite policy for West Indian Federation.

25. Like the Montego Bay Conference, the C.L.C Jamaica Conference was historic, in that, it played the important role of formulating a policy for West Indian Federation even before the Montego Bay Conference, and its findings bear fitting testimony to the ability and statesmanship of the members of the Organisation.

Bye Election

26. The League was called upon to contest two Bye-Elections during the period,—in November, 1947, in St. George through the resignation of Mr. H. W. Springer and in April, 1948, in St. Peter through the resignation of Mr J. T. C. Ramsay.

27. The League's candidate was Mr. K. N. R. Husbands, Assistant Secretary, on both occasions.

28. The League was unsuccessful at the St. George bya-election. but, in St. Peter it regained the seat after a hard struggle due to the combination of several forces fighting against the cause of Labour.

29. The Committee extends thanks to all of their helpers and friends in St. George for the ready assistance given in November and to the people of St. Peter a special word of thanks and gratitude for their solid support of the Party's cause.

30. Mr. Husbands has entered the House and we feel sure that he will contribute greatly to the debates of the House of Assembly and to the Political life of the Party.

Legislation

31. Legislation passed during this period though not as much as it should have been was however important.

32. Among the outstanding measures pased were : The Montego Bay Resolutions ; Resolutions for £75,000 for unemployment relief work and repair of tenantry roads ; £24,000 for the Fishing Industry of the Island ; The continuation of the subsidisation of essential food ; Increasing the bonuses of Government Pensioners ; The deep water harbour survey ; Funds for the rehabilitation of Ex-servicemen and £15,000 for Waterworks machinery, together with additional grants for water tanks to supply dry areas.

33. Bills and Addresses passed provided for the re-organisation of medical services ; the General Hospital to be a Government Department under the direction of a Director of Medical Services ; a Medical Services Bill co-ordinating all Medical Deparments under one Director ; the appointment of a Financial Secretary and a Surgeon Specialist for the General Hospital.

In addition the House suggested a reduction of the rate of interest payable on loans from the Peasants' Loan Bank and an enquiry into the working of the Department of Highways and Transport.

At present it is considering a new and up-to-date Public Health Bill which it is hoped will soon be passed.

General

34. The opening of the Maternity Hospital has furnished the means of training a much needed supply of skilled midwives for the Island. The Teachers' Training College at Erdiston, although at present providing for only thirty-two students will, we hope, develop into a large and useful institution.

35. During this period the British Guiana and British Honduras Settlement Commission headed by Sir Geoffrey Evans visited Barbados to take evidence from interested persons. The League sent a deputation headed by the President.

36. We look forward with great hope to the report of this Commission, especially when it is remembered that Mr. C. W. W. Greenidge a Barbadian and former Chief Justice of British Honduras was a member of this Commission.

37. Professor Shephard's Report on price fixing for cane is still to be debated by the House. The Committee appointed by the Governor to study the Report have not agreed on the method for fixing of prices, but a majority report recommend the establishment of a Government Factory and the institution of a co-operative society for peasants.

38. The budget for 1948-49 has revealed that the sum of £238,000 is to be spent under capital expenditure.

39. Among some of the proposals under this Head are the erection of a new school for Parry and Coleridge; housing projects at the Pine; new Police Stations at Eagle Hall and Oistins, health centres; new and reconstructed elementary schools, new fire station and alterations to the Government Industrial Schools.

Civil Service Commissioner

40. The Legislature voted funds for the appointment of a Commissioner to enquire into the organisation of the Civil Establishment and to make recommendations.

41. The Commissioner Mr. G. H. Adams, C.B.E., has submitted his report and it is at present under consideration by the Government.

42. Plans for re-organisation of the Civil Service are at present under investigation by the Commissioner.

Vestry Enquiry

43. Funds have been voted for the purpose of bringing out an expert on local Government Administration to enquire into the Vestry system and make recommendations.

44. It is not necessary for the Committee to say how necessary this investigation is for the modernisation of a three hundred year old system that needs a change to suit modern conditions.

Payment of Members of The House of Assembly

45. The House of Assembly passed a Bill providing for the payment of members of the House of Assembly which was rejected by the Legislative Council.

46. This was a clear case of flouting the wishes of the people's representatives and it is a mockery for any representative Government to function under these conditions.

Constitutional Changes

47. The Legislature received despatches between the Governor and the Secretary of State for the Colonies in answer to the Addresses from both Houses on the question of limiting the powers of the Legislative Council.

48. The Message from the Governor proposed extending the life of the House of Assembly from two years to three, and that the Council should have power to hold up all Bills from the Assembly for a period of not more than one year.

49. The Committee look upon this Message as an important issue for the future of the Island, but feel not only that an elected House responsible to the people should have the right to be the predominant body in Legislation, but that, as a fundamental principle, the power of the Legislative Council, a nominated body, to hold up Money Bills is contrary to democratic representative Government, and savours of a perpetuation of a check on progressive legislation.

50. The Committee feel this step would be an intimation that the people's representatives cannot be trusted with the task of initiating financial matters in the interest of the Colony and that therefore a check is needed. In that case it would seem that a representative form of Government serves no useful purpose today.

Legislative Council's Membership Extended

51. The Legislative Council's membership will be extended from

their present number to fifteen. This extension the Committee understand is to enable the introduction of members to this august body other than the traditional planter and merchant type.

Emigration

52. The Committee appreciate the efforts made by the Government during this period to procure employment for our redundant population through the medium of emigration to the U.S.A. and Canada, Surinam and other places whenever workers are needed.

53. The Colony was faced with many set-backs as regards emigration, especially to the U.S.A. but up to the time of writing the U.S.A. employers have agreed to accept one thousand workers from Barbados. A small number of families will be recruited for Surinam.

54. The Committee record thanks to Mr. H. D. Blackman, Junior Member for St. John, Chairman, and to the other members of the Commission that visited Surinam for the comprehensive report on prospects of emigration to that Country.

55. It is with regret that the Committee learn of the large number of Europeans that are expected to go to the U. S. A. for work, and support the Government in placing our serious unemployment problem before the Secretary of State for the Colonies for his constant consideration.

56. The Government have sent a delegation comprising The Labour Commissioner and Mr. L. A. Chase, Social Welfare Officer to make contacts with American Employers with a view to procuring a quota of workers for Barbados.

B.P.L. and the Future

57. The Committee look forward to the future with hope and confidence in the basic commonsense of the people of this island.

58. It is true that the Island is passing through a difficult period of shortages of food and unemployment. These are matters that call for the greatest amount of planning and foresight in order to remedy these conditions.

59. The Committee feel that the policy of the Party is such that, if given a majority in the House of Assembly at the next election it can be freed of its present difficulties and enact legislation which will ensure the implementation of projects to improve the economic and social conditions of the Island.

60. The Committee recall that in the last report mention was made of the forces that aim at dividing the workers' cause in Barbados. Today it is patent that the evil combination is even more anxious to secure the downfall of the Labour Movement, but, with a firm conviction in the righteousness of our cause the Committee feel sure that the spirit of the people will effectively resist the attempt to revert to conditions that existed before the birth of the Progressive League.

61. This year will witness another big general election in the Island, and the League once more call on all progressive minded people of Barbados to realise the immensity of our task and rally to the organisation that ten years ago stood as the pioneer of a great cause for the future prosperity of this Island.

62. The Committee look back with satisfaction at the advancement the Island has made since 1938, but are by no means complacent.

63. The present world conditions have created a serious problem for all public spirited men and the Committee. conscious of their responsibilities look to the future with the same determination and relentless tenacity to overcome the difficulties that confront this island as they displayed in overcoming those of the past. With the co-operation of the general public this can easily be achieved.

League's Tenth Anniversary

64. During the month of October the League will celebrate its tenth anniversary together with the Barbados Workers' Union's seventh.

65. It is hoped that Mr. N. W. Manley, K.C., President of the People's National Party, Jamaica, will be present for the anniversary.

66. The Committee make an appeal to members and the public generally to make this occasion worthy of the efforts of the pioneers and again ask that the League's nominal subscription of two (2) shillings per annum be donated to further the cause that needs assistance—the advancement of the underprivileged.

Friendly Society

67. The Committee record the value of the Barbados Progressive League Friendly Society in serving the social needs of members, and make a special appeal to members of the League to join.

The "Beacon"

68. The "Beacon" newspaper continues to function as an integral part of the League, in spreading necessary information to the people.

69. The Committee appreciate the work of all the members of the staff for their increasing efforts to produce a weekly paper in these difficult days.

Staff

70. The Committee offer profound thanks to Mr. B. G. Barrow, Chief Clerk for his faithful services at all times and Mr. L. Small whose appointment has been of inestimable value to the clerical work at the Office; to the Misses Mayers, Thompson, and Hazlewood who continue to do steady and faithful work and to Mr. Woodruffe and Mr. Roach, a new appointee to the Office staff, for their steadfastness to duty.

71. Mr. McD. Brathwaite has been made an Area Organiser and the Committee make special reference to his good services in this new field.

72. A similar post has been designated to Mr. O. Grant for which the Committee acknowledge his services.

Thanks

73. The Committee again return thanks to all of our friends and supporters throughout the Island and Overseas for the help, co-operation and encouragement given in every possible way, without which our task would have been most discouraging and unsuccessful, and once more with greater voice and urgency appeal for their whole-hearted support.

G. H. ADAMS,

President.

F. L. WALCOTT,

Actg. General Secretary.

Christmas Greetings

Christmas greetings
with every good wish for your
Health and Happiness
in the New Year!

Gaynelle Barksdale

ROYAUME DE BELGIQUE

DÉLÉGATION PERMANENTE
AUPRÈS DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES

D.281
S/111

NEW YORK 20, N.Y., 1e
BUREAU 3001, 630 FIFTH AVENUE
TÉL. COLUMBUS 5-2377

January 30, 1948

23-416-12

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director,
Department of Special Research,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Mr. van Langenhove has asked me to acknowledge your letter of January 22nd, together with its enclosure, with reference to the publication in Belgium of a translation of your pamphlet.

Mr. van Langenhove will not fail to bring this matter to the attention of the Belgian Government and ask them to do what they believe will be possible in connection with your request.

Very truly yours,

Virginia Tyler

Secretary to Mr. van Langenhove

23-21-2

MILES COLLEGE

BIRMINGHAM 8, ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 4, 1948

Council on African Affairs
Committee on Policy
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Attention: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Dear Sir:

Thank you for preliminary statement of the Council's activities. Please let me have the definitive statement of policy when it is developed.

Very truly yours,

W. A. Bell

WAB/jsd

TOUGALOO COLLEGE
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TOUGALOO, MISS.

WILLIAM H. WATKINS
CHAIRMAN OF BOARD OF TRUSTEES

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 7, 1948

22-40-110

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
New York City, N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Your communication relative to the NAACP was read with deep concern. It is my fondest hope that you will not separate yourself from the organization at this nor at any future time. From my point of view, we can ill afford to be without the light of your leadership and experience, along with that of Mr. White, in times like these. To those of us in benighted Mississippi, and elsewhere, I am sure, the thought of your leaving the NAACP, is a most regrettable one. May we dare express the hope that separation from the NAACP will be that last thing ever to come to pass. To do so would bring irraparable loss to us all, measured from any point of view.

May I call your attention to the fact that many of the things for which you and others have fought for many decades, are now coming to fruition right here in Mississippi where I was born and reared. For instance, Negroes are voting in the Democratic Primaries here in Jackson and in other spots about the state, in fairly large numbers; a young woman who is a graduate of this college, has filed suit for equalization of salaries in the schools of Jackson, and other suits are coming up. You are aware of the fact that it was Negroes of Jackson, of whom I am one, that initiated the fight against Bilbo, even tho others got hold of our thunder- I mean the NAACP started the fight that put an end to Bilbo. Leaders like you, over a period of years, put the fight in us. Because of the untarnished leadership of men like you, some of us have resolved to stay down here and "fight it out if it takes us all summer." Don't desert us at this stage. To do so, will be tragic.

I have enclosed a clipping from the Jackson Daily News of two days ago to contrast this type of leadership with the true and tried from men like Mr. White and yourself. This so called New Jersey "leader", has been writing about our group for some time. We have consistently ignored it until now. He attracted the attention of Governor Fielding Wright, second in command among the Dixiecrats and it is reported that this Negro was in Jackson a few days ago. Now this is the type of trash that sells us down the river. We thank God for the NAACP and for everyone of you men who have held high its principals for forty years. May the fight never falter or fail.

With every goodwish for you and your work, I am

Very sincerely yours,

W. H. Watkins

College Minister and Assistant to The President

Pres The Jackson Branch, NAACP

22-40-111

October 21, 1948

Mr. W. A. Bender
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

My dear Sir:

I appreciate deeply your kind letter of October 7. Whatever my relations may be with the NAACP in the future, I shall certainly not desert the cause.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

Benson & Hedges

435 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

Manufacturers and Importers of the World's Best Tobacco in every form

June 23, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Mr. Dubois:

22-31

We thank you for your favor of June 16th, and accordingly enclose our check in the amount of 50¢ as refund for overcharge on your purchase of May 23rd.

We regret the inconvenience caused you in this respect, and do appreciate your kind interest in us in bringing this matter to our attention.

Very truly yours,
BENSON AND HEDGES

H. D. Yeomans

HDY:nem
enclosure

"The Hallmark of Quality"

[Bernstein, Samuel]

3225.58

A CENTENARY OF MARXISM

FEBRUARY 1948 marks the one-hundredth anniversary of the issuance of the Communist Manifesto. This document heralded a body of doctrine which has been growing for a century, and which has increasingly influenced the course of human events and their interpretation. In its impact, it can be compared with the greatest documents of human history, such as the Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, the American Declaration of Independence, and Franklin D. Roosevelt's Declaration of the Four Freedoms.

The Marxist literature which has accumulated in the past century is voluminous and varied. Marxist thinking has brought contributions, and promises even more, not only in economics and social history, but also in many other fields of research. Only a unified, comprehensive philosophy, consistent within itself, could have developed to meet so many new historical and political problems, and to achieve fresh applications in so many diverse fields of science, art and policy.

On the other hand, Marxist anlysis in many sectors of science and scholarship is only beginning. The stark steel framework which can be discerned is a challenge to further constructive work. The diligent application of many scholars is needed, if the second century of Marxism is to be as fruitful as the first.

—*From the Foreword*

196 pages 357 Cloth, $2.50

EDITED BY SAMUEL BERNSTEIN
AND THE EDITORS OF

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March 25, 1948

Mr. Abner W. Berry
35 East 12th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Berry:

Would you be good enough to send us a copy or so of the issue containing the story you did on Dr. DuBois and the 80th anniversary dinner?

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:LM

D3-a3-81

SUNDAY SERVICES

6:00 A. M.—Prayer Service
9:15 A. M.—Sunday School
11:00 A. M.—Morning Worship
6:00 P. M.—A.C.E. League
7:30 P. M.—Evening Worship

lecture

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585 FREDERICK AVENUE
DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN
Phone TRinity 2-3667
JONATHAN A. DAMES, Minister

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Morning Devotions 9:00 A. M. daily except Saturday and Sunday
Midweek Service—Wednesday, 7:30 P. M.

22-33-17

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Superintendent of Sunday School
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January 3, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Atlantic University
Atlanta,
Ga.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Wilberforce Club of Bethel A.M.E. Church is very anxious for you to be their guest speaker on Sunday, March 14th at 3:00 P.M., 1948 at Bethel Church.

Our club works along educational lines giving two scholarships annually.

Please state your fee and other details.

Please let me hear from you at an early date.

Respectfully,

Gertrude B. W. Jones

Gertrude B. W. Jones, Pres.
Wilberforce Club.

January 8, 1948

22-33-13

Miss Gertrude B. W. Jones, President
Wilberforce Club
Bethel A. M. E. Church
585 Frederick Avenue
Detroit 2, Michigan

My dear Madam:

Answering your letter of January 3, I regret to say that in March I shall be lecturing on the Pacific Coast.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Lecture pending

SUNDAY SERVICES

6:00 A. M.—Prayer Service
9:15 A. M.—Sunday School
11:00 A. M.—Morning Worship
6:00 P. M.—A.C.E. League
7:30 P. M.—Evening Worship

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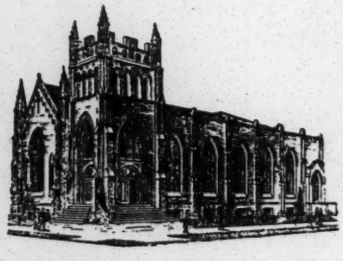
23-48-5



Detroit, Mich
Aug. 27th. 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
20 West 40th. St.
New York, 18 N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dybois:

The Wilberforce Club of Bethel A. M. E. Church is very anxious for you to be their guest speaker on Sunday, March 13th. 1948 at 3:00 P.M. at Bethel Church.

Our club works along educational lines giving two scholarships annually.

Please state your fee and other details. And let me hear from you at an early date.

Respectfully
Gertrude B. H. Jones Pres.
Wilberforce Club

September 24, 1948

Miss Gertrude B. B. Jones
585 Frederick Avenue
Detroit 2, Michigan

My dear Madam:

I have not answered your letter of August 27, because I am not sure as yet as to whether I shall make any lecture tour in 1949. I would, however, like to speak to a Wilberforce Club, concerning a possible solution of the situation at Wilberforce.

I may, therefore, be able to come to you March 13, if I do my charge would be $150, which would include all expenses. However, I cannot give you a definite answer before sometime in January.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

January 12, 1948

Mr. Herbert Biberman
6674 Yucca Street
Hollywood 28, California

Dear Mr. Biberman: I am in complete sympathy with your "Statement from Hollywood," and share in your apprehension at the result of this despicable witch-hunt on liberty in America.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

May 13, 1948

The Editor
The Birmingham World
312 17th Street, North
Birmingham, Alabama

My dear Sir:

Beginning May 15, I shall no longer furnish columns for the Chicago Defender and the People's Voice of New York City. The reasons are partly financial, but there are other reasons.

I have in mind certain plans which lead me to think that I could be of more service to the colored people of the United States by changing my vehicles of communication. As it is, papers like the Defender, The Pittsburg Courier, and The Afro-American are seeking a nation-wide coverage of Negro news. Consequently each one of these papers has to bear the cost of a full staff, and in the case of columnists, the full remuneration of these writers. At the same time, the message of these writers is necessarily confined to the individual paper.

In recent trips, which I have made over the larger part of the United States, I have been in contact with considerable numbers of people. I have been convinced that there are very many people who would like to read my column, but are deprived of it. I have, therefore, determined to put before a selected list of papers a suggestion for a syndicated column. I want to select something between ten and fifteen papers, each of which covers fairly well a locality or a region and have my column published simultaneously in these papers.

The cost could be kept low to each paper and I think that the number of readers which I could thus obtain would be larger and more significant than if I confined my work to a single paper, even though it had a large national circulation. I have, therefore, outlined in the enclosed statement my idea of a weekly cooperative venture. I wish you would read it and let me have your criticism and reaction. I shall be under great obligations.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

May 19, 1948

23-32-C

Mr. James R. Knox, Editor
The Birmingham World
312 17th Street North
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Knox:

For many years I have served as a columnist for some of the large metropolitan weekly papers such as THE PITTSBURGH COURIER, THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, THE NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS, and THE PEOPLE'S VOICE of New York City. I am, however, becoming aware of the shifting political and social scene nationally and internationally, and acutely conscious of the crucial issues facing Negroes throughout the nation, as well as the interests and interdependence of darker peoples all over the world. I feel, therefore, that colored people in every part of the United States need to know and understand what is going on as a basis for intelligent action on the important problems which confront us. In my opinion an enlarged reading audience could be reached most effectively and economically through a cooperative syndicated column which the larger papers do not see their way to support.

A column of this sort is, therefore, being offered to a selected list of papers in various parts of the country, whose combined circulation seems in my opinion to reach the mass of American Negroes. Because of the strategic location of your publication, the influence it wields in your locality, and the service it is rendering towards the improvement of the position of the Negro in the community of which it is a part and serves, I am writing you.

In the enclosed statement I have set forth in detail the plan for this proposed cooperative weekly column. After you have studied the statement, I would appreciate having your reactions. Your frank criticism and suggestions for improving or making the column fit your specific requirements are desired.

I would be glad if you will permit me to cooperate with you in this venture and it is my hope that I may have the privilege of serving both you and your readers. A reply at your earliest convenience would be appreciated.

Very ~~respectfully~~ Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Telephone 3-6523

P. O. Box 1968

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EMORY O. JACKSON, Managing Editor
Published Tuesday and Friday
312 North 17th Street
Birmingham, Alabama

Affiliated With
Scott Newspaper Syndicate
Alabama Newspaper Association
Negro Newspaper Publishers Association

June 28, 1948

28-29-98

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We regret very much our long delay in replying to your letter of May 20.

I shall refer you to Mr. C. A. Scott of the Atlanta Daily World who purchases all feature material for our paper.

Feel free to call on us at any time.

Yours truly,

BIRMINGHAM WORLD

Emory O. Jackson

Emory O. Jackson
Managing Editor

EOJ/ef

ELLIOTT L. BISKIND

ATTORNEY AT LAW

TELEPHONE CALEDONIA 5-7051

110 East 42nd Street, New York 17

Reg to Sponsor

December 13, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

12-32-5

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Thank you for your gracious reception of Mr. Cecil Gray when he spoke with you on the phone today.

We wish to confirm, as you requested, the information relative to the Testimonial Dinner being planned to honor Councilman Eugene P. Connolly for his work in the field of anti-discrimination and for better relations between all peoples.

This dinner will be non-political in nature and among those who have already accepted invitations to act as sponsors are: Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, Judge James B.M. McNally, Hon. Arthur Klein, Hon. Emanuel Celler, Professor Otto Nathan, Professor Ephraim Cross, Dr. Jacob Heiman, Marc Connelly and others.

Our request is that you act as one of three chairmen. The arrangements - such as time, place, date, etc., haye as yet not been completed. However, we shall keep you informed of all plans. We are aware that you do not wish to be burdened by any duties and this will be respected. Mr. Gray will phone you within a few days to confirm your final acceptance.

Thanking you again, I am

Sincerely yours,

Elliott L. Biskind

uopwa;16/ml

ELLIOTT L. BISKIND pdo.

December 15, 1948

Mr. Elliott L. Biskind
110 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

22-32-6

My dear Mr. Biskind:

Answering your letter of December 3, I beg to say that I would be glad to act as one of the chairmen of the dinner to Councilman Connolly. Please let me know, at your earliest convenience, the date which you would like, so as not to conflict with my engagements.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Anita Blaine]

22-40-32

My dear Mrs. Blaine:

I think perhaps it would be fairer to you, if I put before you in writing my situation before the interview to which you have kindly assented.

I shall be 81 years of age in February. I am, however in good health and may have several years of creative thinking and writing before me, if I have the opportunity to devote myself to it without too much worry ~~as to myself and family.~~

I was born in western Massachusetts and educated in the public schools, at a Negro college in Tennessee, at Harvard and the University of Berlin. I began work as a teacher at a colored college in Ohio in 1896; I spent a year as assistant instructor at the University of Pennsylvania and then settled down at Atlanta University as teacher and investigator ~~in the social sciences,~~ for 13 years. I had already published two books, one of which was the first volume in the Harvard University Historical Series. At Atlanta, I began the first scientific study of the Negro Problem in the United States, and for the next 25 years nearly every book on the Negro published in the country used our work.

But I was disappointed because we could not get funds to finance our studies and because my disagreement with the philosophy of Booker T. Washington cut off contributions to the University. In 1910, therefore, I turned reluctantly from my science ~~and turned~~ to propaganda by joining the new N AACP of which I was an incorporator and founded the Crisis. At this time I had added to my first two books, the "Souls of Black Folk" and 14 social studies of the Negro.

I worked for the NAACP twenty-three years bringing the Crisis at one time up to a circulation of 100,000 copies, entirely self-supporting, including my salary. But the depression ~~beginning before 1929,~~ cut down the Crisis circulation until it was no longer paying costs. I was at this time over 60, and thought it wise to accept an offer from my close friend, John Hope, to return to Atlanta and round out my days in teaching and writing. I stayed ten years 1934-44 writing my book on Reconstruction and an autobiography and founding a quarterly magazine, Phylon. But poor Hope died of overwork and the new young president retired me preremtorily for age in 1944, when I was ~~at the age of~~ 76. I was taken completely by surprise ~~and was aghast.~~ My family consisted of a wife, with whom I celebrated a golden wedding in 1946; a daughter who has been teaching in a Baltimore high school for 18 years; and a granddaughter just 16 and in high school. ~~My first-born boy died in infancy.~~ My pay had always been low: $1200 a year at Atlanta; first $2500 and finally $5000 in New York; finally, $4,500 in Atlanta again. I had kept

22-40-133

my family in comfort , educated my daughter at Fisk and Columbia (A.M.,in English) and built an 8 room cottage in Baltimore for the family. I lost all my life insurance in the failure of the Negro company, Standard Life. But the house is without mortgage and I have enough in U.S. bonds to pay my granddaughter's college education. I have no debts Unfortunately my wife suffered a paralytic stroke two years ago and has been helpless since. Her care is costly, but my daughter shares and keeps the house Under these circumstances I was naturally aghast when retired with a small pension of $1800 a year (1944-1950) and $1200 thereafter). However I was offered 4 different jobs -- three at Southern colleges, and one to return to the NAACP. The three chief officials with no initiative on my part, urged me to return, promising me $5000 a year, a research assistant and stenographer, offices, etc; and especially, complete freedom to study and write. I was flattered and accepted.

In the four years I have been with the N AACP I have written and published two books; edited an appeal to the United Nations; lectured in England, Cuba, Haiti and on 23 of the U.S., beside writing articles in magazines and newspapers and carrying on wide correspondence.

Unfotunately, from the beginning matters did not run smoothly in my new position. Doubtless some of this was my fault; old people are often hard to get on with; but I certainly tried to fit me, for this seemed my last chance to work. Nevertheless I never got the office space promised; the Secretary repeatedly tried to block any expression of opinion on my part, even in my special field of study; he and the directors forbade any "political activity" in the late campaign; and finally Mr White assumed the right to speak for the NAACP in the field of colonial and trusteeship questions without my knowledge. I complained and the complaint reached the newspapers. The directors dismissed me as of Dec. 31 for insubordination and public ill-advised ity

In some respects my complaint was silly so far as my own fortunes were concerned; I ought to have realized that I had been invited back not to work or think, but to to do nothing and let my name be used as the NAACP Secretary. If I had done this I would have been secure for life. But I could not. I saw that the NAACP was going wrong in organization policy and accomplishment. I had to speak out and if the newspapers had not heard it my complaint would have been buried.

So there I am. Except a small pension of $1200, a home for my sick wife and savings for the grandchild's education, I have nothing. On the other hand, I have had a life of great lenghth and experience. I know something of history and the social sciences; I have an unique library, some 50,000 letters from persons of all sorts and positions and I can write English. I am faced by the necessity of trying some new job, if one

May 15 - more books have been printed and read but not available and yet was [illegible] #150

perhaps
and letting all the knowledge, ~~and~~ experience and skill I have accumulated go down in total loss. Of course, at best, I have not long to live and work effectively -- perhaps much less than I now think. But I hate to surrender in this day of the world's desperate need. I am now sitting before a manuscript of 150 pages which I had planned to ~~finish~~ extend to a thousand covering the years of Negro development from 1876 to 1949. I want to finish it.

It was at this crisis of my fortunes that Mr. Wallace and Paul Robeson spoke to me of you; and Mr. Baldwin had me to lunch and said you had some ~~undeveloped~~ plans in in mindfor activities after the election into which I might fit. He added that ~~they~~ plans were ~~as yet no set plans~~ not yet developed, but advised me to talk ~~to~~ with you. I hesitated to ask this-- I know how you must be harrassed to help save the world. But I ~~think~~ want to you understand the plight I am in and if any of your plans can fit with mine I would be happy. ~~to talk with you~~

I shall telephone you about noon Tuesday, December 14, to ask what day ~~and hour this week or next,~~ you will be willing to talk with ~~see~~ me in Chicago.

Very sincerely,

9 speak at Yale University Dec 15 and have an engagement the 17. I could be in Chicago the 18, or any day thereafter before Christmas

1933
1868
5

22-40-134

[Anita Blaine]

22-40-135

Dec. 15, 1948

Dear Mrs. Blaine:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation yesterday, I understand that your thought concerning my work falls into two parts: 1. The question of my immediate needs to insure t the continuety of my life work. 2. Exploring at your leisure and with consultation, plans and means for inaugurating a movement for peace and progress in face of present world conditions, into which my ability and effort might be included.

In accord with the above thought, I am venturing in this letter to outline my immediate needs for continuing my work:

EXPENSES, 1949

Living, including rent, clothes, etc., and support of my sick wife	$5000
Moving my 2500 books, file-cases and papers and outfitting a new office (All my present office furniture belongs to the NAACP)	I000
Clerical help	2000
Office rental	2000

INCOME

My pension from Atlanta University, $I200 will cover the expense of moving and setting up a new office

The Council for African Affairs, of which Mr. Robeson is chairman has offered to furnish me an office rent free, in return for which I would act as councillor on matters touching Africa and contribute to their publications

The NAACP in view of my 23 years services will probably offer me a small pension -- perhaps $I000 to $I500. If there are no strings attached to make the acceptance impossible, this will cover clerical expense

If the above assumptions prove true, I would need in addition to the income indicated the sum of $5000. If I had this I would immediately move my offices to 23 West 20th St., where the Council on African Affairs is now located. I would devote my time chiefly ~~wholly~~ to my projected literary work, but devoting some of my time to the policy and publications of the Council; and also a part to trying to think out and plan in consultation with you, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Robeson and others just what should and can be done to save our world from further disaster.

22-40-136

I hope I have made myself clear and I know that if you are not able to do what I ask you will say so frankly, knowing that I will understand that ability often falls far short of willingness.

Very sincerely,

W.E.B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Ave.,
New York, 32, N.Y.

Chicago Defender

January 16, 1948

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mrs. Dorothy Blake
24 Main Street
Carrboro, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Blake:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois has been brought to his attention. It is quite all right with him for you to use his column of January 3, which appeared in THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, concerning Henry Wallace for the purpose you mention. However, as regards its circulation and the obtaining of reprints for this purpose he advises that you contact directly Mr. Lucius Harper, Executive Editor, The Chicago Defender, 3435 Indiana Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, stating your request and mentioning that he has given his permission for its use.

Thanking you for your interest and with best wishes for success, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

P.S. We are writing Mr. Harper today and informing him that he may expect to hear from you directly.

[B'nai B'rith]

ELIZABETH LODGE B'NAI B'RITH No. 1610

1034 East Jersey Street — Elizabeth, New Jersey

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22-33-11

Lecture

January 8, 1947.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
Director of Social Research, NAACP,
20 West 40th Street,
New York City.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Elizabeth Lodge, B'nai B'rith, will commemmorate Brotherhood Week by a special meeting open to the public at the Elizabeth Y. M. & Y. W. H. A., at the above address at 8:30 in the evening of Tuesday, February 17th. Arrangements have already been made for representation by the local clergy of all prominent faiths.

We would be grateful if you could find it possible to address us that night. The theme of the meeting will be the development of a social environment in which true democracy can be practiced, and the work being done toward that end. Transportation can be arranged to suit your convenience. I sincerely hope we will have the pleasure of your company that night.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel Wagner

Daniel Wagner, President,
304 Monmouth Road,
Elizabeth 3, N. J.
Tel. ELizabeth 2-9650 or
" 2-8307.

[B'nai B'rith, Elizabeth NJ]

lecture

January 9, 1948

Mr. Daniel Wagner
304 Monmouth Road
Elizabeth 3, New Jersey

My dear Mr. Wagner: I am writing in reply to your letter of January 8 requesting Dr. DuBois to speak for the B'nai B'rith Lodge No. 1610, Tuesday, February 17. Dr. DuBois appreciates the honor, but, unfortunately, previous engagements will prevent his accepting your invitation.

Thanking you for your courtesy and hoping he will be able to serve you on another occasion, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

22-33

[B'nai Brith, Havarim Chapter]

2290 Davidson Ave.
Bronx 53, N.Y.
March 12, 1948

NAACP
RSJ

National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People

20 West 40 Street
New York, N.Y.

9270 MAR 16 '48

23C-45

Dear Sirs:

This is in confirmation of an exchange of telephone calls in which it was ~~decided~~ requested that a speaker supplied by the National Association ~~suggest~~ address a special meeting of Havarim Chapter of the B'nai Brith Young Men. A group of colored young people from a Harlem Church have been invited to our Synagogue Sunday evening, March 21 for a joint program.

The average ages of the groups are 19-23 and the members are college students and graduates for the most part. It is expected that the assembly will be between 50 and 75 as our group has 30 members and our guests probably will number a similar amount.

The place is:
The Jewish Centre of Highbridge
1164 Nelson Ave. (at 167 St.)
Bronx N.Y.

We were informed at our telephone conversation on Thursday (Yesterday) that Dr. ~~Smythe~~ would be our guest speaker. Your consideration of this matter and prompt attention to it ~~will be~~ has been greatly (over)

appreciated.

We look forward with pleasure to seeing Dr. ~~Dy~~ Smythe on Sunday at 8:30 PM or thereabouts.

I shall be out-of-town this week because of my employment, but I should like to leave someone else's name to be contacted if such is necessary. He is Eugene L. Rothstein
2201 Walton Ave.
Bronx NY
FO5-3768

Again thank you very much.

Very respectfully yours,
Arthur Henle

St. Marks Church WA6-7040
Virgil Smith—
258 W 117 43E or 4E?

159 Second Avenue, New York City.
March 9, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Some months ago I sent you some manuscripts. I wonder if you can find them and mail them for me to Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Arlington, Vermont. I especially want her to see Why I Am a Communist, but she might as well have the others also. I wish you would send her a line with them, I think she would appreciate hearing from you. If you could make some comment on the articles it would be a help. I am not considering publishing them at all. Mrs. Fisher is being influenced by Dorothy Thompson and her anti-Communist crowd and I have been asked to send her this piece to give her another picture of the Party. Your favorable opinion would make her take it more seriously.

22-31-25

Did you know Clara Stillman has joined the Trotzkyites and is writing for them? I do not discuss the question with her but she does keep me informed as to what they are doing.

I have written an article on the Negro and the Party Line and would like very much to have you read it, but I do not want to send it to you unless I am sure you would like to have it. I believe I have a new angle on the subject and wonder whether you would agree with me. If you are interested and have time for it please let me know and I will mail it to you.

I have not heard from you for months and I hope that you are very well and have had a good winter.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Boardman

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
% N.A.A.C.P.,
20 W. 40 St.,
New York,
N.Y.

Personal

I have written to you re a ms to be sent to Mrs. Fisher. I have just been told that the matter is quite urgent. It is intended to prevent some activity by her on the other side and I would like to have her get the thing as soon as possible. I hope this will not inconvenience you.

H. B.

[Helen Boardman]

22-31-26

March 10, 1948

Miss Helen Boardman
159 2nd Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Boardman:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois has come during his absence from the city. He is lecturing in California, and will not return to New York until late in April. However, I am forwarding your request and as soon as I have heard from him I will let you know.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

March 19, 1948

Miss Helen Boardman
159 Second Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Boardman: As you know, Dr. DuBois is out of the city lecturing. He has been on the West Coast since February 24, and according to his present schedule he is not due back in New York until after the middle of April. Consequently, this will enable you to understand why you have not heard from him.

This morning I received word from him, in reply to your communication of March 11, to send you the enclosed articles. Also, he wants you to know that he apologizes for being unable to attend to the matter personally and for his delay in replying to your correspondence, all of which was sent to him in the field but took quite some time in catching up with him.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosures

22-31

159- 2nd Ave., New York, N.Y.
March 21, 1948.

Dear Mr. Smythe,

I have your letter with the mss. and I appreciate your promptness.

Will you be so kind as to forward the enclosed letter to Dr. Du Bois? I would not trouble him on his trip, but this is a very urgent matter which only he can attend to.

22-3-27

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Boardman.

March 23, 1948

Miss Helen Boardman
159 2nd Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Boardman:

Your note of March 21, with its enclosure, has just arrived. I have forwarded your airmail letter to Dr. DuBois.

I am glad that your manuscripts arrived in good order.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

March 26, 1948

22-31-23

Miss Helen Boardman

My dear Miss Boardman:

I am enclosing a letter which may be of some use. I trust that this will find you well.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:elh

Enclosure

Miss Helen Boardman
159 Second Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Lincoln University
LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
CHESTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 12, 1948

22-35

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139 Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Dr. Alexander:

It is to my deep regret that I find an engagement in the deep South will prevent me from attending the dinner in honor of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, Monday, February 23.

Copy

Dr. DuBois knows in what great esteem he is held both by me and by Mrs. Bond, whose ardent Fisk loyalty enhances if possible her appreciation and admiration of this great man.

On this occasion I wish for Dr. DuBois many happy returns of this day.

Sincerely,

Horace M. Bond

Horace M. Bond
President

dln

April 29, 1948

Boni & Gaer, Publishers
33 West 44th Street
New York 18, New York

Gentlemen:

We have been doing some work with the Committee of Fear and have been asked to contact you in regard to securing a copy of the book concerning the Hollywood Ten. It is our intention to review the book in the columns we publish and to bring it to the attention of the audiences we reach in writing and speaking.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

COPY

130-14

Fisk University Library
Nashville 8, Tennessee

OFFICE OF LIBRARIAN

January 5, 1948

22-15-32

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o The Crisis
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I expect to be in New York for about a week following the 22nd of January. Sometime during those days I wonder if I could have a talk with you about a book which is being projected and on which you would be in a position to advise me better than anyone else. It is something which, if I decide to do at all, can not get under way immediately, but toward which I would need to start making some rather general plans.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Arna Bontemps

AB/rdj

January 7, 1948

Mr. Arna Bontemps, Librarian
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Bontemps: I have your letter of January 5. I shall be glad to meet and talk with you concerning the matter you mentioned in your note, when you come to New York.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:lm

Fisk University Library
Nashville 8, Tennessee

OFFICE OF LIBRARIAN

February 4, 1948

23-12-9

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Crisis
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is just to say that my talk with you was very helpful and that the project is very much alive. I am dashing off a very concise statement of purposes at the request of the publisher and there will be other things to write you about I am sure.

Meanwhile, my best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Arna Bontemps

AB/rdj

23-25-89

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(43)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

N65 PD=NASHVILLE TENN 23 116P

1948 FEB 23 PM 2 50

DR W E B DU BOIS=

HOTEL ROOSEVELT=

MAY I JOIN THOSE WHO HONOR YOUR EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY=

ARNA BONTEMPS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

23-25-96

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(15)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
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Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

N74 PD=CAMDEN NJER 23 259P

1948 FEB 23 PM 3 15

DR W E B DUBOIS=

ROOSEVELT HOTEL=

HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS TO A TRUE AND INSPIRING LEADER IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN CONFLICT=

ERNEST T BOSTON=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

23-13-39

Carcap B

BASIL NICHOLAS HELLENAGORAS BOUSIOS
69 TIEMANN PLACE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

Friday, July 9, 1948

Dr. William Edward Burghardt DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Perhaps you recall that some time ago you were kind enough to contribute a statement to my literary effort on Hellenism, an effort the war and other activities protracted - I hope that you will understand. May I, after my long silence, if it is agreeable to you, request an appointment to speak to you about a chapter in my manuscript on the Colored people? I would appreciate it very much if you would grant me an audience at any time or place, at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

Basil N. Bousios

OK

lw/BB

23-13-31

July 13, 1948

Mr. Basil N. H. Bousios
69 Tiemann Place
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Bousios:

I have your note of July 9. I shall be glad to talk with you. If you will call my office, LOngacre 3-6890, we can arrange for a conference at a mutually suitable time and place.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

22-13-32

September 30, 1948

Mr. Basil N. H. Pousios
69 Tiemann Place
New York 27, New York

My dear Mr. Pousios:

I should like very much to beeable to help in your work. I regret to say, however, that it will be quite impossible.

The commitments which I have for writing already are behind and I cannot promise anything else, until I can see my way clear on these.

I thank you for your offer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

March 26, 1948

Dr. and Mrs. E. C. Bowden
223 Boulevard N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. and Mrs. Bowden:

As perhaps you know, I am going to speak at the Wheat Street Baptist Church, April 8. Usually I stop with Mrs. Shivery, but she has moved and I do not know her address or accommodations. I am, therefore, writing to ask if possibly you have a room to let me stop with you?

Kindly let me hear from you at your convenience. My address is in care of W. R. Banks, Prairie View A. & M. College, Prairie View, Texas.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:elh

E. G. BOWDEN, M. D.
158½ AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA, GA.

WALNUT 9601

lecture

March 29, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Prairie View A. & M. College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Sir:

23-38-142

In reply to your letter of March 26, 1948 relative to stopping with us on your trip to Atlanta, would like to say that we will be very glad to have you come and stay as long as you wish. Please let me know when you will arrive in order that I might meet you.

It so happens that I had just mailed a package of shelled pecans to you at 409 Edgecombe, New York City. The package was mailed last Friday.

Let me say again that yeuwill be glad to have you stop with us and that you are always welcome in our home.

Very truly yours,

E G Bowden

E. G. Bowden, M. D.

EGB:p

223-Blvd. N. E. (17)

Atlanta, Ga.

May 19th, 1948.

BOWDEN

23-13-37

Dear Dr. DuBois.

Thanks for the book Indigo. I am sure I will enjoy reading it. I am going to Rochester to the Mayo Clinic for a check up and I am waiting to read it there

I will be there at least a week or ten days. I am also taking Paris Mitchell (Ring 2021. So you see I will have enough to keep company with me.

Heard from our friend and she tells me about her visit. I am so happy for her. We enjoyed her visit with us.

Peter is fattened and ready to be converted to fun. We enjoyed our visit to Connecticut. Come anytime you are this way.

Thanks again for the book.

Visit last weekend. Eight out of 10 Sundays

$\vec{r} - \vec{x}_i$

Jak - pod wpływem [illegible]
[illegible] ?

23-13-38

May 24, 1948

Mrs. Elizabeth A. Bowden
223 Boulevard, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Bowden:

Thank you for your letter and let me tell you now as I meant to sometime ago, that the package of pecans were here when I returned and I enjoyed them very much.

I hope you will have a pleasant stay in Mayo's Clinic and come back with renewed life. Let me also confess, most contritely, that the book, INDIGO, was not a present from me, but was a book which I stole from your library because I was reading it and had not finished it. Therefore, I was careful to return it to you. If you haven't read it, do read it, as it is a very interesting volume.

My best regards to you and the Doctor.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Subversive
Un-American

575 Avenue of the Americas
New York 11, N. Y.
April 15, 1948

Dear Colleague:

I am writing to thank you, on behalf of the original sponsors, for signing the "Statement of American Educators" concerning the blacklisting of a number of Marxist and labor schools by the Attorney General. The response was most gratifying, with 154 persons signing the statement, or more than 25% of those appealed to. In addition a number expressed their general agreement with the statement although unwilling to sign it exactly as it stood.

Several of us took it to Washington on April 7 and spent some time there with Assistant Attorney General Quinn and two of his assistants. They insisted that they listed these schools as "subversive" only after lengthy and "grave" deliberation but could not divulge to anyone their reasons for so doing or any of the evidence they may have used in reaching their decision. The matter was solely, they claimed, in the discretion of the Attorney General.

Throughout the hour's discussion it was obvious that while they had the authority we had the arguments. They employed no other principles than that the President's Loyalty Order required them to make a "list" and did not require them to give anyone any reasons. They made not the slightest effort to square their action with American democratic guarantees or to answer any of the principles enunciated in the statement presented.

I am enclosing the complete list of signers for your own information. We were proud to present such a list to the Department of Justice and they made no attempt to hide the fact that it was an impressive one. Again, let me express my deepest appreciation for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Lyman R. Bradley

Lyman R. Bradley

230-35-9

[Enclosure]

SIGNERS OF STATEMENT OF AMERICAN EDUCATORS

PROFESSORS	INSTITUTION (For identification only)
Thomas Addis	Stanford University
Edward S. Allan	Iowa State College
Russell Ames	Queens College
Earl Maynard Aris	Albion College
Francis M. Barbour	Southern Illinois University
Fred Asa Barnes	Cornell (Retired)
Ralph Beals	University of California at Los Angeles
Edward Biberman	--
Leonard Bloomfield	Yale University
Cornelius Bol	Stanford (Retired)
Earl C. Bowman	De Pauw University
Lyman R. Bradley	New York University
Theodore Brameld	New York University
Joseph Bressler	Brooklyn College
Dorothy Brewster	Columbia University
John Bridge	City College of New York
Arthur G. Brodeur	University of California
Charles N. Brooks	Harvard University
William B. Bryan	Macalester College, Minn.
Edwin Berry Burgum	New York University
John L. Buys	St. Lawrence University
Robert Chambers	NYU (Retired)
Charles M. Child	Stanford University
Edith F. Claflin	Columbia University
Edwin L. Clarke	Rollins College
Willson H. Coates	Sarah Lawrence College
M. Robert Cobbledick	Connecticut College
Joseph W. Cohen	University of Colorado
Philip W. L. Cox	New York University
Oliver C. Cox	Tuskegee Institute
Grace L. Coyle	Western Reserve University
Abraham Cronbach	Hebrew Union College
Dean W. C. Curtis	University of Missouri (Emeritus)
John J. De Boer	University of Illinois
Harl Douglass	Director, School of Education, University of Colorado
H. M. Doutt	University of Akron
Arnold Dresden	Swathmore College
W.E.B. DuBois	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Lyford P. Edwards	Bard College
Franklin Edgerton	Yale Law School
Thomas D. Eliot	Northwestern University
Albert I. Elkus	University of California
Thomas I. Emerson	Yale University
Bergen Evans	Northwestern University
Frederic Ewen	Brooklyn College
Henry Pratt Fairchild	New York University
Philip S. Foner	Jefferson School
Abraham Edel	City College of New York

(more)

230-35-10

PROFESSOR	INSTITUTION (For identification only)
Frances A. Foster	Vassar College
Royal W. France	Rollins College
Harold A. Freeman	Mass. Institute of Technology
Reginald F. French	Amherst College
Henrietta V. Friedman	Hunter College
Wendell H. Furry	Harvard University
David R. Goodard	University of Pennsylvania
Erwin R. Goodenough	Yale University
Ralph H. Gundlach	University of Washington
Calvin S. Hall	Western Reserve University
Victor E. Hall	Stanford University
R. Travis Hardaway	Queens College
Harrison Harley	Simmons College
Virginia Harlow	De Pauw University
Robert J. Havighurst	University of Chicago
Harold Haydon	University of Chicago
G. A. Hedger	University of Cincinnati (retired)
Virgil B. Heltzel	Northwestern University
J. Allen Hickerson	New Haven State Teachers College
Philip M. Hicks	Swarthmore
Ernest R. Hilgard	Stanford University
Stefan Hirsch	Bard College
Harry Hoijer	University of California at Los Angeles
Hamilton Holt	President, Rollins College
Harold Hotelling	University of North Carolina
William G. Houk	St. Lawrence University
Abbott Kaplan	University of California at Los Angeles
Forrest M. Keen	Heidelberg College
Raymond Kennedy	Yale
Walter B. Keighton	Swarthmore
C. Wendell King	Rollins College
Paul Kirkpatrick	Stanford University
Samuel Kliger	Duke University
John I. Kolehmainen	Heidelberg College
Luther P. Jackson	Virginia State College
William Jaffé	Northwestern University
Harold N. Lee	Tulane University
Paul L. Lehmann	Princeton Theological Seminary
Norman Levinson	Mass. Institute of Technology
Alton A. Lindsey	--
Gerhard Loose	University of Colorado
Chaplain Sidney Lovett	Yale
Robert S. Lynd	Columbia

230-35-11

-- more --

PROFESSORS	INSTITUTION (For identification only)
Curtiss MacDougall	Northwestern University
Ney MacMinn	Northwestern University
Wilfred H. Mainwaring	Stanford University (Emeritus)
Luther B. Marchant	Mills College
John M. Marsalka	Yale
F. O. Matthiessen	Harvard University
Wesley H. Maurer	University of Michigan
Kenneth O. May	--
Henry L. McClintock	University of Minnesota Law School
V. J. McGill	
J. F. Mack	Oberlin College
Kirtley F. Mather	Harvard
Clyde Miller	Columbia
Ermina Mills	De Pauw University
Julia Neely	Southern Illinois University
Arthur H. Nethercot	Northwestern University
Robert Hastings Nichols	Union Theological Seminary (Emeritus)
F. S. C. Northrop	Yale
Michael Pargment	University of Michigan
Ralph Barton Perry	Harvard (Emeritus)
John P. Peters	New Haven, Conn.
Edith Philips	Swarthmore
Herbert J. Phillips	University of Washington
Frank W. Pitman	Pomona College (Emeritus)
Walter Rautenstrauch	Columia (Emeritus)
Ira De A. Reid	Atlanta University
George F. Reynolds	University of Colorado (Emeritus)
Sarah R. Riedman	Brooklyn College
Bernard F. Riess	Hunter College
Holland Roberts	California Labor School
Theodore Rosebury	Columbia University
Alexander Sandow	New York University
Margaret Schlauch	New York University
Frederick L. Schuman	Williams College
Agnes H. Schroeder	Western Reserve University
Walter Silz	Swarthmore
Harry Slochower	Brooklyn College
William C. Smith	Linfield College
Willand Smith	Mills College
James D. Sorber	Swarthmore
Bertha K. Stavrianos	Roosevelt College of Chicago
Bernard J. Stern	Columbia
Dirk J. Struik	Mass. Institute of Technology
Ernest L. Talbert	University of Cincinnati
Williametta C. Thomson	Syracuse University

-- more --

PROFESSORS	INSTITUTION (For identification only)
Miriam D. Tompkins	Columbia
Charles Trinkaus	Sarah Lawrence College
William Lewis Troyer	Albion College
Rexford Guy Tugwell	University of Chicago
Colston E. Warne	Amherst College
Edward K. Weaver	Alabama State Teachers College
David L. Webster	Stanford University
Charles H. Wesley	President, Wilbeforce University
Louis Weisner	Hunter College
F. W. Weymouth	Stanford University
George F. Whicher	Amherst College
Samuel K. Workman	Northwestern University
Henry N. Wieman	University of Chicago
Edward H. Zabriskie	Rutgers University
Thomas Woody	University of Pennsylvania
Eugene C. Holmes	Howard University
Stuart Mudd	Univ. of Penn., Medical School

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230-35-13

November 9, 1948

Breadstone Brothers, Inc.
45 Hubert Street
New York 13, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find twenty-five cents (.25¢), for w ich send me your dish for serving whipped butter. I have to hunt for your butter at various places and none of them have this dish.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

22-39-96 Leg

Mrs Mason Davis R.3. Box 65
Feb. 6th 46

Dr W. E. B. Du Bois
3435 Indiana Ave
Chicago Illinois
c/o Defender

My dear sir

I attended your lecture at Metropaletian church in Chicago last Spring the Mike did not work so good and we could not hear so good. So we were wondering if you had it in booklet form that we could have it. And another little book you could tell me where to get 100 Question and answers about the negro some one was telling me about. I want to tell you how much we do enjoy your writings. Thanks in advance for this infamation. I am very sincerly

Yours (Mrs) Millie G Brock

Reg for Info

23-16

February 16, 1948

Mrs. Millie G. Brock
Route 3, Box 65
Mason, Wisconsin

Dear Mrs. Brock:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois has come during his absence from the office on a lecture tour of New England. However, we would like to assist you in your quest concerning the speech you heard him deliver in Chicago in the Spring of 1947. Unfortunately, our records are just being placed in order, so if you will be good enough to inform us just what the title of the speech was we can act more readily on your request.

With thanks for your interest, and hoping to hear from you, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

P.S. You can secure the book, 100 AMAZING FACTS ABOUT NEGROES, from The Blyden Bookshop, 2296½ 7th Avenue, New York, New York. It costs 50¢ plus 5¢ postage prepaid. The author is Joel A. Rogers. Or it may be secured for the same price from the author, Mr. Joel A. Rogers, 37 Morningside Avenue, New York, New York

January 5, 1948

22-86-101

Mr. Francis L. Broderick
11-A Mower Hall
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

My dear Sir:

Your letter of December 21, has just come to my attention, since I have been out of town during the holidays. I am sorry that I was not able to talk with you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Key to Bibliography

FRANCIS L. BRODERICK
11-A Mower Hall
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

23-16-17

February 6, 1948

Dr. W.E. Burghardt DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City 18

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Would it be possible for me to see you sometime next week in connection with the study of your ideas which I am doing in cooperation with Mr. Sam Spencer? I have already outlined our general plan to you in my letter of December 21, 1947.

I shall be in New York from Tuesday, February 10, to the following Monday, February 16, and we would be very grateful if you could arrange a brief appointment at your convenience during that period. I am not sure whether Spencer will be with me or not.

My address in New York is 16 East 94th Street, New York City 28. We would both greatly appreciate an opportunity to see you.

Sincerely yours,

Francis L. Broderick

Francis L. Broderick

Sorry - lecturing out of town
lecturing Feb 9 - Feb 20

23-16

23-16

February 9, 1948

Mr. Francis L. Broderick
11-A Mower Hall
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Broderick:

Your letter of February 6 has been brought to the attention of Dr. DuBois. He regrets to inform you that he will be unable to meet with you on the dates specified, since he will be out of the city lecturing February 9-20. Upon his return he will remain only a few days, and he then departs for a lecture tour that will take him to California, from where he will not return until early April.

With regrets, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

Reinhardt
Biography

FRANCIS L. BRODERICK
11-A Mower Hall
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

22-32

March 21, 1948

Dear Mr. Smythe:

I should like to try again to see Dr. DuBois on the matter outlined to him in my letter of December 21, 1947. I shall be in New York April 5 and 6, and if Dr. DuBois is back from his lecture tour and if it would be possible for him to see me then, I should appreciate greatly your arranging an appointment for me at his convenience.

Would you please let me know one way or the other at 16 East 96th Street, New York City 28, which is my address in the city?

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Francis L. Broderick

Francis L. Broderick

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
20 West 40th Street
New York City 18

March 23, 1948

Mr. Francis L. Broderick
16 East 96th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Broderick:

Thank you for your letter of March 21, which has just arrived. I regret to inform you that Dr. DuBois is still away and will not return to New York before April 15. Then he leaves immediately for a lecture in Chicago on the 18th.

Unfortunately, Dr. DuBois from now through June will be out of the city lecturing practically every weekend. Hence, your best opportunity to see him would be sometime during the early part of a week in May or June, or you might care to wait until July. I shall be glad to arrange an appointment for you with Dr. DuBois if you can find it convenient to make your plans accordingly. Please feel free to contact me at any time. Our telephone number is Longacre 3-6890.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

FRANCIS L. BRODERICK
11-A Mower Hall
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

April 21, 1948

Dear Mr. Smythe:

May I take another crack at asking you to arrange an appointment for me with Dr DuBois? I shall be in New York May 3, 4, and (if necessary) 5. Would it be possible to see Dr. DuBois on any of those dates? I should prefer the 3rd or 4th.

I'm sorry to be so troublesome on all this. Would you let me know what you can do? At the above address, please.

Many thanks for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Francis L. Broderick

Francis L. Broderick

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City 18

April 26, 1948

Mr. Francis L. Broderick
11-A Mower Hall
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Broderick:

I have your letter of April 21, which has just arrived. As you know, the Doctor is out of the city especially on weekends and he is still tied up with lectures. However, he will be able to see you [redacted] sometime between two and four o'clock in the afternoon. I would appreciate your calling this office the morning of that day to confirm this appointment.

Dr. DuBois appreciates your interest and regrets that his schedule has made it impossible to meet with you heretofore.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh M. Smythe

HMS:s

22-38

Reg. w/ Biography

FRANCIS L. BRODERICK
11-A Mower Hall
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

April 27, 1948

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Thank you for arranging the appointment with Dr. DuBois for me on Wednesday, May 5. I shall call you on the morning of the 5th to confirm the time.

23-32

Sincerely yours,

Francis L. Broderick

Francis L. Broderick

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City 18

Re: Favorite Biography

FRANCIS L. BRODERICK
11-A Mower Hall
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

May 17, 1948

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Dr. DuBois said that I might use his files of the two early magazines, The Moon and Horizon , for my researches. I wonder if it would be possible for me to see them at the NAACP offices sometime next week, probably toward the end of the week. I should like to spend some time with them, perhaps a few days, perhaps considerably more.

22-32-16

I am reluctant to bother Dr. DuBois directly on this, so I wonder if you might let me know if I may have access to those files then.

Thank you again for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Francis L. Broderick

Francis L. Broderick

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City

May 18, 1948

Mr. Francis L. Broderick
11-A Mower Hall
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Broderick:

I have just received your letter of May 17. It will be quite all right for you to come in and use the magazines THE MOON and THE HORIZON during the period you mentioned. If I am not here, Mrs. Murphy, Dr. DuBois' secretary, will make them available to you.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Withdrawn folder

June 30, 1948

22-31-29

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

The bearer, Mr. Francis L. Broderick, is doing research on my life and papers. Any courtesy extended him will be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

FRANCIS L. BRODERICK
~~11-A Mower Hall~~ 82 Oxford Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

July 5, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

22-31-28

Thank you very much for your letter. It will help me a good deal in my researches. Thank you also for your courtesy and cooperation in allowing me to go through your papers in New York. I hope to return to finish the job as soon as possible.

I feel that I have to mention again what great assistance Dr. Smythe gave me from day and to day. Without him, I would still be on page one.

Sincerely yours,

Francis L. Broderick

Francis L. Broderick

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York City 18

[Brooklyn College]

Brooklyn College

BEDFORD AVENUE AND AVENUE H
BROOKLYN 10, N. Y.

OFFICE OF PRE-SOCIAL WORK COUNSELING

May 18, 1948

Dr. Hugh Smythe
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, 1948

230-14

Dear Dr. Smythe:

May I take this opportunity of thanking you for the talk which you gave to our Brooklyn College students. As you know, the students were very appreciative of your presentation.

I trust that your contact with the college was pleasant.

Thank you so much for the generous giving of your time and knowledge.

Sincerely,

Herbert H Stroup (HA)

HERBERT HL STROUP

HHS/ha

File Lecture 1948

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October 12, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As I told you on the phone this morning, our Physicians and Dentists for Wallace are having a Cocktail Reception on Friday, October 22, at 8 P.M. at the Hotel St. George Roof. The keynote of the function is "The Professional's Stake in the Wallace Program" and Dr. Edward Barsky has agreed to be one of our speakers. Dr. Melber Phillips will also speak on the persecution of scientists and teachers.

23-26-16

We would be most honored and pleased if you would be one of our honored guests and also if you would speak of your recent experiences. Some of our members heard you at the ASP conference Sunday and were most impressed with your remarks.

This group has been active even before the formation of the Wallace Committee and will continure functioning after the elections, because of the need for a fighting, progressive organization of professional people im these troubled times. We hope to have around 300 people at the Reception.

If you find it possible to be with us, would you be good enough to phone or write me at the above office?

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,
Katherine Earnshaw
Katherine Earnshaw
Director, Special Events

KE: self

THE WALLACE PARTY IS THE PEACE PARTY

[Brooklyn Wallace... Comm.]

October 18, 1948

Miss Katherine Earnshaw
Wallace for President Committee
314 Fulton Street
Brooklyn, New York

23-26-17

Dear Miss Earnshaw: I will be present Friday, October 22, at 8:00 P.M., at the Hotel St. George Roof and will speak not more than fifteen minutes on DEMOCRACY FOR PROFESSIONAL MEN.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Brooklyn WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT *Committee*

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WILLIAM ZORACH

23-48-24

letter completed

October 26, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Ave.,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On behalf of the Arrangements Committee of the Brooklyn Physicians and Dentists for Wallace, I want to express our very real appreciation of your speaking at our reception last Friday night. I know the many demands made upon your time and energy so we are doubly grateful for your coming. I had arranged to have someone take you home but somehow missed you when you went to get your coat.

Your remarks were very well received and we all felt your contribution assured the success of the meeting. I need not tell you in what great respect you are held by the members of our Committee but, if it is possible, your prestige was enhanced by your speech. These are difficult and trying times for all progressive minded people and we gather a great deal of strength from each other by coming together now and then as on last Friday.

I hope it will be my pleasure and privilege to meet you again some day soon.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Earnshaw

Katherine Earnshaw, Director
Special Events

KE: self

Req. for photo.

22-32

82 Washington Street
St Augustine Florida
March 5, 1948

William E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18 N. Y.

Dear Mr DuBois

I am a Member of the Seventh grade of Excelsior High School and we have been studying about famous Negroes I enjoyed the story of your life most of all and I hope that some day that I will be as great as you are Will you send me one of your pictures and one of your autograph

Sincerely yours
Frances Brooks

February 18th, 1948

23-47-12

May I send a brief message of congratulation to those whom Dr. Du Bois will honour with his presence on the occasion of his Eightieth Birthday? Dr. Du Bois seems at eighty as young as he must have seemed at fifty, -- as befits a favourite pupil of William James, -- though his life is a part of our history and has become a legend. A truly Jeffersonian figure, as thinker, scholar, teacher and writer, -- as a statesman too in the best sense of the term, -- he is one of those rare men who unite great charm of personality with depth of intellect, conscience and imagination. All of us who care for art and literature in this country owe him a debt that can scarcely be overstated. Our heart-felt good wishes for the future of this great American who stands above everything else for the power of ideas.

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New York, November 9 19 48

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22-31

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Sir:

Please accept our thanks for your order and remittance of $2.86.

Two boxes, 50 each, of Benson & Hedges gold tipped cigarettes, number 1, will be delivered to you promptly.

We wish to take this opportunity to call to your attention the statement printed at the bottom of the order form contained in the folder from which you ordered. As you will note, the minimum order we can accept for Metropolitan area delivery is $3. While we have made an exception in this instance and filled your order, all orders in future must comply with our minimum order requirements.

Yours respectfully,

BROOKS BROTHERS
p.o.

RDB:ljw

1 4 3
2
$4.29

61

Letter of Appreciation

22-38-17

155½ Palmo St
St Augustine
Fla

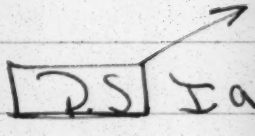
Mr Du-Bois

My class and I have been studing about you. so ~~I ma~~ I am wrighting you so that you can write me a letter back. so I can Read it to my class I have not ever seen you. but I have Read a lot about you. I am in the Tenth Gwade. Iam a student at Excelsior High School I hope to Attend colledge when I finish high School. the way I got your address my ~~ero~~ History teacher gave it to me. She Said that it would be nice to wight you and for you to wight back and you might put your Signature on the letter and

22-38-18

I could keep It when I
gnow up And finish colledge
and latter ~~own~~ on when I am an
old man I could look at it and
Say this is a letter I wrote to mr Dubois
many years ago. So please night
back and make the letter good and
long and don't forget to put your
Signature on it yours-

yours tunely
from James Brown
155½ Palmo St
St Augustine
Fla



R.S I am sorry I couldn't
night any more but I wanted
it to hurry and reach you I hope
you are well and Able to put your
Signature on the letter you Right.

Pardon me but I didn't think to put this on the letter. My Subjects awe (Biology)(English)(Algebwa) (History)(Health) and Club on Thursdays Afternoon

Good By

I will allways Remember you

2.2-38

March 3, 1948

Mr. James Brown
155½ Palina Street
St. Augustine, Florida

Dear Mr. Brown:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois arrived during his absence from New York. He will not return for several weeks, but I know he will appreciate receiving such a sincere note and would want you to know this.

With best wishes to you, your classmates, and your teachers, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
for Dr. DuBois

HHS:LM

Reply for Info

22-40-124

The Oberlin Graduate School of Theology
Oberlin, Ohio
December 7, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 4th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am currently writing an S.T.M. thesis on the Nat Turner insurrection of South Hampton County, Virginia, in 1831. It is my hope that you will help me with some extremely important and needed materials which, I feel, will make a significant contribution to this thesis.

It is my aim to secure from prominent contemporary thinkers their ideas concerning the Nat Turner insurrection. Would you address your remarks to the following questions:

1. What was the immediate effect of the Nat Turner insurrection on the attitudes and thinking of (a) Negroes and (b) Whites?

2. How important a part does the Nat Turner insurrection play on current (a) Negro and (b) White thought--that is, in religion, journalism, political propaganda, contemporary philosophy of American history, prejudices, etc.?

3. What ideas, if any, are there peculiar to Negro thought of today which stem directly from the insurrection?

4. What do you think of Nat Turner and his idea that "God ordained him for the mission"?

5. What do you think of Brawley's statement: "In the long run, however, he gained, for the insurrections increased the agitation against slavery and thus led on to the Civil War and emancipation"?

The answers to these questions will form the ground work of my evaluation of this movement. Questions 2, 3, 4, and 5 are the most important in our case. Would it be possible for you to answer this inquiry by February 10, according to your convenience? Thank you very much for your help in this matter.

Yours very truly,

P. Rodgers Brown

P. Rodgers Brown

22-40-125

December 15, 1948

Mr. P. Rodgers Brown
The Oberlin Graduate School of Theology
Oberlin, Ohio

My dear Mr. Brown:

Answering your letter of December 7, may I respond to your questions as follows:

1. (a) So far as the Negroes heard about these insurrections they were greatly excited and moved.
   (b) The whites were widely frightened and as a result passed a great deal of repressive legislation.

2. (a) The insurrection has practically no influence at present because it is forgotten.

3. None that I know of.

4. No comment.

5. I agree with Brawley.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Curios letter
Curios letter to
Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Rec'd Nov. 15, 1948

[I John H. Brunson]

...

November the 8 1948

the CONSTITUTION ORIGINAL THE SEVEN ARTIULES

I am trying to get in tuch with we the people on the bill of right _ in gods we shell trust ,,,,I am quointing this to the lawyers of the NAAPC CIO Union lodge ELKS FFU to fine these Mosaic lodges to fine the lawmakers postmaster Generals all over Amerieam ,to tell people about they money now ,and this letter will tell why ,,,,,

One of these letters willv be sent to 20 west 40th Street New-york (N.Y.) to Mr W.E.B. Dubois ,and $5 will be in if for the womens to gave me some answer from this letter ,the negros Ministers prieces lawyers Doctors went to college have two much of Educations and cant no body tell them nothing ,on the Account of civil right bite ,and they is mad th with the lord for letting me fine these historys what the English lawyers hide in this country ,to keep fighting war all the time ,these negros just barking and all the time saying they going to just and tell lord come and get them because they ant going to let civil right bite them ?.....

So what these negros in the city of Hartford (Conn) want just male this letter any plase to the negros because they going to do just they do and to prove that give this letter to the womens ,negros in others States are scherd to do that ,we have more Educations and they have ,because they no all about these letters ,and to prove that let them sen this letter in every state in the Uined States ,and let them answer qustions on it are give it to the white people ,now we negros in this city no they scherd to do that ,we no what if any of our people come to Hartford ,and ask about the historys the lord let him found what hade us sold in this country for a slave and couse to be lynch ,we tell them we dont no nothing about it and the white people wont tell us nothing about the letters he write ?.... and we show is glad because civil right will bite us ,and that will kill us ,we reather trumble to Deaths ,before we will tell the white people the lord should sen him some place Ealse ,to tell our people what went to college ,we is free and Except Masion ,Salmoun brother hude ,and he have the foundations of all of that ,and what he wont is them Mosaic historys from betben our toees ,and we dont want that ,?....

If we do that we cant tell A lyie to the white people to have our people lynch ,and say it the poor white people ,where our lord masters jewish people can make the money ,because they teach we negros what went to college civilizasons ,and our people ~~wasnt~~ what to high and Grahmer school ,halfter bring us they money though all walks of life to gave the jewish people ,because dont want nothing but the lord ,that we went to college for ,we are going to keep our people down ,to keep our self down ,to let the jewish people make the money ,on the Account of civil right bite ?.....

It is bad to hate your selfe and think you hate some one Ealse ,and how Dangerous and Serious it is to make A feel out of your selfe and think you are fooling some one Ealse ,I am A man believe in Religion though all walks of life ,because that is the paths walk of civilizasons but language and the written laws is first ,so that is the foundations of my policy ?.....

22-34

I have two parties on all of my letters ,one party have A box of Criticism and one have A box of civilizason ,and the jewish people with they stoleing language and historys are the Editors of the Criticism party ,on the Account of the money ,and they have every race in American runing after money ,and the jewish people will get it from them ,and make them like it ,every race in American can see that when they owns the countrys ?.... my letters dont call for no Argument ,whom it consern to read it people can see I have two party ,and A person can take any party they wonts and they can see my bosses ,all undertakers are my bosses so people cant go rong ,and lest they all just love that Criticism party ?...
So I halfter sen some money to the NAAPC branch in New-york city to the womens for them to buy stape to please fine out about them letters I was writeing ,all who believe Religion when they no there is language and the written laws ,because there ant no country can have A Government with out Religion society ,but there is lawyers I was written in all races all color and all kind dont no that ,but I belive womens in all Races can see that ,when they read them sweet love letters the lawyers love to read ,what I write up ,womens going to fine them and say there ant no war war war not now ,because womens are going to faller no Criticism party ?....I Am A man no this letter ant write like it should but I do the best I could ,some of the words ant spell right and I life out some of the words ,but people belive in Religion will for give poor me ,but I halfter drop sticks of Dynimetee in this letter to help the womens out ,what went to college ,for the mens to like ,to make them move in this city the mens what went to college braging about what they can tell the womens what went to college to make them if they say any thing about me to them they can make them carrie ,and they sneek around and lafah about it ?....So every women see this letter in all states get on the mens and tell them to answer these qustions ,and publish it in the newspapers if not fine the lawmakers in Washington (D.C.) now and gave me some answer now ,people wont to no About they money ,the Bible was ~~Sam-~~ translated in 1829 in London England by the English mens lawyers ,they are the negros and not our people ,we are Abarabin Jews of the Asiatic world and we are still in Asia ,so that will prove the white people are the negros and not our people ,?....Here is why our woode,d Brains ministers all waise barking in the newspapers we are negros ,is when the Englishmen translate the Bible in 1829 in to negro-English language in London our people what larn the language quick the Englishmen made Missionaries ,and ~~Mamm-~~ Ministers out of them and gave them half fiear ,to show them all over Asia where no , to fine us what coulde,d talk the English language ,and sole us out of that part of Asia in this part ,and make slave out us for the jewish people and not them self ,the jewish people hade England in war every seince ?...
All of yous ministers sneeking around with yous Missionaries ,Organizations selling our people for slave and haveing us lynch ,because yous went to ~~de~~ college ,it is all over now ,and if yous cant get this letter to the white people quick yous all nix what went to college ,and I am show my bosses will fix yous all up quick ,the white people no we are not negros are negers ,so I wont yous woode,d brains neger-dogs to no I am not Beggin I am betten ,people wont to no about they money now ?....
This is to all whom it consern ,these are the presidnets Adopt the FBI womens to get them out the Bushes from the Rabbit ,on the Accomnt of civil right bite ,Dr Allain Jackson Rev Good S Clark Father Lamberd Rev Robert Moody ,now they are the ones goes around and look for all the ministers what went to college ,to whipe up lawyers in our race ,Haword P Drew ,Frank Sersom ,James Jankson ,they ministers went and jump on them hade halloing and carring ,oho oho paster pastes please stop whipeing us we going to gave yous our law books ?....

22-38.

Clark ,,Moody ,,Lamberd ,,they sen all the other ministers home ,now they tell the ,lawyers shurch up that carring ,and do what I say do ,and remember we is yous pasters ,that southern negro come up here and fine them historys and we no about them then he ever will no ,but here is the point that will stop us from doing that favor for the jewish people ,all we went to go from one Sister to A nother while hir husban is working ,and tell hir Baby I went to college and I show do love you ,why dont you sell some of these cards for the churche ,and if you do we will go to A nother city for A good Time ,and we can keep on doing that ,and no body will no nothing about it ?....Pasters show do look out for the Sisters because they can get the money for the churches , to pay the jewish people when they teach us negros civilizason what went to college ,Lamberd said I no what he was talking about when I ask him Dode,d he know what to do with his money ,when he brough up the policy about language and the write laws ,Clark said I no what he was talking about when us ministers said we would gave him five manunte to here what he had to say ,we no all about them historys ,but that will help our people ,and we dont that ,that is why we so scherd civil right will bite us ,moody said that is why I see us good jewish lawyers ,and ask them to let me bark in the newspaper ,about we negros in the tween states of Carolina ,and the Dixecrats ,and call him Hitler because the jewish people is our Lord god masters ,and we love to run on our hand and our foots with our Mosaic historys between out tooes highs up our left legg given Each other the gripe cant highs the right one because civil right will bite them ,smilling up-under the jewish people doing them that favor ?....So now they is barking they no I have ask for the historys but they just hate to stop doing that favor it is so good ,so every NAI women see just she halfter do ,and dont say yous cant see that ,all over American our people saying we dont no what to do ,but all of our people what believe in Religion ,when they no there is language and the written laws ,they can see what to do ,and there is no were of geting around it ,and lest yous all just halfter tell A lyie ?....North, south east and west , his armies had been every where victorious in eighteen campaigns against the fierce and troublesome Saxons who held the country between the Rhine and the Elbe ,he subdusd those ob stubborn pagans and forced them to submit to A Christian baptism ?..... with how much of religious effect may be surmised (?) But by opening A way for the more Chiist like Missionary of the battle Axe did no doudt ,A very real apostolic work (?) He checked the Ravages of the piratical Danes , He crushed the Avars (?) Asiatic invaders, of the same race as the Huns (?) Who had ented entered Europe in the sixth century and seized parts of the Austria and Hungary of the present Day ?.... Now these Miniters Docters lawyers in our socall colored race halfter be find ,they are ones couse me to write all these letters on the Account of they lyieing ,just to cau- seize me out in A room at 83 Canton ST Hartford (Conn) like Jesus of Nazareth ,to be put to Deaths and dont no nothing about it ?....In private societies they assumed the superiority to which their religious distinction seemed to entitle them, they always took the highest place but their morals According to the unerring authority of jesus Christ (?) Them the qustion mark go to Washington (D.C.)Paul R- Robson ,,Philip Randolph ,,Grant Reynolds ,,Joseph Pinckney ,,Joseph E ford ,,here is what yous hafter do is to fine all the ministers Docters lawyers yous can and send them to Washington (D.C.) with this letter and not yous ,if yous dont that they will say they dont no nothing about it and tell all the womens they say we Easton Star house over room but the these Doughters of Elks going to tell them about them Mosaic historys they hing up between they tooes if they dont do some thing ?...

22-38

I have tell our people there ant no secrest in this country ,and the folt are in the ones what went to college ,and they cant get around it , here I go Again on Mosaic ,Were far below their pretensions ,they violated the main principles of the law, the justice and humanity of the Mosaic institutions while they rigidly adhered to the most minute particulars not merely of the law itself but of tradition likewise (?) Still they were the idols of the people who reverenced them as the great teachers and models of virtue and holiness (?) I Will jump over some of this for the woode,d brains Clineker head neger-dog ,adopt the Phi womens for them to now on ,they like that ,?..The Pharisees the Scribes ,-, who wre the teachers and expounders of the Mosaic law (?) And the priests in general formed the chief elements of opposition and hostility that jesus encountered during the time less then four years, between A.D. 26 and 30 (?) in which his message was set forth (?) They controlled the sanhedrin but it is manifest that A great mass of people had become friendly at least to the new teacher since his powerful enemies dared not lay hands upon him in A public way (?),,,now the lawyers in all races dont no any thing about that and lest they just prove to civil lawyers from all countrys that they are ignorant I mean (Comm) and (N.Y.) States no no no they dont no any thing about since on language and the written laws unless they is prove to Kings and Presidents in all countrys thet they are ignorant ?....

I am going A lettle fouther in Mosaic ,and yous womens ,what is Easten star ,and house-over Roof will prove it by geting me some answer ,from the lawmakers in Washington (D.C.) because yous see the mens going to trumble to Deaths ,and lest yous all get them stick pains ,and [illegible] fiele them about five time ,and tell them I wnot them Mosaic historys from between yous toces ,now if yous womens dont do that the Degthers of Balks going to tell yous that ,because it is two copy of this letter and they have some letters of mine all Ready ,and they show will tell yous all about it ?...[illegible] Egypt (1) Babylonia (2) Ag Aegen (3) Greece (4) Bronze Age in Europe (5) that is the foundations of Mosaic ,and I would like for every women in all race creed color are kind my life is at stake to pertect them ,mother was A women and she telling me what to do ,and when I die it is pertecting A women honur ,my mother lieve when I was A kid , and after she Died she tell to [illegible] lieve home ,but she told me to remember and Respete all womens ,and trying help they ,and I halfter do that are be put to Deaths ?...the fourth millennium and that it was through them that A piece found its way [illegible] into Egypt in the fouth dynasty (?) Die [illegible] Erfinde[illegible] des Risentechnik (?) zeitschrift F, Ethnologie (1910) (?) See also F. Stuhlmann handwerk und industrie in ostafrika (1910 P.-40 FF..) who on cultural grounds derives the knowledge of iron Africa from an Asiatic source (?) E. Meyer ,Aegyptische Chronologie (?) Abh Berl Akad ,[illegible] (1904) and Nachtrage Ib, (1907) (?) Now here is the Resolution where every Minister Doster lawyer ,mens and womens in our race and Deans went to college ,fine all newspapers and Magazine mens ,prove that we are negros are negers ,are see that the lawmakers white prove ,before A nother newspaper be publish in our race ,the white people saying negros and negers prove it right here ,on the Account of the Temples ,of the Metal Age and own seen Eyes of this American bill from the hands of Salmonn, and this is A Asiatic country and not Europe ,and every white lawyer wont to prove are negros now ,on the Account of races of people wont to no about they money now ?....the postmaster General of New-york [illegible] state ,writeing on our people Magazine as second class Matter ,so if they dont no what they surphose to be I do because I am A [illegible] jew born and raise in one of my country ,and the white lawyers in England and American ,going to prove to the world about this second class matter and Guaranteed ?....

The King of England ,the Presidents of American ,and all of they lawmakers and lawyers ,just fine they Newspaper mens and publish it to civil lawyers in all countrys that our people are negros ,because they can see this letter he is writeing up for Magazines in other countrys ,that is why I am seize out in this room like Jesus of Nazareth ,to be put to Deaths ,on the Account of language law and Religion ,?....

Now if the King of England and presidents of American and all of they lawyers say we are negros ,they are talking about them self ,because that is what they is ,when they translated the historys ,and not our people ?....

Now I am going fouthre in Mosaic when our people are the foundations of it and Religion and every thing Ealse ,and if any white lawyer from any country in the world ,say we are not ,he can answer these qustion on this letter ,so all womens must see that this letter go to washington (D.C.) because the mens mite trumble to Deaths ,before they will do it ,but I wont some answer now ?....Death Warrant of Jesus Christ in 1810 some workmen while excavating in the ancient city of Amiternum (now Aquila)? In the kingdom of Naples found an antique marble vase in which lay concealed A copper plate bearing on the obverse side A long inscription in the Hebrew tongue ?..now every white lawyer in England and American prove that we are negros ?..This when translated proved to be the Death warrant of Jesus chriest on the reverse side of the plate were found the words ?..the lawmakers in England and American ,will halfter to civil lawyers in all countrys about they ku klux klan Churches they have to worsh up Religion ?.. A Similar plate is sent to each tribe ?..To day that is the lawmakers n ministera of they ku klux klan Churches in the two countrys ?..After its excavation it was enclosed in an ebony box and preserved in sacristy of the Carthusians ?..The relic if genuine is to Christians the most impressive and interesting legal document in existence ?..It has been faithfully transcribed and reads as follows ?..Sentence rendered by Pontius Pilate acting Governor of lower Galilee stating that jesus of Nazareth shall suffer death on the cross ?...In the year seventeen of the Emperor Tiberius Caesar , and the 27th day of march the city of the holy Jerusalem ?...Annas and Caiaphas being priests sacrificators of the people of God ?..Pontius Pilate Governor of lower Galilee sitting in the presidential chair of the praetory condemns jesus of Nazareth to die on the cross between two thieves, the great and notorious evidence of the people saying ?...Jesus is A seducer He isseditious He is the enemy of the law He calls himself falsely the Son of God He calls himself falsely the king of Israel He entered into the temple followed by A multitude bearing palm-branches in their hands ?.... Orders the first centurion Quillus Cornelius to lead him to the place of execution forbids any person whosoever either poor or rich to oppose the death of Jesus Christ ?..The witnesses who signed the condemnation of jesus are ?...The jewish lawyers says the English lawyers brook that Death warrant when they put up they policy the 11 of febuary in 1947 in palestine for Arabs and that is why the jewish lawyers are asking in this country for $100 Million for the English laws in palestine ,and the sweet love letters will tell why ,and that is why they wont Churchill and Hoover ,for they money ,?....Here is where the Catholic Religion starts after the Death of Jesus of Nazareth ,and that was before any Protestant Religion ,so the lawmakers in England and American will halfter tell civil lawyers in all countrys where they get the name call Chriest ,they halfter take Jesus of Nazareth people to worsh up Religion with ,and they kill up they people to do it ?....Jesus of Nazareth was A Cincetsts work on Earth just like I am ,and to prove that cant no lawyer in Europe are Asia answer eh- my qustions on there letters ?....

(6) .....

22-34

I Am going on down in Mosaic The Muysca proper had A tradition that they owed their superiority to their culture hero Bochica who came from the East long ago taught them everything and was then placed with Chimimigagua the creator at the head of their pantheon and worshipped with solemn rites and even human sacrifices ,Amongst the arts thus acquired was that of the goldsmith ,In which they surpassed all other peoples of the New World ?.... Every negro-dog minster Docter lawyer ,will halfter publish it in the newspapers now ,that we are negros are negers ,because people wont to no about they money now ,and if they cant ,go to and see every white man in Washington (D.C.) what think he is A lawyer and tell people about they money now ,all over American ,now ?...But Turki tribes bearing this national name had penetrated into East Europe hundreds of years before that time and where already seated on the Tanais (Don) ?,,About the new era ?..They are mentioned by name both by Pomponius Mela and by Pliny , and to the same connection belonged beyond all doubt ,the warlike Parthians who 300 Years ?.....Earlier were already seated on the confines of Iran and turan routed the legions of Crassus and Atony and for five Centuries (250 B.C. -229 A.D.)usurped the throne of the King of Kings holding sway from the Euphrates to the Ganges and from the Caspan to the Indian Ocean ?....Direct descendants of the Parthians are the fierce Turkoman nomads who for ages terrorised ,over all the settled populations encircling ,the Aralo-Caspian depression ?....Their power has at last been broken by the Russians but they are still politically ,dominant in Persia ?....They have thus been for many ~~ages~~ ages in the closest contact with Caucasic Iranians ,with the result that the present Turkoman [redacted]-type is shown by J.L. Yaworsky ?.... That is A history I went from yous jewish lawyers ,and all of our law historys ,just put them in every NAAPC Office ,because I am not going to trumble to Deaths for yous to keep them for yous to write up Magazines with our language about yous mark white negers how they kill up each other ,just to get to our people to worsh up Religion ,because they hate them self and love yous jewish people they Dide,t no they was supreasy white and tell yous tell them ?... I am Booker T Washington Desnate ,from the sunny south ,young Moroe Truder ,in the East ,black Dillions Drifted from the sunny south ,black Judge Lawl in the East ,with A light quick and TeeBees in politics and if it ant A stick up it will halfter do and tell the Reail thing comes Along Drop- drop this policy on Bushup Grace ,and Father Devine ,to read behine the lines ,I am not going to bother they policy and please dont bother mine ,but this letter will prove to yous and yous member ,why these weede,d Brains neger-dogs what went to college weede,d gave me no answer on my letters ,?....Here is them and the lawmakers in England and American the jewish lawyers ,I quoite ,vell vell vee are Heros over them ,and they halfter do what vee say do and like it ,vell vell vee will have the black hermit to tell vee Chrlestan negro slave and lost tribe of Israel ,went to college and vee mark white negers ,vee wont the Keys ,and vee will them what Halse ,the black hermit say he and the Police Department ,wont some money as is we jewish lawyers ,because vee owns the countrys ?.... Vell vell vee not going to drown in that Criticism and vee ant going to vere them Criticism names vell vell vee will just let them do it ,vee vent to washington (D.C.) and fix it up with him and tell him all the negro-dogs yous get the news to (N.Y.) state all they Magazines all the [redacted]-postmaster Generals it is second class matters ,and vell vell that gave Correspondents Ambassadors cnonsial from all countrys sole power ti see that the King of England ,and the president of American and they lawmakers and lawyers in all races ,in they priests and what they say it scond hand and vell vell if that ant so they can publish this letter ?....

(7)

Vell vell the black honnit should no if he and Police Department ,wont they money they all should see the neger-dogs ministers Doctors lawyers he say all under takers is his bosses ,and tell them to pay them now , because if they dont trumble to Deaths ,they will be moved ,if they scherd to go to washington ,(D.C.)and gave it to the lawmakers ,vee wont our money ,are take they names and pieture of this American money ?...
Vell vell vee neger-dogs all waise telling us about the negros wont work and dont to come to churchs— Churche for them to make the money and they have Missionaries ,to wash them and tell the law on them and let them get in truble ,where we can make some money for yous jewish people ,vell vell vee jewish people know that from 1929 when ve mark Englishmens name them self negros ,to Jim-crow them self from the white races ,and yous ministers hade yous Missionaries ,to fine all yous people and sell them to the Englishmens ,and said all they wont was to law up in the house and here rain say pity-pat pity-pat ,and they coulde,d ~~t~~ talk the English language and the ministers hade all of our people sell they can ?...
and they are some of them doing the same thing now ,and they are the ones dont wont to stop saying we are negros ,to keep on have our people kill what ant Educated like are ,to tell lyies and dig in our pocket ,but they are harting the Governors the mayors and the police Department now and they are the couse of it all ,when they Adopt the FBI womens ?....
So vell vell what vee care about them ,they ant going do nothing but do us that favor ,and vee wont the Keys for all the Manufactuaries and banks and that is in the north ,vee dont care about the south ,so they halfter do what vee jewish lawyers say do ,vee mark negers in the north have the Keys ,and they Bible vee mark white Englishmens sole them over in this country with ,and they dont Cincetsts in they on race so how can they no cincetsts in any other races ,on the Account of they Eyes ,and the sweet love letters will tell why ?...So vell vell to prove that Harry Pollitt predicted the mechanice of the capitalist System ,in 1949 the Gratest Depression that ever was in American ,and was A Englishmen A Cincetsts and A Communist ,and vee jewish lawyers no that means money ,but vee mark white negers in England ,and American wont say any thing about him ,but they can talk about Russian Russian Russian ,so here is what vee mark white negers can tell civil lawyers through all walks of life in all countrys ?....
Vell vell vee mark white negers in England can prove that they hade A Government before Saxon Alfred Bishup Cratter ,William the Conqueror Shakespere in (1154 A.D.) to Russian France German ,Stley Spain Chinemren. Japein ,Palestine ,because dont no they cinetsts in they race ,and how can Ambassadors Cerrspondents Counsial from other countrys stay in them countrys for the lack of civilizason ,and there is some countrys I Dide,d call but they no I mean them two ?...Vell vell vee mark white ,can tell the civil lawyers in Germany where they get they Religion ,and tell the civil lawyers in palestine where Did they get they written law from ,?....
So all vee mark white negers can tell all of them countrys ,what country they going to fight war ,when they FBI womens get that Anti-yieal look of they lipes ,because all they can do now is fight Animal ,vee hade the mark white neiers ,and neiger-dogs seize the black Honnit in A room at 83 Canton ST Hartfofd (Conn) like Jesus of Nazareth ,to write Magazines ,to sell all countrys ,and tell vee get ready to have hing on the cross like Jesus of Nazareth ,that will prove to all countrys that they dont no any thing about Cincetsts ,of the language the written laws and Religion ?...
So vell vell that prove to all countrys ,when mark white supreacy Englishmens ,put up they hinging post and ropes said that was the policy for the Arabs ,they ripe up they Bible Society in all countrys ?....

22-38

(8)

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Vell vell let vee mark Englishmens go to palestine ,and run in to they ropes and hing them self ,they name them self Buzzards ,just like they name them self ,Negros for vee jewish people to on the countrys ,but they hinting around shut vee jewish people haveing war vee dont halfter ,when they Bide,d no they was white and tell vee tell them ,vee jewish people wont yeus white 80th Congressmens ,to take the spite out on the neigerdogs ministers Doctors lawyers ,and will stop them from doing vee jewish people that favor ?....Vell vell let the Governor the mayor ,take these neiger-dogs ,because vee mark Englishmens ant get no Bible Seicety ,now and lest they answer these questions on this letter are publish it in the newspapers ,if the neiger-dogs take it to the 80th Congressmens in washington (D.C.)Vell vell the black hommit ,talking about takeing up they people and the Irsh people flags ,but the the Irshmens will do the same favor for vee jewish people the neiger-dogs do ,before they will do that ,because vee mark Englishmens fost the Irshmen under slave with out language and Religion ,and the negros was the same way ,and to prove that the negros have the Irshmen name to day ,and vee see the black hommit are trying to help the Irshmen out now and his people but they cant see that on the Account of they Eyes and the sweet love letters will why ,?...Vell vell the Irshmens what went to college and the negros what went to college are scherd to tell Marsh cuther ,because they love vee jewish people ,and now vee owns the countrys ,vee mark Englishmens ant get no more Bible Society now so what vee jewish care and lest they answer these questions on this letter ,to see if they no cincetsts in they race ,if the FBI womens have any luck TL...
Vell vell in the state of (L.A.) they have neigers huts bill up of the ground ,and the black Hommit talking about the Catholic Sisters ,was jim-crow and couldc,d make . speech ,but if they go down there Again vee will fix it up with the ku klux klan ministers ,and make them go under the house ,he talking take up they and irsh flag ,vee jewish people going slaveing ,and Arguning with each cuther and vee jewish people do business ?....I on quoite about the jewish people news , But if young More Truder ,get A answer ,from Washington (D.C.) all of yeus Big-time Animal and turkey bussard ,going to let go my law historys and get on the level are get A rope ,I am not the Englishmens ,that is the only race in the white races ,that yeus can lead all over the world ,and keep them in war war war ,and got them fix so they cant help them self ,so after yeus turkey fine out yeus make strate gee dog out of Ministers Dockters and lawyers in our race ,that is why yeus went the keys for all the money ,manufacturies ,I no yeus in all the other manufacturies and Banks two ,but yeus will just halfter have me put to Deaths before yeus do ?...I no just as long as yeus can have these woode,d Brains neiger-dogs went to college ,barking in the newspapers saying we ant nothing but neigers ,that keep our and the white people down two ,and A lots of white people see just I am talking about ,and yeus negier-dogs see the same thing but yeus just went our people to be Arguning with the working class of white all the time ,and come and tell yeus about it and yeus Dig in our pockit and tell A lyie ,about what yeus can do ,keep giveing our money to the bussard when they larn our language to stole our history to own the world ,as long as they can have some fools to fight war for them ?....
The Governors and mayors will ,fine yeus Ministers Doctors lawyers went to college ,if yeus all cant fine Washington (D.C.) to get me some answer ,(N.Y.) (N.J.) (P.A.) yeus negros ,halfter move with right now I mean to Washington (D.C.)and get me some answer now ,yeus all over American couse the police Department to cant get that money are tell me

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some thing ,because I am not Beggein I am betten ,that walter white no me I sent him A letter ,and never got no answer ,that how I fine our the NAAPC was gaheing A jewish Congress our money ,and what they doing with it takeing to have us kill up and brag about with our language ?.... Our people will talk about help help help ,when I ask for these historys just ask every white lawyer to prove that we are negros now ,because these are the foundations of the world I mean Historys ,and if yous ministers Docters lawyers in our race dont tell the white lawyers to gave me some answer yous wont to trumble to Death yous all will be put to death ,just for lyieing , and yous are not fooling no one but yous self I am sening A letter and I am keeping one ,and if this outher break out and yous dont gave me no answer ,and what hapen I cant hilp it ?...., Now Mr Winston Churchill ,and Mr Herbert Hoover ,yous all just will gave up them keys for them ku klux klan Bibles ,now I mean now ,and let people worsh up Religion like they wont to ,when yous are the mens have the Death warrant of jesus christ in them perjamer souit call the ku klux klan ,on the Account of A little money will make every thing all right ?....Yous all just well gave up them keys for them death warrant jesus chriest historys ,now if yous wont to save yous capitalist and yous country ,and lest yous wnot to have it to yous masters ,in full now yous Dont halfter tell yuus masters I said that but you can publish it in yous newspapers that Black Dillions from the tween States of Carolina they big-time Animial and turkey buszard get on the level are get A rope they larn our language to steail our law and Bivle historys ,to make yous all keepfighting war war war and they make the money ,with that death warrant of jesus chriest Bible in that perjamer souit call the ku kulx klan ?..... Mr Winston Churchill ,and Mr Herbert Hoover that History yous all have the (35th) Chereter what yous got chesian ,will yous please ,send it to the police Department ,and plese take up our people and the Irsh people flags ,if yous dont do that ,Ambassadors Cerrspondents Councial from all countrys halfter ,believe every thing on tham sweet love letters what I write up , for the jewish lawyers to put in they Magazines ?... That prove to civil lawyers in all countrys that yous all hate yous self just to love yous all masters from palestine ,when will tell A lyie ,and say it is Russian ?....When have the keys for them ku klux klan Churches Mr Thomas E Dewey ,and Mr Herry S Truman ,they cant sine no civil right bill and yous gave up them keys for them Bibles ,and I dont wont yous all police Depertment to think I was that ignorant when I was A kid boy in ~~teh~~- the tween States of Carolina ,every person read this Magazine they see yous English lawyers love the jewish people from palestine betten then yous money ?...Now every country in the world going to see if yous all do what ask yous and take up our people and the Irsh people Flags ,it show is Dangerious Serious and ignorant for the English lawyers have the Catholic and Protestant Churches to worsh up Religion over the jewish people from palestine ,with they stoleing language and historys ,to prove to civil lawyers though all works of life how they worsh up Religion ,and Mr Winston Churchill ,and Mr Herbert Hoover have the keys for the Churches of the ku klux klan ?....so people from all countrys can see why people cant have civil right in this country ,here is couse Mr Dewey to louse this Election when Philip Randolph ,and Grant Reynolds ,went to washington (D.C.) to see the 80th Congressmens anout Jim-crow fience in Army Service they brot up the Resolution about Treason ,and that was A part of the law ,they could not handle ,and I no it ,so I send them A letter that I am the founder of who the Editor of Treason ,I muss be Grop something heavie on they tong and they lipes catch on fir ,but I hope it Dide,d born of ?....

22-38

So the 80th Congressmens ,cut out and went to the swamp with the Animial and they masters start braging ,about the neiger-dogs ministers Docters lawyers went to college going to palestine to fight they on people for vee jewish people ,because vee mark white neigers from England and American love vee jewish people better them the neiger-dogs went to college ?... So every person that read this letter can see why Mr Dewey Dide,d get Elected ,they was going to feel our people in this country to go to palestine to fight our people there ,and telling every body they was going to fight Russian ?...The Military Governors in Washongton (D.C.) was trap on money I sente them ,and All of yous negros leaders ,going to be trap the same way ,and who trap them the jewish lawyers ,proveing to all countrys ,that is Heros over all civil lawyers in two country ,that is what make the 80th Congressmens ,over though the Government ,for the Governors to were the names of Pilate and the Mayors were the names of Ponius ,but Governors of the tween States of Carolina ,Did not let that Frate-Train load of ignorance fall on them ,and president Truman said I will sine the civil right bill before I will let it fall on me ?... So any person can see the 80th Congressmens have over though the Goverrment ,just to lay thr felt on the Governors ,in all States ,now and person cant under-stand this Magazine ,just it to any police Department ,and they can under-stand it ,because we nead that money from the Buzzards ,they owns the countrys with they stoleing language and historys ?....So the Negros leaders of the NAAPC ,better get this Magazine to every organization in American ,because the negre ministers Docober prices and lawyers and newspapers mens are right on the spot now ,just like yous read thes magazine let enery body read it ,and dont be like the post-master General Military Governor ,the 80th Congressmens in Washington (D.C) because this magazine will halfter fine them now , when people went to no about they money now ?....Now here is the mens wont to be fine in our race ,J Frinley Wilson ,exalited Ruler of the Elks ,William H Hastie, Dr James White of (N.Y.) Mrs Arthur Less ,Jr White of (N.J.)President Charles Wesley ,of the Wilberforce College ,Martin Jenkins of (TEX) DrHerman Long of (N.Y.)now all of our people come from other country ,they just no they are Betten then us in this country ,and this Magazine is for them to prove it ,Walter white ,J Finley Wilson ,William H Hastie ,will halfter fine out is all the Governors ,in our race ,are going to were the names of Pilate ,and the mayors were the names of Ponius from the Virgin Islands ,all the way back to palestine ,for the Russian Polish people to keep our law and Bible historys ,and say they are the Jews ?.....Now every person read this magazine be show to fine them three Woode,d brains Clinoker head neiger-dogs ,they can answer these qustions are be show it go to the lawmakers in Washington (D.C.)and tell them to gave A answer ,now because them turkey buzzards going to drop my law historys in the Lodge of Elks and the NAAPC now and get on the leavel are get A rope ,Jv Frinley Wilson ,and Walter White knows all about me and where I am at ,and them Mosaic historys they hing up between they Toees I have ask for them to be show to trap them ,so they no they is stick up ?....I Am Asking every Civil lawyer though the Asiatic world the Historys was written up by Julius Ceaser ,and the history call man past and presiant ,the master key to every Laberary in the world ,I have ask the Europen lawyers ,for it but cant none of them see that but the ones that vote for Henry Wallace ,and Gov Strom Thurmond of [redacted] (S.C.) and there ant but three States in this country the Governers and Mayors Ant were the Ponius and (?) Pilate and the 80th over though the Government for proof that is the trush ?.....

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I am A man dont believe in mixing with yous white people ,but I do no yous all are Humen ,but we wont to read the law historys like yous white people ,just let our people have the law historys ,yous white people talking about mixing ,we have all the white womens in our race we wont , so why yous white mens think we wont yous white womens , so the buszards can prove that to yous white people ,and I cant pertect our womens and lest I pertect the white womens ?.....
I am A man dont have much to say to white womens ,because— because the buszards all waise braging about what they can make yous white mens do to they womens if they see them talking to them ,and I dont no white women to be treaded that way on the Account of me ,because I am civilize ,and I no they is humen like our womens ,I will ask all mens in our race to dont worry that white women ,and have as lest to say to hir as yous can ,all of our mens can see that when the jewish lawyers brag about they Jimerow and Discrimination them from the civilize white people in Eruupe and gave they mark Englishmens the patten out our law historys to make Guns and Amations to go back there and fight them and the jewish people make the money ?....Every person what vote for Governor Thurmond ,and Henry Wallace ,here is what they vote for the Nations wired of the Mosaic laws and the patten of this American ,money ,now any lawyer says not let him see the buszards lawyers and get that step lader they have to elime up to answer these ,and I dont halfter say yous all is Heros and Superior this time ,I will gave some one Ealse A chance this time to here what they have to say about Henry Wallace and Gov- Thurmond of (S.C.) but I no this you have the right to be A president of the United States just like Mr Truman and Mr Dewey ,and the g— Governor of (N.C.) I cant liave him out no no no I cant do that ?...Now as the buszards said ,our people and the Irsh people was sole in this country ,with out language are Religion and the Irsh people was prest under slave to prest our people ,and our four Fathers Hade to do the best they can to whole the country ,our people have the Irsh people names to day but they could not help that when we all prest under slave ?....But the Irsh people in the north cant see that these Irsh womens going to field them about five time and tell them to take up I and the Irsh flags ,the womens going to get the stick paine ,that is what the leaders in our race wont ,and I gust the Irshmens wont the same thing ?....I cant see why the Irsh people would think I would to hirt them when I have they names ,on the Account of A Tree full of buszards ,with stoleing histotrys and language ?....I Have this patten for the Governers and Mayors to get that money from the buszards ,and it look like the buszards just look at A civil lawyer and he is gong to the woods with the I— Animial ?....We show do need that money and the buszards wont the keys from the civil lawyers because is so scherd of them ,if they let I and the police Department get smoe of the money to get some thing to Eate we cant get but what the Governors gave us ,because we trying to help the Governors to get help our self ,I this Magazine go to the ploce Department ,they will trying and get that money ?....Mrs Mary A Johnson ,Mrs [illegible] May Born .Miss Minnie Glover ,Mrs Robson ,Mrs Luce Neither ,Mrs Connie Carter of (N.Y.) Mr Willkey ,Mr Rooevelt said dont let the turkey buszard womens be my wife Engle ,so yous womens names on this Magazine I would like to no how about yous just tell yous husbon ,black Judge have grab yous name and gone and there is nothing they can do about but come on with the come on ,we wont to no about this American money now ?...Paul Robson ,Henry A Wallace ,G Glen H Taylor ,Harold E Conroy ,this is John H Brunsen ,works at Colts Manufacturie ,on Crucked Dice and Barged up card my money dont go , yous can see what the Taft hartly laws have don ,and the postmaster General of (N.Y.) State said all Magazine ,what all the lawyers in two countrys publish is second class matter ,the womens will halfter fine them fi

[John. H. Brunson]
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22-36 Cancelled

November the 29th 1948

THE CONSTITUTION ORICINAL THE SEVEN ARTIULES

I am tryint to get in tuch with we the people in Gods we shell trust on the bill of right ,...Mr W.E.B. DuBois ,and Mr Hugh N Smythe ,I Received yous letter ,and I will preve to yous ,that yous will have all the wetniss yous wont about me and my letters Iwrite yous all ,and any lawyer in England are Ameiican have any thing to say Against it he are she can answer these qustions ,and publish in the newspapers and over the Radio and if they cant do that the 80th Congressmens in Washington (D.C.) will halfter gave me what I ask for ,because what they is doing new is just proveing to civil lawyers through all warks life to all countrys that they are in the Caline with Barbarin Against Barbarins ?.....
And John N Brunson dont wont all mens in police Department all over American to think he was that ignorant when was A kid boy in the tween States of Carolina ,and all lawyers of the NAAPS UAW-CIO Union FTC AFL ,Lodges NLKS to fine the Lodges of Mosaic ,if civil lawyers from other countrys Grop this policy on me I will Grop it on yous all ,there ant no secreet in this country now ,and people wont to no about they money now ,and people cant no about they money if the 80th Congressmens have A Anti-yical look on they lipes ,?....I Have two parties on my letters one have A box of civilizasen ,and one have A box of Criticism ,and the Russian Polish people went to palestine ,and larn our language ,and marrie in our race ,to steail our histoays ,they are the Editor of Criticism but they made lawmakers in England and Ameiican to keep the cirticism party ,and like it ,to w- fight war for vee jewish people to make the money ,now they on the countrys ,it is bad to hate your self and think you hate some one Ealse ,and just to think how Dangerous and Serious it is to make A feel out of your self and think you are feeling some one Ealse ?....Now Mr DuBois , I hade seen in our newspapers that they was going to kick you out of the NAACP the first of December ,that is why I write you the first letter ,for A Magazine ,so you wont to fine all them kings what going to kick you out ,to look for some Veterans ,and them to look for all the Ministers Doctors lawyers to take A pear plirs and huck them in the lipes thet mite ripe that yical look of they lipes ,that is what they wont , because they went to college ,and the jewish people teach them civilizasen ,and the jewish lawyers put the yical look on they lipes ,and tell halowi in all newspapers ,and say we ant nether but negers Dogs ,?... 32 presidents and all the lawmakers from the spiritual world tole me to get this letter to the Dixcrats ,and move that name negro and negers ,because that name is more critise to yous whire people and it is to our colored people ,when we Dido,d translated the historys ,so that will prove to any lawyer when he say on the Radio negro he talking about his self ,and yous four fathers said dont change these historys in this country ,let England do what they wont to do ,but chanse these historys in this country ,who that the Veterans put they life at stake for ?....
I am sending A $150 for the lawyers in washington (D.C.) fron the tween States of Carolina ,to sen it to the Clarendon County Bank at Manning (S.C.) to Guaranteed these historys cant be chanse ,and let the lawmakers in Washington (D.C.) get these names negros and neigers ,back to London England ,where they belong ,we dont wont them in this country ?.....

Now this hundred and fifty Dallos I am sending in this Magazine ,I stick these woode,D Brains priece Ministers Doctors lawyers went to college up with ,made them Adop them- FBI womens to get them out the bushes from the Rabbit Afried civil right would bite them ,and they think the best thing to do is just wait and tell the lord come ,and Trumble to Deaths because that is what they went to college to tell lyies and dont no nothing about it ,?....Hartford (Conn) is where I fine out that Ministers in our race went to college to get A Church to tell lyies ,and go around and whipe up the lawyers in our race ,and Dear them to say any thing ,and tell them I wont you to no I am your paster ,you do what I say and wait and tell the lord come ,now if these Ministers was lyieing for them self it woulde,d look so bad ,but they is lyieing for the Russian Polish people what stole our historys ,and say they are the jews ,now any Minister say they ant lyieing they can tell why they Adop the FBI womens ,and answer these qustions on these Magazine ,because they can see they are stoping I and the police Department from getting that money ,and the Governors and the mayors show can see what yous are doing for them ?.....

I Will take A nother road in Mosaic this time ,to dont let the Chincker head woode,d Brains neiger-Dogs what dont wont to go to Washington (D.C.) to carrie this Magazine ,to see what the 80th Congressmens going to say they can sine they names ,if not just see my bosses all under-takers are my bosses ,and just let the veterans huck them in the lipes with the plirs and pull them to A police Department ,and tell them yous is Ministers Docters lawyers went to college and yous love the jewish people because they teach yous civilizason ,and yous are not going to take this Magazine to Washington (D.C.) you ready to go to the lord ?....

This is proof there ant no secrect in this country ,But Turki tribes bearing this national name had penetrated into East Europe hundred of years before that time and were already seated on Tanais (Don) ?....

About the new era ? They are mentioned by m- name both by Pomponius Mela (2) and by Pliny, (3) and to the same connection belonged bebond all doubt, the warlike Parthians who 300years earlier were already seated on the confines of Iran and Turan, routed the legions of Crassus and Antony and for five centuries (250 B.C.-229 A.D.)usurped the throne of the ,King of Kings ,holding sway from the Euphrates to the Ganges, and from the Caspian to the Indian Ocean ?...Direct descendants of the Parthians are the fierce Turkoman nomads who for ages terrorised over all the settled populations encircling the Aralo-Caspian depression ?...Their power has at last been broken by the Russians ,but they are still politically dominant in Persia (4) I Have just got stop here ,and tell the veterans this in our race ,these woode,d brains neiger-dogs ministers went to college just wont yous to stay in war and be kill up like A Tom cat kill A Tom kitten ,and if they cant do that they wont have yous lynch for the 80th Congressmens and the rich people to worch up religion in the newspapers and over the Radio over the turkey Buszards ,and not them self ,that is why these neiger-dogs dont wont to stop barking in the newspapers thet we are negros ,now here is what yous veterans halfter do pick out these qustions ,and dont put yous names on it but just say you is A veteran and put it her where ministers Docters lawyers in our race can get it , that is what they wont because they went to college and tell see the th under-takers for that last over court and yous are next ,and lest they can carrie this letter to washington and Grop it on the white lawyers ,for them to make up some more lyies ,to pertect the buszards with they stoleing language and historys ,we see how many white lawyers going to hate them self just to love the buszards ?....

Mr J. Howard McGrath and Mr Robert Taft the two Leaders of the 80th Congressmens what over though the Government ,for the Governors to were the name of Pilate ,and the mayors to were the name of Ponius ,I write yous A letter trying to hounor when I no yous have our flag beried for the Russian Polish people from palestine ,and to prove that yous over though the Government yous mens are about Russian just lyieing when yous no it is they brothers in palestine ,it is bad to hate your self and think you hate some one Ealse ,and just to think how dangerous and Serious it is to make A fool out of your self and think you are fooling some one Ealse I am going to prove to yous mens I am looking for yous all ,?....

The stripe of paper come over on the May-flowers Boat in (1620)with the Salmonn pledge I will take it if yous pbease ,and I hope yous ~~mster~~-masters dont whipe yous all because when the judge rais his hand and pormes and Salmonny swere we Arabian jews are the Editors of it ,and we still in Asia ?...Now I will move feither in Mosaic to prove that ,Despite the legendary- legendary matter associated with his memory Shar-Gani-sharri, Commonly called Sargon of Akkad about 2800 B.C. (Meyer) 2350 B.C. (King) was beyond qustion A historical person though it seems that there has been some confusion with Sharru-gi or Sharrukin also called Sargon earliest king of Kish (1) ?...Tradition records how his mother A royal princess, concealed his birth by placing him in A rush basket closed with bitumen and sending him ~~in~~- adrift on the stream from which he was rescued by Akki the water carrier who brought him up as his own child , ?....

The incident about which there is nothing miraculous presents A curious parallel to ifit be not the source of similar tales related of Moses , cyrus and other ancient leaders of men ?....Sargon also tells us that he ruled from his capital, Agade for 45 years over Upper and Lower Mesopotamia governed the black-headed ones as the Akkads are constantly called rode in bronze chariots over rugged lands and made expeditions thrice to the sea-coast , ?...Expeditions are confirmed by inscriptions from Syria though the cylinder of his son ,Naram Sin found by Gesnels in Cyprus is now regarded as of later date (2)?As they also penetrated to Sinai their influence appears to have extended over the whole of Syria and North Arabia ?.. They erected great structures at Nippur which was at that time so ancient that Naram-Sin,s huge brick platform stood on A mass 30 feet thick of the accumulated debris of earlier buildings ?... Among the most interesting of recent discoveries at Nippur are preSemittic tablets containing accounts similar to those recorded ,in the book of G Genesis ,from which in some cases the latter have clearly been derived ?... The ,Deluge fragment ?..published in 1910 relates the warning given by the god Ea to Utnapishtim the Babylonian Noah ,and the directions for building A ship by means of which he and his family may escape together with the beasts of the field and the birdsof heaven (3) ?..A Still later discovery agrees more closely with the Bible version giving the name of the one p pious man as Tagtog ,Semitic Nuhu and assigning nine months as the period of the duration of the flood ?..The same tablet also contains an account of the Fall of Man ,but it is Noah not Adam who is tempted and falls and the forbidden fruit is cassia (1)(Now this letter call for every minister went to college cound be fine and they are the ones to take it to Washington (D.C.) and have them lawyers to prove are negros are neigers ,both the names means the same thing ,them lawyers hafter tell people about they they money now ,?..our Arabian jews are the ~~Mates~~ Editees of Iran copy civil bronze gold and some more ,and cant no lawyer in the two countrys Deny it untell The ,~~F.B.I.~~ FBI womens get them yieal look of thet lipes ?...

2-2-38

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Here is the Death warrant of Jesus ~~ma~~ Chriest organization ,mark I no every branch of the NAACP wont see this mark ,so here it is (^^*^^) (^^*^^) Every organization on this Magazine ,wont to see this mark ,the lawmakers have got it all ready ,this is how the jewish lawyers have them trap for me to write these Magazines ,as long as our people will bark in the newspapers and say we ant nothing but negros ,we here our say wait for the lord ,that is the Death mark what have our people lynch ,hing up A tree ,tar and feathered ,that is the mark ,Representative ,Senators Procrustes Attorney ,the joint ~~Committee~~ Committee of the Legislature and boad of General Assembly ,in every city in every state in the untied States ,they are leaders of the Death warrant of jesus Chriest organization and that is the mark for they ku klux klan ,Churche ,?...
That is the Animial law Churche what all of us four fathers to be sole in this country as slave ,and that is why the civil right bill not to be sine and them are the mens wont Magazines to be sole in all countrys ,that they are yousing the law our four fathers was sole by every race creed ~~co~~ color and kind ,because the Russian Polish people from palestine hade it don ,and them are the lawyers love the jewish people better then they do them self ?...Every person what read this magazine can see that ,if they was to gave some answer to stop me from writeing these Magazine ,why civil lawyers from all countrys will think they civilize enufe to have A written law ,and they masters just ant going to have that ,they hade them sole over in this country as slave to pertect them and not them self ?....
So every person can see who the leaders of this mob Democracy ,and see how they hate them self to love some one Ealse ,and people can stop puting all the falt on the white people in the south about the mob ,because the white people in the north go down south to warsh up Religion ,and put all the blame on the south ,and do just the neiger-dogs do dont no nothing about ,but they masters brag about ,to prove how ignorant over them ,and to prove that people can read about in all countrys ,in this magazine my my my they was sole in american ,as slave to pertect the turkey buszards with stoleing language and historys ,now when the buszards see this Magazine these are the leaders they going to whipe up ,enery body just lisan over your Radio and read your newspapers ,and see how they carry about they masters and not them self ,?....This magazine prove that every country got they foundations of written laws from palestine ,and we Arabran jews in this country just leke they are over there are the Editors of it , I am the man no that is why the people are so hard on our people , but I will not be like yous white people because they can see I am civilize ,all yous white people in this country no our people are the Editors of the foundations of the first written laws ,and ~~I~~ I just yous to no I no it two ,? The name to jesus call Criest I ~~no~~ no that is A feake name just yous white people do ,so why is it yous wont the jewish people to keep yous in war and tell they them town up I mean all of yous historys ,any lawyer what ant afried the buszards will whipe him he can see that ,and they can see I am not after no war I am the only man to jump in frunt of A war ,but I halfter to Grop this Criticism ,just like the mens in war ,A lawyer halfter do the same as the veteran ,but what whole me up the jewish lawyers in all races in this country ,whipe up every one they see and Dear them to tell each other ,and they is Mosaic ,but they ant now ,and I will prove it if can get A answer from Washington (D.C.) that is why I am sending this hundred and fifty Dallors ,to go Manning (S.C.) now if I mean any harm why would I do that ?....

I No some of these words ant spell right ,and I lefe out some of the words ,but civilize people can under stand when I am seize out in A Room at 88 Canton ~~St~~ ST Hartford (Conn) like Jesus of Nazareth and tell the 80th Congressmens get ready to put me to Deaths ,with they Death warrant of jesus Chriest organizations ,in that perjamer souit in they libary call the ku klux klan to kill up seinets and Governors lawyers ,just to pertect the buszards and not them self ,and why they do that they just hate them self that bad ,for the lack of civilizason ?... Mr Smythe and Mr DuBois it is A good thing yous write back as quick as yous Did because I have some serious and dangerous ,about that American money so the best thing to do now is to fine these neger-dogs Editors and let them run around and bark and fine this tipe on this magazine now and start barking with it and get gone ,when civil lawyers from other country grop this policy on me I will drop it on yousall now ?... And my magazine dont call for no Argument when I have A Crtticism party and A civilize party ,so any body can just fall in that Criticism party and they will be out the way because people went to no about they money now ,that is why I am sending this hundred and A half to nodfy people about they money now ,because Ambassadors Cerrspondents cuuncil not going to stay in this uncivilize country civil lawyers halfter have jim-crow mob Democracy ,and off go the white name of the unseen Eyes of this American for the buszards from palestin- palestine ,and not Russian these civil lawyers will halfter stop telling about Russian now ?.... Eropean ~~syn~~ syndicates but an Englishman long resident in the country has declared that there will be no resistance on the part of the people ?...The Dead can be removed with due regard to fung -shui-A few dollars will make that all right is fully in accordance with the ~~thin~~ Thrifty Character of Chinese which overrides all other considerations as expressed in the popular saying ?....With money you may move the gods without it you cannot move men ,but the gods may even be moved without money or at least with spurious paper money for it is A fixed belief of their Votaries that like mortals they may be outwitted by such devices ,when rallied for burning flash notes at A popular shrine since no spirit bank would cash them A Chinaman retorted why me burn good note ?.... Joss no can savvy (?) (?)Right there where Ambassadors Cerrspondents Council halfter England and American ,for the lack of civilizason but people cant help if the jewish lawyers make them do all that for the wents of money to pertect the jewish people ,and not them self All lawyers whome it consorc ,dont you see and cant you see how bad it is to hate yous self and think you hate some one Ralse ,and see how Dangerous and Serious to make A fool out of your self and think you are fooling some one Ralse ?....Mr Winston Churchill ,and Mr Hubert Hoover, yous can tell all of yous civil lawyers to let go them keys for them Death warrant Bible of the ku ku klux klan ,and our socall colored people ,and Irsh people ~~th~~ take up our flags and gave us out Character ,because our people dont want to be fighting and Arguing with the Irsh people on the Account of yous ku klux klan Bible ,to pertect the buszards ,I dont all police Department in the two countrys to think I am that ignorant ,why civil lawyers from all countrys will see I am in the Declane with Barbarian Against Barbarian ?....Now I can here all the time dont cere what our socall colored people go to do he is not qurify he is not qurify dont care what it is he is not qurify ,so all yous civil lawyers this magazine will psove that yous are not civilize ,and to prove that the 80th Congressmens have me seize out in A room to write these magazine for they masters to sell in all countrys ,to make the money ?....

Now Mr Winston Churchill and Mr Hubert Hoover ,yous are the foundations eg of the 80th Congressmens over thoughing the Government ,for all the Governors to were the name of Pilate and the mayors to were the of Ponius ,and I am fost to ask for the stripe of paper what come over on the may flower boat in 1620 with the salmonn plege ,because the postmaster General though out the state of New-york have on the back of magazine , as scond class matter retun postage guaranteed that prove that yous masters from palestine ,on all the press in this country ,and every thing yous civil lawyers write up in these magazine guaranteed as scond class matter ,and that make people wont to about they money now ?....

Now Mr Winston Churchill ,and Mr Hurbert ,yous and yous civil lawyers I am so sorry that yous all cant let people of all Races worsh up Religion like they wont to ,because yous all are not civilize enufe to have A written law ,and yous halfter have yous ku klux klan Churches to worsh up Religion over yous masters from palestine ,& I am A man believe in Religion ,that is what the written law is for ,and I just cant be that ignorant ?....This Magazine will halfter Grop on the Ambassadors of England ,and Chinese ,to answer these qustion ,on the Account of the Heros from palestine ,they have the English lawyers ,mark for Europe and the Chinese mark for Asis ,on the Account of they is white Suprmeacy ,and they is better then any other race ,because they Dide,d no they was Spprmeacy and tell they masters from palestine tell them ,and that is what keep them [illegible] in war war war all the time they is Suprmeacy white and they are better then any other race ?...,Senator Burnett R Maybank of (S.C.) Senator Clyde R Honey of (N.C.) Senator Richard D Russell of (G.A.) Senator Claude Pepper of (FLA..)Now will yous please fine all of them Dixcrate Senators and yous Grop this Magazine the Ambassadors of England and Chinese ,and tell them to answer these qustions ,and [illegible] publish it in they newspapers ,because people wont to see if the Heros from palestine boss they newspaper press ,and people in this country wont to no about they money now ?....Now all yous [illegible] Dixcrate Senators ,Grop this policy on the mark Englishman and the Chineke ,Grop it Grop it Grop on them this is the Notoriour Hero Better known an Black Dillions from the tween States of Carolina ,and all Races of people have got Rate in them States and before the Governors names of them States go Down I will be put to Deaths ?....That is why I am laying this Hundred and A half betten I am on the right paths ,I believe in all partires just like I do Religion because no country can whole A Government with out A Bible Society ,but in England and American the lawmakers just cant see that and the neiger-Dogs ministers Docters lawyers ,they two ignorant to no as long as they [illegible] Run on they hand and foots and bark in the newspapers we ant nothing negros how can the Irsh people say pill up our flag ,so all of our people can see just who wholeing them down and not the white people ,now all of yous negros can see yous are wholeing down ,cant ask about we been negros, ?....This will prove to yous all negros if yous cant get this magazine to Washington (D.C.) if not just see my bosses ,because I and the police Department we wont that money ,the Governors and the mayors can see yous aer wholeing them down ,cant stop saying we are negros ,and I am show the FBI womens can see [illegible] why I say get the stick pain ,and there is womens police two ,and I am quite show they can make yous ministers Dotcer lawyers fieal good if they Ram A stick pain in yous about five time cant stop barking we ant nothing but negros ,and yous can see that is wholeing the white people down and our people two ?....

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Well the negros in Hartford saying they no the dem ~~neroes~~ negros in (N.Y.? ~~N.~~ (N.J.) (P.A.) (M.D.) (D.W.)the tween State of (V.A...)and Carolina ILL) they would not tell the negros in other States and we no they was not going to tell the white people ,because the white people wont tell us nothing about it ,we grhy just stay in Hartford (Conn) and tell the lord come that is what we went to college for ,because not going to let civil bite us ,?...Will I wont put any of our people on this magazine but Paul Robson ,and I dont no what state he lieve in but I am Dineing with his name ,when I no he is A Scincts and so have I but I Dide,d no our people hace them self that bad just love smoe ons Ealse Now all of these States our people so love money to Give the Jewish people and hate to go to Washington (D.C.) and tell them lawmakers to Gave me some answer ,I am sending this hundred and A half to fine out about the money that pertray Jesus of Nazreth ,and he Died on the eross ?...and that will fine out how much money to have me seize out in this Room at 83 Canton ST Hartford (Conn) to be put to Death like Jesus of Nazreth ,yous negros doing that for the wonts of money ,what went to college ,I am makeing two copy of this magazine if this money go to the bank in Manning (S.C.) I will here about it ,?....I Got some news about the Jamaica it so show is bad news to me ,I dont no how they going to like but I am trying to help yous out ,if I can because I no who yous are now yous Jamaica come over here in this country and brag two much about yous are betten them we are ,yous all braging about yous Dide,d halfter go to no war yous was Briths subject ,and long as the war last yous Dide.d halfter fight no war ,so yous money what yous have in the briths bank the jewish lawyers have them trap for that if they cant take up our people a and the Irsh people flags ,so yous Jamaica wont to see your Council now for them to see about they money ,that if they ministers dont whipe them like they do in this country ,but I think though whipeing lawyers now ,?... Now if yous Jamaica dont see yous Council yous will were the name of been Missionaries to sell our people in this country to the Englishmens , because yous could talk English and we coulde,d and yous sell us that is why yous brag about dont talk English ,and now we dont to talk it ,these historys are not going to town up ,not for the buszards with A stoleing because the veterans in this country have fight war war war and I am on law law law law law the English lawyers with they ~~k~~ feake Demosracy and feake Royal Cround ,halfter tell ~~smo~~ something now ,on the Account of they ku klux klan Bible and A little money will make every thing all right to kill up scincts and governors .they sole I and the Irsh with out language and Religion ,and our people have the Irsh people name ,so I no some of the Irsh people dont wont to be call A white neiger ,and just ant going to be call A neiger-dog I would reath be put to Deaths ,when the judge call A man A communist are any other feake name ,they have that in they chapter in they ku klux klan ,that is what they masters say they have the map for all of they historys ?...That why I ask for that stripe of paper with the Salmonn pledge ,so all of yous lawyers of the UWA cio PFC ELKS AFL NAACP it is ignorant for me to put yous names on this magazine on the Account of the 80th ,postmaster General of Newyork state and the negros ministers Docters lawyers and newspapers in our race ,they will not see that I get some answer ,on the Account of the Russian larn our language and stole our historys ,to keep people in war all the time for to make the money ,and the ~~founad~~ Foundations are on our people ,and they cant get around it ,I say Ministers Docters lawyers Dean of college newspapers I say the falt is on them ,and they have got do some about and stop lyieing now ?....from John H Brunson 83 Canton ST Hartford Conn

(^^*^^) (^^*^^) (^^*^^) (^^*^^) (^^*^^) (^^*^^) (^^*^^) (^^*^^)

John H. Brunson
83 Canton St.
Hartford, Conn.

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[Brunson]

December 2, 1948

Mr. John H. Grunson
83 Canton Street
Hartford, Connecticut

My dear Sir:

You have sent me money before and I returned it to you as I did not understand what I could do for you. Now I have received a second sum and I am writing you again. I cannot undertake to publish the matter which you sent because I have no journal at my disposal and because the matter is not in a shape suitable for publication. Moreover, I cannot get in touch with lawyers in the South or elsewhere because I do not know what you want with them. In other words there is nothing, so far as I can see, which I can do. On the other hand, I cannot undertake to receive money from you unless you make yourself clearer.

I am trying to get some friends of mine to get in touch with you personally in order to understand what you have in mind. In the meantime, I am holding this money until I hear more definitely from you or from them.

I thank you of course, for your confidence and sympathize with your aims, so far as I understand them.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

22-38-09

December 8, 1948

Mr. John H. Brunson
83 Canton Street
Hartford, Connecticut

My dear Mr. Brunson:

I have your last letter, and in accordance with your wish I shall keep the remittance which you sent until you direct me what to do with it, or ask its return. I shall be very glad to serve you at any time. A letter sent to the Secretary of the NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, should receive attention and response at any time.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Reg Info

22-40-64

663 Kalamath Street
Denver 4, Colorado
May 17, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Honesty demands my confession at the very start that the real reason I am writing you is that I need your blessing. My first approach to the so-called 'Negro question,' (euphemistic term for the undemocratic treatment by the white of his colored brother) came through your 'Black Folk---Then and Now;' since then I have evaluated the writings of others largely through their relation to the ideas you have set forth in 'Dusk of Dawn' and other volumes. And it seems both natural and right to me that I should ask your approval of the course I am taking in the book I am now attempting in all humility and with a vivid realization of my own inadequacy, but a book I must nevertheless write because I feel so keenly the tragic injustice of the Negro's situation in an America which preaches democracy and practices its opposite with regard to some 13,000,000 of its people.

My original intention was to campaign for a permanent, well-implemented FEPC above all else, with the idea that wherever compulsion has brought together black and white as fellow-workers, mutual respect has been the outcome, and this, I thought, would be a step towards better racial relations. But this thinking was based largely on the findings of Dr. Robert C. Weaver (in 'Negro Labor'), under the extraordinary conditions growing out of a war-begotten tight labor market. You will doubtless remember that the integration and up-grading of Negroes in industries where they had formerly been used only in a menial capacity---in many not at all---was accomplished only after the federal government set its foot down and said Executive Order 8802 must be made to work unless America wanted the obvious alternative of defeat at the hands of totalitarian powers. But under what for the sake of argument we should label 'normal' conditions, could these same gains be accomplished? Again I thought the answer to be 'yes'---provided, that is, the growing strength of the trade unions with liberal constitutions could be counted upon. And now---with the Taft-Hartley Bill an accomplished fact and the Mundt Bill a probability this very week?

Paul Robeson was here on a speaking tour recently and although I did not achieve the discussion I had hoped might be possible, I did fling at him the question: Shall I push FEPC above all else in my book on the Negro situation? "No," he said, "to my mind, abolition of the poll tax is more important."

So I came home and began re-orienting myself. If the 10,000,000 votes that could be used in the southern states if there were no poll tax were added to the existing aggregate, ---even if the 6,000,000-odd poor whites had to be ruled out ---Dixie would no longer be the formidable bloc it now is, would it? Do you think the uneducated Negroes in the South would be sufficiently alive to their own interests to vote for liberal candidates, liberal legislation? If out of the kindness of your heart you would tell me

how you view this matter, I should be more than grateful.

Forgive my brash scraping of acquaintance---I saw no other way to make the contact I have been wanting to make since I first began to admire both your clear logic and your faultless literary style.

One more thing: as things are now shaping, do you still feel that a carefully and intelligently planned co-operative Negro industrial system in the midst of and in conjunction with a probable forthcoming change in the present economic basis of the nation is the answer? That is, do you still advocate deliberate segregation as a present economic defense and a potential striking force?

Very sincerely yours,

Kathleen R. Bruyn
(Mrs. Marcel Bruyn)

22-40-65

May 24, 1948

22-40-66

Mrs. Marcelle Bruyn
633 Kalamath Street
Denver 4, Colorado

My dear Mrs. Bruyn:

I have your letter of May 17.

Fundamentally and in the long run, it is more important to attack poverty than to attack disfranchisement. I mean by that, that the ignorance which is so often the cause of disfranchisement, and always the cause of the mis-use of voting power, is at bottom itself caused by poverty. The same, of course, is true of disease. The fundamental evil then is poverty, lack of work, and low wages. However, at any particular time it might be the best policy to fight against restrictions of the ballot when it was not as easy to fight afor equitable working arrangements and decent wages.

I think that Consumers Cooperation and other cooperative enterprises among Negroes are of great importance in ameliorating their condition. This, of course, is equally true among whites.

I do not advocate segregation where it can be avoided, without doing harm because of long delay. When, however, you find a situation where Negroes are suffering disabilities because of segregation, I think that a deliberately segregated economy would eventually be the best way toward attacking economic injustice. In other words, I think of segregation as an evil; but there are other evils more fundamental like poverty, ignorance, and disease. While segregation increases these evils in most cases, nevertheless, it would not be sensible to wait for doing away with segregation before attacking these fundamental evils themselves, even if in that attack you were working within segregated limits.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

P.S. Submissive Booker is no example for me. Clyde meta

BOSTON

Boston is famous not only for its "Beans" but is recognized as the commercial and industrial center of New England. The historic associations of Boston are a patriotic inspiration to people from all over the United States, and its educational facilities rank among the highest.

TICHNOR QUALITY VIEWS

TICHNOR BROS., INC., BOSTON, MASS.

BOSTON MASS. JUN 20 6 PM 1942

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SAVE THE E

BUY U.S. B

STAMP

POST CARD

Dear Dr. DuBois,

On display in most all states is half dollar display of Great American Servant Dr. Booker T. Washington. Reasonably he ought to have remained in Alabama. I would enjoy wearing any made in your likeness. Mrs Burke.

Dr. William Burke
Famous Dr. DuBois
Great American
Baltimore
Maryland

PAUL REVERE'S HOME. Situated in North Square, one of the oldest sections of Boston. This House still stands in its originality, all around it is now located a district which is mainly populated by Italian residents.

Published by United Art Co., Boston, Mass.

THIS SPACE FOR WRITING

POST CARD

THIS SIDE IS FOR THE ADDRESS

22-38

2:—PAUL REVERE HOME, BOSTON, MASS.

22-38

26068

Reg. Info

22-39-23

Southern University
P. O. Box 9325
Baton Rouge, La.
Nov. 10, 1948.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Do you have any records on riots in New York and Philadelphia? If so I would like to secure some information, concerning the two from you. I will use this information for a term report in a course in Social Problems.

If there are any charges, please send C. O. D. Riots of any date will be sufficient, but I prefer the one dated "July, 1918."

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very Truly Yours,
Gary Burris
Gary Burris

fif/GB

November 15, 1948

Mr. Gary Burris
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Burris:

Your letter of November 5 to Dr. DuBois has just arrived, and has been turned over to me for reply.

The only records we have concerning riots in New York and Philadelphia are our file materials, which, of course, we do not permit to leave the office. However, if you search through the records of the Crisis for the years in question you will find a complete coverage of all riots that have occurred in the United States. The earlier volumes of this publication carried excellent coverage of riots in the United States. For very early riots prior to the publication of the Crisis, consult such Negro histories as Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom, and Carter G. Woodson's The Negro in Our History. Here you will find information about the riots that occurred during the post-Revolutionary, pre-, Civil War and post-Civil War period.

Also, it might help you to write to the Philadelphia Historical Society, or to the Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. Do the same thing for the New York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York, New York. Also, write to Dr. Herbert Aptheker, New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Hoping this will be of help, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Mrs. Ada S. D. Butcher
2403 E St. N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Nov. 1, 1948

23-13-34

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Will you please tell me why you are severing your connection with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Thank you
Respectfully,
A worker and member of D. C.
Ada Butcher

Corr. 03

Mrs. Ada S. D. Butcher
2403 E St. N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Dec 2, 1948

23-13-35

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I shall be visiting relatives at 200 Edgecombe Ave during the holidays.

May I be allowed to see you some time during that week? If so please inform me of the time.

Thanks

A. S. D. Butcher
Secty of A. U. Club

P. S. Will be there from Dec 23rd to Jan 3rd.

23-13-33

December 8, 1948

Mrs. Ada B. D. Butcher
2403 E Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Butcher:

I shall be out of town the latter part of this week, but if you will call my any morning from next Tuesday on, I shall be glad to make arrangements to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-13-36

December 15, 1948

Mrs. Ada S. D. Butcher
2403 E Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Butcher:

Will you kindly phone my office anytime this week and my assistant will make an appointment with you. I shall be very glad to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Req for Info

22-39-21

12 Prentiss Street
Cambridge40, Massachusetts
October 20, 1948

Dear Mr. DuBois:

As a graduate student at Radcliffe College- Harvard University, I am interested in obtaining material for a research paper on Hugo Black and Southern liberalism. Since the problem is one primarily of analyzing the development of Black's liberalism and of determining, in so far as possible, the relationship of that philosophy to contemporary liberal thought, I am particularly interested in obtaining the opinion of various liberal leaders as to Black himself. I would like very much, therefore, to have your appraisal of Black and of his political position during his Senatorial career.

Your estimate of Black at the time of his election to the Senate in 1926, at the time of his appointment to the Supreme Court, and during the subsequent Klan controversy, and your appraisal of his stand on New Deal legislation are, of course, pertinent to the problem. Does Black's liberalism seem to you to be a personal matter or does it seem to conform to general patterns of development in current liberal thought? How closely do his interests seem to correspond to those of other liberals? Have the interests of the two tended to diverge or converge since 1926? Any interpretations you may give as to the underlying causes for the development of contemporary liberalism and any estimate of their significance for Black's own development would be especially valuable. What evaluation would you make of Black's attitude toward civil rights issues in 1926, in 1937, and at the present?

Any information you may be able to give me pertaining to these various problems will, indeed, be appreciated, and I shall certainly respect your wishes as to the use of any statements you may be kind enough to make. Thank you for your cooperation and assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Inzer Byers

(Miss) Inzer Byers

Reg for info

22-39-22

November 9, 1948

Miss Inzer Byers
12 Prentiss Street
Cambridge 40, Massachusetts

My dear Miss Byers:

Answering your letter of October 30, may I say that I do not know enough about Mr. Justice Black to give you any help. At the time of his election to the Supreme Court, I was opposed to him because it was pretty well known that he belonged to the Ku Klux Klan. Since that, however, he has been an outstanding liberal and I have rejoiced at his stand on Civil Rights matters. But I do not know him personally, and I have not been in contact with persons who have. I am sorry not to be able to help you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

File Smythe

Mr. Hugh Smythe
Apartment 2C
2225 Fifth Avenue
New York 35
New York

POST CARD

"TICHNOR QUALITY VIEWS" REG. U.S. PAT. OFF. MADE ONLY BY TICHNOR BROS., INC., BOSTON, MASS.

THIS SPACE FOR WRITING MESSAGES

Dear Hugh -

How are you enjoying the New York summer? We've been having a swell time in Maine and here, missing the NAACP not at all!

Even though you warned me, I was certainly surprised by the wonderful waffle iron on the day I left. Many thanks - and thanks for your role as instigator! Hope to see you soon

Jean (Byers)

C-32-82-20

PIER, SCITUATE HARBOR, MASS.

66867

GODFREY L. CABOT
77 FRANKLIN STREET
BOSTON

February 4, 1948

23-25-32

Doctor Godfrey L. Cabot

regrets

that due to other engagements

he cannot accept

the kind invitation of

Fisk University and its New York Alumni

to a dinner in honor of

Doctor W. E. B. DuBois

on

Monday, February 23rd.

Doctor E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, New York

77 Franklin Street
Boston 10
Massachusetts

October 5, 1948

23-40-105

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
Wendell Willkie Memorial Bldg.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I have received, presumably from the NAACP a report dated September 13th of a meeting of the Board of Directors and a statement purporting to come from W. E. B. DuBois and if it was not written by you I would be interested to know it.

You seem to be unconscious of the fact that when a man accepts employment from any other man or organization or joins any representative body he thereby curtails to a certain extent his freedom as a private citizen with regard to publication of his views, and if he does not possess good judgment as to what this extent of curtailment should properly be, he may cease to be a desirable employee or associate and may lose his employment.

In advocating the views of Henry Wallace I think you have been, according to the statement which is supposed to be yours, an enemy to the best interests of your country and of the people of the world. It seems to me that Russia, a country in which I have traveled many thousands of miles, has been now enslaved by 14 men, commonly called the Politburo and that since the year 1917 the policy announced by Leningrad, that no treaties or agreements would be made with other countries excepting with the purpose of breaking them at any time that it might suit the interests of Russia, has been continuously the Russian policy in all of her foreign relations.

I think Henry Wallace's conduct is actuated chiefly by selfish ambition and anger against Truman. I do not, in general, approve of Truman's conduct of the affairs of the United States and hope that he will be replaced by Thomas E. Dewey this fall, but I do think he and his predecessor deserve great credit for accomplishing more to enforce the constitutional rights of colored persons in this country than had been accomplished in the previous fifty years, and I surmise that your following and promulgating the doctrines of this man would render you persona non grata to the Board of Directors of the NAACP. I imagine

22-40-106

that if your connection with the NAACP was severed that no one therewith connected would attempt to interfere with your constitutional rights of speech and publication, but they also have a constitutional right to promulgate and support the views that they hold, under the limitations of the federal statutes and the common law, and the right to employ or not to employ you. I trust that you will find some future employer with whom you will get along in harmony, but if you require that he should coincide with you in all of his views, it is unlikely that you will be able to discover such a man, for there is an infinite diversity of views among members of our race.

It is well to remember that there is no policy so righteous and good that it may not be carried to unwise extremes and diminish the usefulness of the person who thus pursues it too far. For instance: there is nothing on which a larger portion of the human race are agreed than the evil of murder, but if a man were to refuse to take quinine, in order to cure himself of malarial fever, by reason of the microbes that had been squirted into his blood by the anophyles mosquito, he would be in a comparatively small minority, and I judge that neither you nor I would consider him a wise man.

Yours truly,

Godfrey L. Cabot

Godfrey L. Cabot
mc

Copy to: Mr. Walter White, Secretary
NAACP

W. E. B. DuBOIS
409 EDGECOMBE AVENUE
NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK

Oct. 6, 1948

22-34-14

Dear Mr. Cabot:

It seems to me that your letter of October 5, is not quite logical. Apparently you assume that the complaint of the NAACP against me is because I shall vote for Mr. Wallace. That may be true in the case of some members like you. But their declared reason was that none of the employed personel should take active part in political campaigns for any candidate, Dewey, Truman, Wallace or Thomas. I was in accord with that decision, in so far as "taking part" meant active political canvassing But I asked the Board if they meant to deny my right to vote or announce my candidate or even tell publicly whom I preferred, so long as I was careful to make it clear that I wasn't speaking officially for the NAACP. The Board never answered this query, and the Secretary openly, by word written and spoken, announced his choice of Truman and attacked both Dewey and Wallace. His position as Secretary made his words sound much more official than mine, especially as I, in the few pronouncements which I made, was especially careful to say that these were my personal views.

Moreover it has always been the custom in the NAACP (in which I have been an official for 27 years) for officers to announce their political choices publicly. It was so in Wilson's campaign, in the Bull Moose fight, in the election of Harding, Hoover and Roosevelt. Of course we never presumed to speak officially for the organization, nor did the organization order us to keep silent.

It seems to me, therefore, that your objection to Mr.

Wallace is beside the point. The real question is, did I mislead the public in appearing to commit the NAACP to Wallace or did the Secretary commit the organization to Truman? If either of us did, we were wrong. My contention is that I distinctly did not and that the Secretary did.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

The Board has never taken action on this point.

I regard Wallace as a great and good man. You do not. Both of us have a right to our opinions.

was that I did not "cooperate with the Secretary in his trip to Paris and revealed my reasons which became public before the Board had considered them. Before this action the Board had declared

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22-34-15

October 13, 1948

Mr. Godfrey L. Cabot
77 Franklin Street
Boston 10, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Cabot:

It seems to me that your letter of October 5, is not quite logical. Apparently you assume that the complaint of the NAACP against me is because I shall vote for Mr. Wallace. That may be true in the case of some members like you. But their declared reason was that I did not "cooperate" with the Secretary in his trip to Paris and revealed my reasons therefore, which became public before the Board had considered them. Before this action the Board had declared that none of the empolyed personnel should take active part in political campaigns for any candidate, Dewey, Truman, Wallace or Thomas. I was in accord with that decision, in so far as "taking part" meant active political canvassing. But I asked the Board if they meant to deny my right to vote or announce my candidate or even tell publicly whom I preferred, so long as I was careful to make it clear that I wasn't speaking officially for the NAACP. The Board never answered this query.

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It seems to me, therefore, that your objection to Mr. Wallace is beside the point. I regard Wallace as a great and good man. You do not. Both of us have a right to our opinions. The real question is: did I mislead the public in appearing to commit the NAACP to Wallace or did the Secretary commit the organization to Truman? If either of us did, we were wrong. My contention is that I distinctly did not and that the Secretary did. The Board has never taken action on this point.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

complimentary
letter to Dr. Du Bois

22-34-16

77 Franklin Street
Boston 10
Massachusetts

October 22nd, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I thank you for your favor of the 13th and am sending a copy thereof to Mr. Walter White.

Very truly yours,
Godfrey L. Cabot

Godfrey L. Cabot
mc

[Calif. Labor School, Inc.]

california labor school, inc.

240 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE • SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA • GRAYSTONE 8601

DAVID JENKINS, Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS, Educational Director
IRWIN ELBER, Trade Union Director
DAVID HEDLEY, Associate Trade Union Director

lecture

January 9th, 1948

23-38-126

Mr. William E. B. Du Boise
N.A.A.C.P., 20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBoise:

I would like to suggest the following schedule for you for your forthcoming visit to the West Coast. Would it be possible for you to arrive on March 4th and speak in Oakland on the 5th, directly across the Bay from San Francisco; in San Francisco at the banquet on the 7th; Palo Alto on the 9th for the Stanford University faculty and community; and in Los Angeles the following weekend, Sunday, the 14th?

I would also like to ask you to send us whatever biographical material you would like us to use in relation to the publicity for your tour.

I am also sending you under separate cover our new Yearbook which should prove of interest to you.

Sincerely,

David Jenkins

David Jenkins
Director

uopwa
34-179

[Calif. Labor School, Inc]

January 12, 1948

23-32-127

Mr. David Jenkins, Director
California Labor School, Inc.
240 Golden Gate Avenue
San Francisco 2, California

My dear Mr. Jenkins:

I am noting engagements to speak in Oakland, March 5, in San Francisco March 7; in Palo Alto, March 9; and in Los Angeles, March 14th.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

P. S. Could you prevail upon your secretary to spell my name correctly?

WEBD:lm

[California Labor School Inc]

Lecture

california labor school, inc.

240 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE • SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA • GRAYSTONE 8601

DAVID JENKINS, Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS, Educational Director
IRWIN ELBER, Trade Union Director
DAVID HEDLEY, Associate Trade Union Director

February 2, 1948

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I wonder whether you would be willing to speak to a large group at Sacramento on March 11th, in addition to the other speaking engagements I outlined in my recent letter to you? Since the word of your coming to California has gotten around, I have had a number of requests from people in that area who would like very much to have the opportunity to hear you while you are here, but who, with very fer exceptions, would not be able to unless you were willing to go to them. They guarantee that, given a promise of your appearance there on the 11th, they would be able to get together a large group from all over that area who would be eager to hear you. We would be most appreciative of your cooperation in this respect if you feel you can manage to do it without too much of a strain on your energy. Will you let me know as soon as you can what our answer to these people should be?

23-38-128

We have tried all the best hotels in town for a reservation for you for the period March 4-13 and find that all of them, so far, are booked solid with large conventions. We have secured a reservation for you from March 4th to the 7th at the Hotel Whitcomb, where the banquet will be on the 7th, but will continue to try to get a reservation for the full period of your stay. However, if it turns out to be impossible, will you object to moving to another hotel on the 7th?

We are certainly looking forward with much pleasure to your arrival here. Will you let us know exactly when we may expect you, and what means of transportation you using, as soon as you know?

Sincerely yours,

David Jenkins

David Jenkins
Director

uopwa
34-179

lecture

[California Labor School, Inc.]

February 5, 1948

23-38-129

Mr. David Jenkins, Director
California Labor School, Inc.
240 Golden Gate Avenue
San Francisco 2, California

My dear MR Jenkins:

I could speak at Sacramento on March 11, which would involve an additional charge of $125.00 making a total fee of $625.00. I shall be glad to stay at the Hotel Whitcomb until the 7th and then if necessary change to another hotel. I am planning to fly to California from St. Louis or Chicago. I have not made final arrangements yet, I will let you know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

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1948 FEB 7 PM 6 42

GRAND CENTRAL TERMINAL

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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[California Labor School Inc.]

N215 DL PD=SANFRANCISCO CALIF 7 1250P

1948 FEB 7 PM 6 37

DR W E B DUBOIS=

=20 WEST 40 ST=

=RE OUR LETTER FEB SECOND CAN YOU SPEAK MARCH 11TH SACRAMENTO IN ADDITION TO ENGAGEMENT ALREADY AGREED TO LARGE MINORITY GROUP THERE URGENTLY WANT YOU. IF YES WOULD LIKE TO PUBLICIZE PLEASE WIRE ANSWER IF LETTER REPLY NOT ALREADY ON WAY=

DAVID JENKINS.

,11.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Feb-9, 1948

Can speak March 11.
Letter Follows

lecture

22-33-20

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WESTERN UNION

1206

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

New York, N. Y. February 9, 1948

JAN 12 11

Straight telegram

[California Inter-school Inc.]

Mr. David Jenkins
240 Golden Gate Avenue
San Francisco, California

CAN SPEAK MARCH 11. LETTER FOLLOWS.

Sent Mail

W. E. B. DuBOIS

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

1948 FEB 24 PM 4 22

SYMBOLS
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The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

DB344

D=FA336 NL PD=SANFRANCISCO CALIF 24

DR W E BURGHARDT DUBOIS=

20 WEST 40 ST NYK=

=HAVE SECURED RESERVATIONS PALACE HOTEL FOR ENTIRE STAY. WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING TIME OF YOUR ARRIVAL SO WE MAY COMPLETE ARRANGEMENTS FOR RECEPTION COMMITTEE AT AIRPORT. PRESS CONFERENCE AND RADIO INTERVIEW. BIRTHDAY CONTRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES=

:DAVID JENKINS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[California Labor School Inc.]

california labor school, inc.

240 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE • SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA • GRAYSTONE 8601

DAVID JENKINS, Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS, Educational Director
IRWIN ELBER, Trade Union Director
DAVID HEDLEY, Associate Trade Union Director
101

Lecture
copy sent to WEB 3-1-48

February 25, 1948

23-32-46

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have had a large number of requests from Negro ministers in the San Francisco community to the effect that we make it possible for them and their congregations to hear you some place other than at the banquet at the Whitcomb Hotel, which many of them cannot afford. It seemed impossible to arrange in view of the fact that your time had been arranged otherwise. However, we have just been informed that the people in Los Angeles who had hoped to be able to build the kind of meeting there that we anticipated having for you, have been unable to produce because of the pressures on so many of the active workers there in helping put the Third Party on the ballot in California. Under the circumstances, we feel that it will be much better to give another group of San Franciscans the opportunity to meet and hear you and we are now working out the details of the meeting on the 14th at the Jones Methodist Church auditorium in the heart of the Negro community.

We are planning to meet you at the San Francisco Airport at 6 p.m. on March 3rd and a press conference is being arranged for the Palace Hotel, 2 p.m. on the 4th. The only liberal commentator still on the air in these parts would like to introduce you to his listening audience soon after you arrive. We shall work out the details with him in the next day or two and acquaint you with them on your arrival.

We are all looking forward to your coming and we shall do everything possible to make your stay here enjoyable. With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

David Jenkins

David Jenkins
Director

uopwa
34-179

[California Labor School]

CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL, INC.

240 Golden Gate Avenue San Francisco 2, California,

David Jenkins, Director

Dear Dr. DuBois:

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We are all looking forward to your coming and we shall do everything possible to make your stay here enjoyable. With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

(Signed) David Jenkins
Director

22-33-06

uopa
34-179

[California Labor School Inc]

March 1, 1948

Mr. David Jenkins, Director
California Labor School, Inc.
240 Golden Gate Avenue
San Francisco 2, California

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

Your letter of February 25 to Dr. DuBois, concerning his arrival in San Francisco has been forwarded to him. I was not sure that your communication would reach him in time but thought that you should know this.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

February 25, 1948

memo from w. e. burghardt du bois

D.FA336 NL PD: SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF 24

DR. W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS [California Labor School Inc.]

20 West 40 St. New York

HAVE SECURED RESERVATIONS PALACE HOTEL FOR ENTIRE STAY. WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING TIME OF YOUR ARRIVAL SO WE MAY COMPLETE ARRANGEMENTS FOR RECEPTION COMMITTEE AT AIRPORT; PRESS CONFERENCE AND RADIO INTERVIEW. BIRTHDAY CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES.

DAVID JENKINS.

23.29-3

This answer was sent:

Nighe Letter Paid.

MR. DAVID JENKINS
240 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE
SAN FRANCISCO; CALIFORNIA

ARRIVING SAN FRANCISCO MARCH 3, 6:10 P.M.

UNITED AIR LINES FLIGHT 565.

W. E. B. DuBOIS

(Under separate cover I am writing Mr. Jenkins that you had already left when his wire arrived, but that you have been informed of its contents)

Smythe

[California Labor School Inc.]

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

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WESTERN UNION

1206

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

CHECK 23-11

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION 9

TIME FILED 2

23-38-49

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

NIGHT LETTER

Mr. David Jenkins
240 Golden Gate Avenue
San Francisco, California

ARRIVING SAN FRANCISCO MARCH 3, 6:10 P. M. UNITED AIR LINES FLIGHT 565.

W. E. B. Du BOIS

20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York
Longacre 3-6890

[California Labor School Inc.]

April 9, 1948

Mr. David Jenkins
California Labor School, Inc.
216 Market Street
San Francisco 11, California

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

This will acknowledge receipt of the memographed copies of the speech by Dr. Du Bois, THE WORKERS. The Doctor is still away from New York but I shall bring them to his attention as soon as he returns.

Thank you for your interest and courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

3 copies

PHONE: DUPONT 0357

H. A. CALLIS, M. D.
1943 VERMONT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

INTERNIST, CERTIFIED

22-40-112

October 8, 1948.

My dear Doctor Du Bois:

Mrs. Myra Colson Callis and I wish you to know that you have our whole hearted support in the recent controversy which has resulted in your separation from the N. A. A. C. P. for the second time.

It seems so perfectly clear that one cannot carry our State Department on one shoulder and the cause of oppressed peoples on the other. The very philosophy beneath the Marshall Plan envisions the exploitation of Africa with the aid of American Tax Dollars.

Sincerely,

Henry Arthur Callis,

22-40-113

October 21, 1948

Dr. H. A. Callis
1943 Vermont Avenue N. W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Dr. Callis:

I appreciate very deeply your kind letter of October 8.

My best regards to you and your wife.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Canada]

L. H/s Assembly

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

REPLY TO BE ADDRESSED TO:
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA

O t t a w a,
February 2, 1948.

23-46-11

Dear Mr. DuBois,

I have received your letter of January 22nd in which you enclosed a printed copy of "An Appeal to the World" which is being read with interest.

Unfortunately, it would be impossible for me to arrange for the printing and publishing of this document in Canada since the King's Printer may print only Government documents.

It is suggested that since the Economic and Social Council is now meeting and will be hearing the report of the Commission on Human Rights in which undoubtedly mention of your petition will be made, it would not be advisable at this time to request the Secretary General of the United Nations to place this item on the agenda of the Assembly.

Yours sincerely,

Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

W.E.B. DuBois, Esq.,
Director, Department of Special Research,
National Association for the Advancement
of Coloured People,
20 West 40th Street,
NEW YORK, N.Y., U.S.A.

1298

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

BY THE SENDER OF THIS MESSAGE. PLEASE GIVE IT TO THE MESSENGER OR TELEPHONE IT TO

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
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The filing time shown in the [illegible] grams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

N67D15 7A NL PD

NEW YORK NY MAY 7 1948

DR W E B DUBOIS KY

409 EDGECOMB AVE NYK

SENATOR GLEN TAYLOR INVITES YOU TO JOIN HIM AND A FEW DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS OF OUR COMMUNITY IN AN INFORMAL OFF-RECORD REPORT OF HIS RECENT ALABAMA JIMCROW EXPERIENCE AT THE HOME OF DR AND MRS. CECIL MARQUEZ, 457 WEST 143RD STREET THIS TUESDAY, MAY 11, 12:00 MIDNIGHT

PLEASE WIRE OF PHONE ACCEPTANCE. 306 LENOX AVENUE SA-2-2720

DR GEORGE CANNON CHMN HARLEM WALLACE COMMITTEE
ESTELLE OSBORNE NATIONAL WOMEN FOR WALLACE COMMITTEE

255A MAY 8

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

202 North Mass Hall
Dartmouth College
Hanover, N. H.
October 8, 1948

Dr. Hugh Smythe
NAACP
Wilkie Memorial Building
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Sir:

I am a sociology major in my senior year at Dartmouth and am intending to write a thesis on the Negro in the armed forces. My instructor, Robert Eutman, has advised me to write to you for any information or access thereto concerning this topic. There is a definite scarcity of books in the college library about the Negro in the armed forces and the only source I have, at present, are a few meager magazine articles.

I am mainly concerned with the Negro's relative status and roles in the army and navy, his efforts and achievements. Would you be so kind as to supply me with any publications, information or reference you might have on hand? Any and all material will be welcomed gratefully. I should like to start the thesis as soon as possible and would appreciate a reply at your earliest convenience. Thanking you for your time and trouble, I remain

Sincerely yours,
Salvador J. Capecelatro

33C-45

October 18, 1948

Mr. Salvador J. Capecelatro
202 North Massachusetts Hall
Dartmouth College
Hanover, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Capecelatro:

I have just returned from my vacation and find your letter of October 8. I am sorry to have caused you any inconvenience by the delay, but hope that the enclosed information may be of some help and in good time.

For your topic concerning the Negro in World War II, the best composite source available is the special volume, "The American Negro in World Wars I and II," THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, The Yearbook Number, XII, Vol. XII, No. 3, Summer Number, 1943. This contains about 30 articles of all kinds on your subject, plus a prepared bibliography on your topic which should give you further leads to materials.

Then, too, you should consult the volume, THE INTEGRATION OF THE NEGRO INTO THE UNITED STATES NAVY: 1776-1947, by Lt. Dennis D. Nelson, Published by the United States Navy from a thesis by the author in the Department of Sociology of Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Then the NAACP published several pamphlets: CLIPPED WINGS, MUTINY, WHAT THE NEGRO THINKS OF THE ARMY, OUR COUNTRY, TOO, THREE SHELLS KNOCKED OUT OF NAZI TANKS. Unfortunately, all of these have been distributed and we have only one file copy on hand which we cannot release.

There is the publication, THE NEGRO AND THE WAR, published by the Office of War Information, and you will find special supplements on the Negro and the war published in an issue of FORTUNE and the NEW REPUBLIC.

Aside from these, you will find a rich source of materials by consulting such Negro newspapers as THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, THE PITTSBURGH COURIER, THE BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN, THE NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE. These are large, national newssheets and by consulting files for the war years you will find good sources.

Also, you should consult the War Department, Office of the Advisor on Negro Affairs (Mr. James C. Evans), and the Navy Department, both in Washington, D.C. They will be able to send you some materials in pamphlet and booklet form. Then, too, write the National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York, N. Y., and ask Mr. Warren Banner for some data they issued on your subject.

Be sure and send for a copy of the Gillom Report on the integration of Negroes into the Armed Forces. This contains reports on the activity of Negroes

in actual combat and non-combat service and of their characteristics when integrated, as well as suggestions for bringing about integration.

You might be able to secure from Truman K. Gibson, Jr., Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company, 35th Street and South Parkway, Chicago, Illinois, some pertinent material he may have, or at least some references which should prove helpful. Mr. Gibson was Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War during World War II.

Write to Dr. L. D. Reddick, Librarian, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia. Dr. Reddick has a host of material on your subject, since he has been preparing a manuscript on the Negro soldier in World War II.

A letter to Professor St. Clair Drake, Roosevelt College, Chicago, Illinois, may bring some help in regard to the Negro soldier abroad. Mr. Drake has been abroad working on this problem and can give you leads to materials on your subject.

It might be fruitful to write to the committees on the army and navy of both the House and Senate, Washington, D.C. They have full reports which are printed on testimony by officers and civilians on the conduct of Negroes and whites during the war and this should prove a rich source of data.

Also, write to Major Ulysses Lee, Historical Section, U. S. War Department, Washington, D.C. Major Lee is working on the project concerning the history of World War II.

Aside from these, you should consult sociological novels which treat of your subject, such as the recently published, LAST OF THE CONQUERORS, by William G. Smith, THE NAKED AND THE DEAD, by Nailer, and others.

I hope you will find this of some help and if I can be of further service, please feel free to write me.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

February 5, 1948

23-25-70

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Dr. Alexander:

It was very kind of you to invite me to attend the dinner Fisk University and its New York Alumni is giving in honor of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois on the occasion of his Eightieth Birthday.

I know this will be a very enjoyable occasion and it is with regret that I must decline because of my heavy official duties here in Washington. I have very high regard for Dr. DuBois and it would give me great pleasure to celebrate his birthday anniversary with him.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur Capper

U.S. Senator from Kansas

CLEVELAND E. DODGE, *President*, CHARLES D. HILLES, *Treasurer*, EARL FREDERICK ADAMS, *Executive Director*

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—o—

J. HENRY CARPENTER
Executive Secretary

March 9, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Policy Committee of the Council on African Affairs
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

23-21-9

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Your letter of February 27th is on my desk along with the report of the committee.

I was in the meeting on the day that the vote was taken to set up this committee, and I had no idea in my own mind that this committee was going to be in any sense an interim committee. It was only to look into matters and report back to the whole group and this was to be done within a period of two or three weeks.

I think it is rather unfortunate that this committee takes upon itself the responsibility of forming any sort of policy for the Council on African Affairs. I feel positive that it is a mistake, and that the whole group should hear the report of this committee and then make the decision as to the policy of the Council on African Affairs.

Certainly I am not looking for any more meetings and it is almost impossible for me to attend the meetings that I should, but this is such a difficult situation that I am greatly concerned about it. I hope that you and your committee will arrange with all the speed possible a meeting of the whole group, so that we may know what is being done and get reports from the committees that were appointed the other night, not only your committee but also the committee on finances. With deep appreciation of all that you are doing in the matter as the chairman of the committee, I am

Very sincerely yours,

JHC:mb

J. Henry Carpenter, Executive Secretary

P.S. This letter was written before your other letter came about the meeting. I feel exactly as the above states and cannot accept the idea that the policy committee has the right to go ahead and run the organization. I am sorry I will be out of town on Friday when the meeting is called but Max has my signed voting right. J.H.C.

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Honorary Vice-Presidents; ORRIN R. JUDD, REV. JOHN HOWARD MELISH

March 10, 1948

Mr. J. H. Carpenter
The Protestant Council
252 Fulton Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear Mr. Carpenter:

Your letter of March 9, to Dr. DuBois, has come during his absence from New York. He has been away since the 24th lecturing on the West Coast and will not return until until late in April. For your information, I think you should know that on March 6 he wrote from California that he had resigned from the Interim Executive Committee, of the Council on African Affairs. A copy of the enclosed letter will explain his position.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

June 29, 1948

Dr. Charles H. Carroll
1201 Boyle Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

My dear Dr. Carroll:

I have your letter of June 6 and understand just what you have in mind. I will try to meet the requirements.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

June 14, 1948

Mr. LeRoy E. Carter
Fellowship Commission Building
260 South 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Carter:

I shall arrive in North Philadelphia at 7:02 P.M. June 16. I want to return to New York the same night.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Mar. 27- 1948

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
New York City.

Chase

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Whether or not one likes the enclosed clipping from the Chicago TRIBUNE, I take it that Mr. Heming is fair in portraying the "status quo" of the southerners' present viewpoint. Re Thurmond's claim that the crime of lynching has been virtually stamped out down there, recalls to mind what I heard few weeks ago in Ypsilanti — seat of State Normal college, ten miles away — in a distinctively "southern" boarding house I ran across in my house-to-house canvassing. It was this: "O, we rape the Nigger women any time we want to, but that doesn't get into the newspapers. When, however, a Nigger rapes a white woman, we lynch him" [or words very very similar]

As I said in my first Ann Arbor letter, I claim that the Negroes' strongest attack would be flank rather than frontal — along the line "sponsored" by "Father" Divine — "Get all the White man's money you can, but spend it in your own stores." ¶ Any bloc, white, black, or brown, with a population of 10,000,000, should be able to stand on its own." Even in the "early" days at Fisk, to say nothing of a thousand times since, have I heard it: "Our people don't hang together." But, but, you are older than I, and have read and travelled a thousand times as much. So, as my view may not be worth the paper it is written on. If in error — pardon me and forget. ¶

The book reviewer's write-up on your "World and Africa" in the Journal of Religious Thought, Vol. IV. No 2 - [Spring Summer 1947] — by Wm. H. Lofton, [of] Howard University, Wash, D.C., is not in all respects complimentary to the author. Part of it reads [I jotted it down at the time] "Dr. DuBois writes with an angry pen. He is angry at the white man and at his Western Civilization..... When this happens the writer runs the danger of allowing himself to be accused of a bias as strong as that against which he writes." One item touched upon was news to me, because I had always thought the Egyptians themselves were "all" Negro. Very much do I regret that my "jot down" notes did not refer to the valuable features of this, your latest(?) book.

Cordially yours

Stanley A. Chase

("Fesser Chase's youngest son)

23-39-58

Ann Arbor
Michigan

March 30, 1948

Mr. Stanley A. Chase
Rainey Hotel
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Chase:

Your letter of March 27, to Dr. DuBois, has arrived during the Doctor's absence from New York. He is not due to return for several weeks yet, but I shall bring your communication to his attention when he arrives.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

June 29, 1948

Mr. Earnest Chauvet
Sherman Square Hotel
Broadway at 70th Street
New York, New York

23.37.7

My dear Mr. Chauvet:

Are there any developments with regard to the presentation of our APPEAL to the United Nations? I should be very glad to have a word from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

COPY [CHAUVET]

My dear Mr. Chauvet;

Enclosed is a chronology of our action with regard to the petition of American Negroes to the United Nations.

Tomorrow I shall send you copies of the most important letters referred to in this chronology.

Very sincerely yours,

23-1/6-22

United Nations
Coop

[CHEMICAL, Tin + Glass Workers Union]

108, Union House,
Queen Victoria Street,
CAPE TOWN - SOUTH AFRICA.

17th February, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
C/o Cedric Dover,
Fisk University,
Mashville,
Tennesse, U.S.A.

23-25-74

Dear Sir & Brother,

The Executive Committees of the Chemical, Tin and Gas Workers Unions sends you greetings and wish you many happy returns on your 80th birth-day.

We further wish you the best of health and a long life to carry on the good work for the emancipation of the non-white oppressed peoples.

Yours fraternally,

John Gomas

John Gomas,
SECRETARY.

First Fold Here

PER LUGPOS
AIR MAIL
LUGPOS
BRIEF
SUID-AFRIKA

Re. Feb 18

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
CHEYNEY TRAINING SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
CHEYNEY, PENNSYLVANIA

Lect comp

October 23, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N A A C P
20 West 40th Street,
New York, 18, N. Y.

[Cheyney Training School for Teachers]

Dear Doctor DuBois:

You have not been down here for a long time. Wouldn't it be a little restful if you could make the trip down here on February 18, Scholars Night, and be our Scholars Orator. You would come, of course, in time for supper with those whom we are honoring, and the program would consist mostly of you, talking about anything you think these young people should hear as they look forward to the teaching profession. We know that you can bring us enlightenment and stimulation as we consider the plight of our people in the land and in the world today.

We have $50 to offer. This is in no way any compensation, but it is enough to bring you down and to get you back. If you are under pressure you will be able to return to New York the same night. If you are not, why not stretch out and have a restful, comfortable night. A prompt reply will be appreciated by

Yours very sincerely,

Leslie Pinckney Hill

Leslie Pinckney Hill
President

LPH:gbf

[Cheyney Training School for Teachers]

November 4, 1948

President Leslie Pinckney Hill
Cheyney State Teachers College
Cheyney, Pennsylvania

My dear Mr. Hill:

I shall be glad to come down February 18, and speak briefly on your program.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1201-S

[redacted]
BY THE SENDER OF THIS MESSAGE. PLEASE GIVE IT TO THE MESSENGER OR TELEPHONE IT TO
[redacted]

WESTERN UNION

(18)

1937 SEP 14 PM 6

SYMBOLS
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Received at 210 West 135th St., New York

[Cheney Training School for Teachers]

INV112 50/52 DL 3 EXTRA=TDWK CHEYNEY PENN VIA ATLANTA GA 14

DR W A B DUBOIS=

APT 3 A 210 WEST 150 ST=

COULD YOU TALK HERE CENTENIAL CHENEY DAY OCTOBER SIXTEENTH ON HOW NEGROES TOOK ADVANTAGE OF EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES OFFERED BY QUAKERS CADBURY OF HARVARD WILL TALK ON CONTRIBUTION OF NEGROES TO QUAKER EDUCATION CAN OFFER ALL EXPENSES KINDLY WIRE IMMEDIATELY COLLECT VIA WESTERNUNION EXPECT NOTABLE OCCASION GREATLY DESIRE YOUR PRESENCE=

LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL.

Will speak Oct 16th

Far Eastern Conf.
Mrs. Du Bois

January 7, 1948

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Lucius Harper
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Harper:

I am writing you for Mr. Bernard Seaman, publicity director for The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, who is working on the publicity for that committee's Annual Far Eastern Conference which is to be held in New York January 23-25.

Mr. Seaman informs us that he has written you, air mail special delivery twice concerning a column Dr. DuBois wrote, "Conference on China," which he wishes to use as part of his publicity campaign. As our records show the column should appear in WINDS OF TIME, January 10 issue of the Defender. If this is correct, would you please let Mr. Seaman have the right to use the column. Also, he wrote asking that if possible would you please have run off 1,000 reprints of the column in question and bill him for them. His address is:

Mr. Bernard Seaman
Far Eastern Conference
111 West 42nd Street
New York 18, New York

We will appreciate this very much, if you can cooperate with Mr. Seaman and see that he receives the 1,000 reprints immediately. You can see from the dates of the meeting that time is of the essence. At any rate, do contact Mr. Seaman concerning the matter.

Thanking you for your courtesy and cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

3435 INDIANA AVENUE ESTABLISHED MAY 5, 1905 CALUMET 5656

THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

January 14, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-2223

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is to acknowledge with thanks your telegram of January 14 concerning the reprints for Mr. Bernard Seaman of the Far Eastern Conference.

Please be advised that we have made arrangements for the reprints and Mr. Seaman should receive them the first of next week.

Thanks very much for your cooperation and interest.

Sincerely yours,

Lucius C. Harper

Lucius C. Harper
Executive Editor

cc - Mr. Bernard Seaman

January 14, 1948

23-19-16

Mrs. Martin, Book Review Editor
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 80, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Martin:

We are enclosing the first perfect copy of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, the petition presented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the United Nations on October 23, 1947. May we ask your attention to it and some notice of it in your review section?

Thanking you for your courtesy, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

3435 INDIANA AVENUE ESTABLISHED MAY 5, 1905 CALUMET 5656

THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

Referred by Mr. White to Dr. Du Bois
Jan. 23, 1948

January 15, 1948

Mr. Walter White
Executive Secretary
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York (18), New York

Dear Walter:

The enclosed questionnaire was sent to us by Mr. R. Grann Lloyd.

Since you are certainly in better position to answer the questions, I am asking that you do us the favor of completing the form and returning it to Mr. Lloyd.

Kind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Sengstacke
Publisher and Editor

23-22-14

enclosure

We have settled all differences - Thank for your support - Best wishes for the new year - See you in N.Y. Some Feb

January 16, 1948

Mr. Lucius Harper,
Executive Editor,
The Chicago Defender,
3435 Indiana Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Mr. Harper:

Mrs. Dorothy Blake, 24 Main Street, Carrboro, North Carolina, who is associated with the Wallace Club of the University of North Carolina, has written Dr. DuBois concerning the use of his column of January 3 concerning Henry Wallace. She is anxious to secure "a large number of copies...at the most reasonable fee possible."

We have today written Mrs. Blake that it is all right with Dr. DuBois to use the specified column, but that she must contact you directly regarding its release and to arrange for whatever reprints she wishes to secure. She stated that being a college club that they didn't have large financial resources, so we would appreciate your cooperating with her in this regard as favorably as you can.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

January 26, 1948

Mr. Lucius Harper
Executive Editor
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Harper:

Miss Jane McCartin, of the Rockland County, New York, Wallace Organization is interested in securing copies of "The Wallace" column of January 3, which Dr. DuBois wrote for the Defender. We have referred her to you and told her that she could negotiate directly with you in regard to securing as many reprints as she wished. We would appreciate your helping her as much as you possibly can.

With thanks for your cooperation and courtesy, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

January 27, 1948

Mr. Lucius Harper
Executive Editor
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Harper: We understand that the Wallace office gets requests for the DuBois column of January 3, on Henry Wallace. In order to meet this matter, his office is interested in knowing how to secure copies of this particular column and the cost for reprints. Will you please be good enough to write them directly, posting your letter to:

Mr. Henry A. Wallace
The New Republic
40 East 49th Street
New York, New York

and send them this information?

Thanking you for your courtesy and cooperation, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

23-22-9

February 27, 1948

Mr. Lucius Harper
Executive Editor
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Harper:

Dr. DuBois has failed to receive copies of THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, containing his column, "Winds of Time," for February 14 and February 21. Would you please be good enough to see that these two issues are sent to us?

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

23-22-16

[Chicago Defender]

Reading
3-9-48
4:45 PM

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

lecture

N224 PD= FCG CHICAGO ILL 9 144P

Dr. HUGH H SMYTHE=
20 West 40 St=

MANY THANKS FOR FORWARDING MY COMMUNICATIONS TO
DR DUBOIS. WOULD LIKE POSITIVE CONFIRMATION FROM HIM.
CAN YOU CLARIFY THE MATTER FOR US OR SUGGEST HOW WE
MAY REACH DR. DUBOIS
ANSWER COLLECT=
METZ LOCHARD 5170 SOUTH PARKEAY APT 2.

22-33

5170 2.

Original
sent to
Du Bois
in Los Angeles
Calif

[Chicago Defender]

1152 B

1-12-48

W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 49th St.
New York, N. Y.

1-12-48

70.00	Two weeks ending January 17.	261	70.00

Rec'd Feb 13, 1948

Chicago Defender

February 10, 1948

check $70.00

~~Jan.~~ Feb. 2, 1948

Chicago Defender

Paid through

Jan. 31

(check out - dated Jan 26 1948)

23-22-10

(check missent to 20 E. 40th St.)

1490 B
2-24-48

W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N Y

2-24-48

70.00	For two weeks ending Feb. 28.	261	70.00

85 c
3-9-48

W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N. Y.

3-9-48

70.00	Two weeks ending Mar. 13	261	70.00

178 C

3-30-48

W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N. Y.

3-30-48

70.00	Two weeks ending March 27.	261	70.00

378 C

4-8-48

W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N. Y.

3-31-48

70.00	Two weeks ending April 10	261	70.00

5183

4-20-48

W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N. Y.

4-20-48

70.00	Two weeks ending April 24	261	70.00

5317

5-4-48

W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N. Y.

5-4-48

70.00	Two weeks ending May 8.	261	70.00

3435 INDIANA AVENUE ESTABLISHED MAY 5. 1905 CALUMET 5656

THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

May 4, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

23-22-4

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Necessary readjustments in our budget make it essential to reduce our staff of columnists.

Therefore, effective as of our issue of May 15, we will not publish or accept additional columns.

It is our hope that as soon as our present budgetary restrictions are removed we may once again look forward to working with you as in the past.

In appreciation of all your cooperation and interest, we are

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Martin
Editor-in-Chief

May 6, 1948

Mr. John Sengstacke
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago Defender
Chicago 80, Illinois

My dear Mr. Sengstacke:

According to our agre ment copies of the Chicago Defender were to be sent, one to my home, 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore 14, Maryland, and the other to my office, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York. The copy for New York has been coming but we have received none for Baltimore for nearly a year. I have written before complaining.

Will you kindly see to it that these copies come regularly? I shall thank you very much.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-22-7

May 6, 1948

Mr. Louis E. Martin
Editor-in-Chief
The Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Martin:

According to instructions in your letter of May 4 to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the enclosed material should cover publication of his column through May 15. You have on hand already material for Winds of Time to cover the issues of May 8 and 15, and we would like the enclosed column on E. Franklin Frazier to run as the last copy to be published until further notice from your office.

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosure

P.S. According to our records Dr. DuBois has been paid for copy through April 24. He is due to be paid for material for issues of May 1, 8, and 15.

3435 INDIANA AVENUE ESTABLISHED MAY 5, 1905 CALUMET 5656

THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

May 8, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

23-2-5

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We thank you for the column on Dr. E. Franklin Frazier which you have requested us to run as the last copy to be published.

In your column you state that the Negro press ignored the election of Dr. Frazier to the presidency of the American Sociological Society. You state: "I have not seen a single mention of the matter in any colored newspaper or magazine."

I merely wish to point out that in the January 10th issue of the Chicago Defender, we carried an editorial congratulating Dr. Frazier on this important honor. We also made the point that his election marked the first time a Negro scholar had been awarded the presidency of a learned society in America.

Thanks again for your interest in the Chicago Defender.

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Martin
Editor-in-Chief

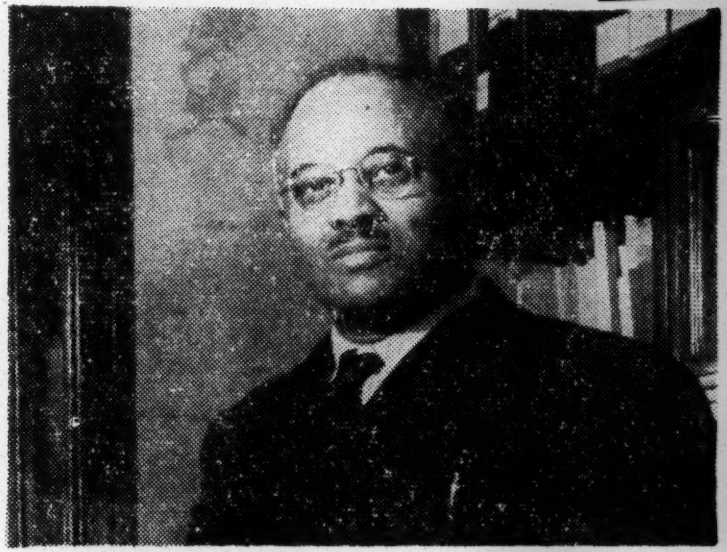
A CLIPPING

from

THE Chicago Defender
WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

That
Will Interest
You

Issues of January 10, 1948
February 14, 1948



DR. E.FRANKLIN FRAZIER, head of the department of sociology atHowarduniversity, has assumed the position of president of the American Sociological society for 1948. He was elected at the annual meeting in New York, last December, and is the frist N egro to head the group. An authority in his field, Dr. Frazier is also an author.

——— Scurlock photo.graph

23-27

* * *

3435 INDIANA AVENUE ESTABLISHED MAY 5. 1905 CALUMET 5656

THE CHICAGO Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

May 14, 1948

23-22-12

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Pursuant to your letter of May 6, please find enclosed check #5363 in the amount of $35.00 which concludes the Chicago Defender's obligation to you. This check represents payment for the week of May 15. Our records indicate that check #5317 in the amount of $70.00 was in payment for the issues of May 1 and May 8.

Thanks very much for all your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Adrienne Stith

Adrienne Stith
Secretary to Louis E. Martin

Enclosure

CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY

23-25-13

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1201

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PRESIDENT

1938 FEB 22 AM

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130 NL PD=FCG CHICAGO ILL FEB 21 VIA NEWYORK NY 22

DR W E B DUBOIS, CARE WALKER A WHITE=
APT 138 OR ROY WILKINS APT 7D 409 EDGECOMBE AVE:

=IT IS WITH ADMIRATION AND REVERENCE THAT WE GREET YOU WHOSE LIFE IS A CHALLENGE TO HEIRS OF AMERICAN CULTURE AT HALL BRANCH PUBLIC LIBRARY WE FEEL ESPECIALLY HONORED TO SEND THIS MESSAGE TO THE DEAN OF WRITERS WHOSE GREAT LITERARY WORKS WE ARE PRIVILEGED TO HANDLE DAILY BEST WISHES=

MISS VIVIAN G HARSH AND STAFF.

Chicago, Illinois

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THE CHICAGO ★STAR

PHONE: RANDOLPH 0580

166 WEST WASHINGTON ST.
CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS

April 22, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-18-14

Dear Sir:

If possible, we would like to have you write a short piece for The Chicago Star on Palestine.

We are planning this as part of a center-spread on Palestine which would present the issues in their clearest and simplest form. We want to deal with Palestine in a way that our readers, overwhelmingly Negro and white workers will understand the issues on the basis of their own experience. We find, for example, that many workers are even confused as to why the Jews have "a right" to a homeland in Palestine.

Such an article, could run anywhere from 500 to 1,000 words. We would like to have it no later than Monday, May 3. Will you please wire us collect as whether we can expect it.

We assure you our deepest appreciation.

Very truly yours,
The Chicago Star

Carl Hirsch

Carl Hirsch
Managing Editor

CH/bp
uopwa:24:cio

Carbon to Registered

DIR-Special

April 26, 1948

20-18-15

Mr. Carl Hirsch, Managing Editor
The Chicago Star
166 West Washington Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hirsch: I have your letter of April 22. I can write you the article, which you wish to have by May 3. The charge for this would be $25.00

If you wish me to do this, wire me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

Chicago start 7

1201

(30)

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1948 APR 27 PM 5 32

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N301 PD=CHICAGO ILL 27 318P

W E B DUBOIS, CARE WALKER A WHITE APT 13B OR ROY WILKINS,
APT 7D=DELIVER 409 EDGECOMBE AVE:

23-18-13

=PLEASE SEND ARTICLE ON PALESTINE=

CARL HIRSCH.

Reg for Article
Time

May 12, 1948

23-18-16

Mr. Carl Hirsch, Editor
The Chicago Star
166 West Washington Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hirshh:

At your request, on Mpril 30, I sent you an article on the Jews. If you are not able to use it, I shall be glad to have it returned. If you are going to use it or have used it, will you please remit $25.00 which was th price of the article.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Daily Mirror Syndicate

(CHICAGO SUN & TIMES CO)

SUN and TIMES Co.
211 W. WACKER DRIVE - CHICAGO 6, ILLINOIS

MARSHALL FIELD

June 16, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

It was very tempting indeed to try to run a column by you. However, we have had a great problem in merging the two papers to try to keep the columns that readers of both papers have liked in the past, and I am afraid the addition of any more at this time is out of the question.

If this situation changes, I will keep your idea in mind.

Yours sincerely,

Marshall Field

23-39-100

[CHINA]

Unit Assembly

CHINESE DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS
EMPIRE STATE BUILDING
350 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK

LONGACRE 5-0300

31 January 1948

23-46-17

Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
Department of Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Dubois:

I have your good letter of January 22 as well as a copy of An Appeal to the World. I regret to say that I am not in a position to have the petition placed on the agenda of the next General Assembly. If some other delegation should do this, you can count upon the support of the Chinese Delegation.

Very sincerely yours,

T. F. Tsiang

Tingfu F. Tsiang

TFT:gm

China Aid Council, Inc. = Includes

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR CHINESE WAR ORPHANS AND CHINA CHILD WELFARE
1790 Broadway · · New York 19, N. Y. · · CIrcle 7-2072

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PAULINE B. WILLIAMSON

MILDRED PRICE
Executive Director

March 2, 1948

Yes

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

2-22-26

Madame Sun Yat-sen, chairman of the China Welfare Fund, Shanghai, has requested me to extend to you a cordial invitation to be an honorary member of her organization. She is inviting people of good will from all over the world to lend their names and interest to a vital organization.

I have known for several years of Madame Sun's organization which carries on relief and rehabilitation work and am convinced that it is genuinely devoted to serving the interests of the Chinese people. The China Welfare Fund sends aid to the International Peace Hospitals in North China, to child welfare centers in several areas of China including Shanghai, to needy artists and writers, and to victims of the famine in Central China. It is non-political, giving aid where the need is greatest, both in Nationalist and Communist China.

The organization is already sponsored by such well known people as Lady Violet Seymour, Lady Isobel Cripps, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Leo Eloesser, and Lord Lindsay of Birker. I hope very much that you will consent to let us add your name to this distinguished list. I enclose a full list of sponsors to date.

Will you return the enclosed card at your earliest convenience? We are printing Madame Sun's report of the China Welfare Fund's activities and wish to include the names of the honorary members in it.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Edward C. Carter
President

adc/hd
enc.

March 30, 1948

Mrs. Edward C. Carter
China Aid Council, Inc.
1790 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Mrs. Carter:

Your letter of March 2, to Dr. DuBois, has just come to my attention, since it was sent to his home address. The Doctor has been away from New York since February 24 and is not due to return until the middle of April. However, I am forwarding your communication to him for action.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[China Welfare Fund]

SPONSORS OF THE CHINA WELFARE FUND, SHANGHAI

James Bertram, author, New Zealand

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Dr. Leo Eloesser, World Health Organization

E. Y. Harburg

Kuo Mo-jo

Lord Lindsay of Birker, Master of Balliol College, Oxford

Mao Tun

Dr. Joseph Needham, British, member of UNESCO

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

Mrs. V. J. Pandit

Paul Robeson

Lady Violet Seymour

23-22-42

中國福利基金會
CHINA WELFARE FUND
CABLE ADDRESS: CHIWELFND SHANGHAI

Mme SUN YAT-SEN
Chairman

888-A LINGSEN LU (C)
TEL. 70806 EXT. 7
86 KWANG TUNG ROAD
ROOM 104
TEL. 18080 EXT. 45

14 December 1948

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
New York City

Dear Mr. DuBois:

The China Aid Council, American representative of the China Welfare Fund, recently decided to discontinue its activities. This has left us minus contact with the American people, a condition which we must take immediate steps to remedy.

In this critical period of swift change in China, in America and the world in general, it is imperative that the message of the Chinese people be sounded; that it be kept in clear and correct perspective; that the needs our hard-working people face in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the land and the cities be placed in the light of day so those who can help may know how best to; that incorruptible and efficient channels for this support be kept open and flowing; that the actual story of China's self-help be adequately chronicled and told.

In order to fulfil these purposes, a new organization needs to be developed in the United States. We need your support and we are asking you to join hands with us in this task. We know your sympathies have been and are with the common people the world over and that your efforts have been in their behalf. Further, we are certain that you will recognize that there is need for such an organization as we propose, not only as it concerns the democratic cause in China, but for its full implication upon and direct relationship with the identical struggle in your own country.

In asking you to become a member of this new organization, we do not come to you empty-handed and devoid of strength. As a base we give you the following:

A. The China Welfare Fund (and its predecessor, the China Defense League) has been operating in the field for ten years - ten constructive years among the people, carefully nurturing our roots. Today we are firmly implanted in the life-earth of China, preparing to carry on and expand in the new China that is being forged.

B. We foster a varied but well-balanced program, designed to meet the urgent needs of our belabored people. We are active in the fields of:

MEDICINE - International Peace Hospitals, Bethune Medical Colleges, child and mother clinics in Shanghai

CHILD CARE - North China Nurseries, Shanghai Children's Program, Children's Theater

CULTURAL - Artists and Writers Welfare Fund, Rockefeller Foundation Translation Projects

DRUG PRODUCTION - North China Drug Factories and Cooperatives

EXPERIMENTAL FARMS - Field personnel developing new methods in farming, animal husbandry, farm tool production.

22-40-127

With expansive experience in the field and a wide area of activity as factors in hand, we feel confident that the obstacles faced by such organizational work as we propose in present-day America can be overcome.

We fully understand the tenseness of political conditions in your country, but we have faith in the resurgence of the people's voice and strength. Our new committee could be made part of the awakening that must come. This means our program must be taken to the American people direct, a feat that has not been accomplished to date in the China relief field. Past campaigns have been too aloof in method and message. We feel that the common people of one land should work with and help the common people of the others. Their plights and struggles are synonymous; one section of the world does not succeed or suffer without affecting the others.

We recognize, too, the difficult financial situation of all progressive and democratic leaders and organizations in America. You have just finished one hard fight and you have still harder ones ahead. In this connection, we accept the fact that domestic problems receive first priority. At the same time, however, since the domestic and international issues cannot be too widely separated, and since they are so interrelated, we are sure that some solution can be found so that all facets of the common struggle can be attended. We know it will take time and effort. We can assure you we expect no miracles and are prepared to sustain ourselves until this new organization is firmly established.

We sincerely hope you will take our proposal into consideration and add your weight to this new work. In the near future Miss Talitha Gerlach, the China Welfare Fund's personal representative in America at this time, will either call on you in person or via mail to explain more fully our work and our ideas for the new job in America. We are also hoping you will inform her of your support.

Very sincerely yours,

Soong Ching Ling

(Madame Sun Yat-sen)

Newspaper Syndicate

June 8, 1948

The Editor
Christian Science ~~Monthly~~ Monitor
~~260 West 44th Street~~
~~New York, New York~~

1 Norway Street
Boston 15, Mass.

Sir:

I think you are aware of the current ferment in Africa and of its meaning for the future of the world. On the whole, news of these happenings are either omitted by the current press or what is much worse, they are not interpreted against a background of the past, either relating to the white immigrants into Africa or more especially as relating to the past of the Black Folk.

I am writing to ask if you do not t ink it would be a venture in social interpretation, if you would publish weekly or even monthly, a survey of the African scene with its present and past implications?

I think I might be able to furnish such a series of articles if you were interested.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

22-34-1

The Christian Science Monitor
Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society
One Norway Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

FOREIGN EDITOR

1 July 1948

Mr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
Department of Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Your good letter of June 8 has been on my desk during my holiday. I am sorry that you have not a reply before now.

You are, of course, quite right in both the social importance and the news interest of material on Africa.

Our problem is that we are already rather well supplied with sources.

We have, as you may know, devoted ourselves for many years to the task of building up a world-wide network of news coverage.

We have had a good deal of material on Africa in recent months, and have plans in process for further studies. These will, we hope, give adequate and proper attention to the preblems which you raise.

Thus may I thank you for underlining the importance of a subject of which we already are considerably aware?

Faithfully,

Charles Gratke
FOREIGN EDITOR

Gx:mm

23-39-90

[The Church Peace Union]

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THE CHURCH PEACE UNION

Founded by Andrew Carnegie

Accepted by phone by Jerry Fe 5-21-48

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PROF. D. ELTON TRUEBLOOD

RE 7-3703

May 20, 1948

170 EAST 64th STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Telephone: REgent 7-3703

Dr. William E. DuBois
National Association for Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-26-23

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Following our telephone conversation, I am writing to formally invite you to make an address at a mass meeting on Wednesday night, June 17, to be held in connection with our Conference of Religion for Moral and Spiritual Support of the United Nations, which we are holding at Town Hall, New York, on June 16, 17 and 18.

The general subject that evening will relate to human rights. Mrs. Sabra Holbrook, of Youthbuilders, is arranging for a dramatic presentation on this subject. Mr. James Waterman Wise is the chairman of the Commission under which this session will be held.

We are very anxious to have you as one of the two principal speakers. We have also invited Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas to be the other speaker. She is trying to adjust her schedule so as to be able to accept. Anyway, we do want you and whoever speaks with you we will have someone who is vitally interested in this subject.

I talked with Dr. White and he knows what we are trying to do, and is very close to the work not only of our organization but of the Council Against Intolerance in America as well.

We hope to be able to give our program to the printer on Friday, the 21st, and if you could telephone me before noon I would appreciate it very much.

With all good wishes and thanking you in advance, I am

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Atkinson

Henry A. Atkinson

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lecture

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HON. CARL SHERMAN
REV. RALPH W. SOCKMAN
DR. CHARLES D. TREXLER
PROF. D. ELTON TRUEBLOOD

June 7, 1948

170 EAST 64th STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Telephone: REgent 7-3703

23-26-24

Dr. William E. Burghart DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are preparing our publicity materials for the June 16-18 Conference at Town Hall. We would therefore appreciate it very much if you would send us a 500 word excerpt from the remarks you plan to make. May we have this advance statement at your earliest convenience?

May I once again tell you how grateful we are that you are taking part in our Conference.

With all good wishes.

Cordially yours,

Carl Hermann Voss

CARL HERMANN VOSS
Extension Secretary

RALPH W. SOCKMAN
President
CHARLES L. MARBURG
Vice-President and Chairman Executive Committee
ARTHUR J. BROWN
Treasurer

CARL HERMANN VOSS
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A. WILLIAM LOOS
Education Secretary
JOHN R. INMAN
Assistant Secretary

HENRY A. ATKINSON
General Secretary
ROBERT C. DEXTER
ELISABETH A. DEXTER
European Representatives

lecture

THE CHURCH PEACE UNION

Founded by Andrew Carnegie

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170 EAST 64th STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

June 7, 1948

Telephone: REgent 7-3703

23-26-25

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In reply to your note, I am very glad to send you another ticket for the Conference next week. If you find that you can use additional tickets, we shall be pleased to send them to you.

With all good wishes and looking forward to your participation in the meeting, I am

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Atkinson

[Encl] 23-26-13 Fil Church Pamphlets

ANTI-NAZI LEADER CLEARED OF LIBEL

Magistrate Rejects Charges of H. M. Richardson Against the Rev. Dr. H. A. Atkinson

An application for a complaint charging criminal libel against the Rev. Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, chairman of the advisory board of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, was dismissed yesterday by Magistrate Hyman Bushel in Mid-Manhattan Court. The complaint had been sought by Hallam M. Richardson, attorney for the League for Peace With Justice in Palestine, in a hearing that lasted twenty-three days.

Mr. Richardson had charged that he had been damaged by references made to him in a twenty-page bulletin submitted to the United Nations General Assembly last November by the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League. On page 11 of the pamphlet, Mr. Richardson was referred to as having "long been known in the halls of pro-Fascist propaganda." He had formerly been the attorney for Joseph E. McWilliams, who was then the leader of the American Destiny party.

At the beginning of yesterday's proceedings, Magistrate Bushel expressed displeasure that Benjamin H. Freedman, a founder and Secretary of the League for Peace With Justice in Palestine, failed to appear in court. In earlier sessions of the hearing Mr. Freedman had supplied a great deal of testimony on his anti-Zionist activities.

In dismissing the case, the court declared:

"Mr. Richardson has oftimes said he has a perfect right to represent anyone he chooses. I agree with him. But when he starts to associate with a crack-pot like Freedman, who is just an international meddler, he becomes his companion and collaborator.

"When he talks about representing McWilliams, of course he has the right to represent him. But when he becomes an associate of McWilliams, the notorious hatemonger, he has very little to complain about."

Magistrate Bushel said he was convinced that the publication of the pamphlet by the Anti-Nazi League "was prompted by a sincere desire to champion human rights, to combat racial and religious discrimination and prejudice and foster respect for our country's constitutional guarantees."

The statements in the pamphlet, he asserted, were honestly made in the belief of their truth and consisted of fair comments upon the conduct of the complainant in respect to public affairs. He said that the assertions regarding Mr. Richardson on page 11 "have been proven to be true by the testimony of the complainant and his witnesses."

O'DWYER IS HOST TO TWO

He Chats With South African Mayor and Irish Minister

Mayor O'Dwyer's visitors at City Hall yesterday included Sean McBride, Minister of External Affairs of Ireland, and J. Wilfred Orr, Mayor of Kimberley, South Africa.

Mayor Orr was accompanied by his wife, Mrs. Lou Orr; James Schoff of Bloomingdale's, Joseph P. Kasper, president of the Associated Merchandising Council, and Sylvan Gotshal, AMC general counsel. Mayor Orr told Mr. O'Dwyer that South Africa wanted American manufacturers to open and operate factories in his country, to meet a heavy demand for finished products.

He said the country was increasing its imports of American products, particularly heavy machinery, motors and automobiles. After receiving Mr. Orr and his party, Mayor O'Dwyer chatted privately in his office with Mr. McBride.

WAR ANNIVERSARY MARKED

Veterans of Spanish-American Conflict in Jersey Observance

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

EAST ORANGE, N. J., May 26—Exercises in observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the Spanish-American War were held in the East Orange High School tonight by Gen. Nelson A. Miles Camp of the United Spanish War Veterans and its auxiliary. Four hundred persons attended.

A feature of the meeting was the presentation to the city of a plaque commemorating the conflict. The presentation was made by Charles F. Woodward, commander of the camp, and the acceptance was by Mayor Charles H. Martens, who announced that the memorial would be placed in City Hall. George H. Warwick, past national historian of the United Spanish War Veterans, presided.

Rep. Thomas L. Owens III

WASHINGTON, May 26 (UP)—Representative Thomas L. Owens, Republican, of Illinois, was in "very serious" condition at Bethesda, Md., Naval Hospital today. He had suffered a heart attack on Sunday. A late bulletin said his condition "shows slight improvement, but continues very serious."

[The Church Peace Union]

June 14, 1948

Mr. Carl Hermann Voss
The Church Peace Union
170 East 64th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Voss:

In accordance with instructions from Dr. DuBois, I am encl sing a copy of the speech he is to deliver at the conference on June 17.

The Doctor would appreciate it very much if you would be good enough to see that tickets for the affair are sent to:

Miss Irene Diggs
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Francis Broderick
16 East 96th Street
New York, New York

Thank you for your courtesy in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosure

RALPH W. SOCKMAN
President
CHARLES L. MARBURG
Vice-President and Chairman Executive Committee
ARTHUR J. BROWN
Treasurer

CARL HERMANN VOSS
Extension Secretary
A. WILLIAM LOOS
Education Secretary
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HENRY A. ATKINSON
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FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON
HON. CARL SHERMAN
REV. RALPH W. SOCKMAN
DR. CHARLES D. TREXLER
PROF. D. ELTON TRUEBLOOD

June 22, 1948

170 EAST 64th STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Telephone: REgent 7-3703

23-26-26

Dr. William E. Burghart DuBois
National Assn. for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Before leaving for the American Christian Palestine Committee Seminar at French Lick Springs, Dr. Voss asked me to let you know how grateful we are to you for addressing the evening session of our Conference of Religion last Thursday. It was a real pleasure to have you with us.

Dr. Voss sends his cordial greetings to you, and wishes you well in all that you do.

Sincerely,

Doris L. Mayers

Secretary

[The Church Peace Union]

23-26-15

June 23, 1948

From: The Church Peace Union

To : Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Re : Lecture at Town Hall, New York
June 17, 1948

Due.....$50.00

For Dr. DuBois
By H. H. Smythe

Sent to:

Miss Doris L. Mayers
Secretary to Dr. C. H. Voss

RALPH W. SOCKMAN
President
CHARLES L. MARBURG
Vice-President and Chairman Executive Committee
ARTHUR J. BROWN
Treasurer

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THE CHURCH PEACE UNION

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HON. CARL SHERMAN
REV. RALPH W. SOCKMAN
DR. CHARLES D. TREXLER
PROF. D. ELTON TRUEBLOOD

170 EAST 64th STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

June 28, 1948

Telephone: REgent 7-3703

23-38-141

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are deeply grateful to you for your participation in the Conference of Religion for Moral and Spiritual Support of the United Nations.

We especially appreciate your comprehensive address on "How Can We Make the United Nations Charter Effective?" Many people told me how much they appreciated your speech and how much the meeting meant to them.

The success of the Conference, I believe, can be traced to the cooperation of the speakers, panel participants, and other members of the commissions.

The plans for our future work in bringing the religious leaders of various countries together will now go forward, and we shall count on your continued interest and help.

With all good wishes and again thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Atkinson

[1948] [The Church Peace Union]

The Church Peace Union

℔ W. E. B. DuBois, Dr.

To lecture at Town Hall

June 17 $50.00

Peace Payment

23C-48

The
[CHURCHMAN]
425 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

EDITORIAL OFFICES

Lecture

April 19, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In accordance with our telephone conversation this A.M., I am enclosing a sermon which I hope will meet with your approval. This could be recorded any time at your convenience at Station WOR, 40th Street and Broadway. I would just have to know a day or so in advance in order that arrangements could be made for a studio.

23-38-102

We would be honored to have you participate in this project. For your information, the following distinguished Americans have already read Sermons of the Week on the air: William O'Dwyer, Herbert Lehman, Fredric March, the late Fiorella La Guardia, Eric Johnston, Norman Corwin, Henry J. Kaiser, Bennett Cerf, Jane Cowl, Ordway Tead, William Shirer, Senator E. Raymond Baldwin, Herbert Bayard Swope, Warren Austin, Harrison Smith, Walter White, Margaret Webster, Dr. Robert Millikan, Dr. Channing Tobias, Paul Muni, John Garfield, Robert St. John and many others.

We shall be looking forward to hearing from you.

With cordial best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Isobel Steele

Isobel Steele
Director, Sermon of the Year

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 W. 40 St.
New York 18, N. Y.

[The Churchman]

lecture

April 29, 1948

Miss Isobel Steele
The Churchman
425 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Steele:

I am enclosing the sermon which Dr. DuBois has written to be broadcast by him for your May 16 program. After you have looked it over, will you please call his office and arrange for the time you would like him to make the recording. To help you plan this appointment, it will help you to know that he will return to New York May 5 from an out of town lecture.

Also, I am returning the [redacted]al on the sermon by the Reverend Charles G. Girelius.

I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosures

23C-38-41

[The Churchman

June 8, 1948

23.38-101

Miss Isobel Steele
The Churchman
425 4th Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Madam:

Will you kindly return to me the manuscript which I sent you on April 29, for a proposed Churchman "sermon."

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Co-Chairmen
SHIRLEY GRAHAM
JAMES B. McLEISH
ALFRED K. STERN
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MRS. W. ENGLISH STRUNSKY

CITIZENS COMMITTEE

FOR THE REELECTION OF CONGRESSMAN VITO MARCANTONIO

ROOM 1716 • 30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK 20, N. Y. • COlumbus 5-7031

October 13, 1948

22-34

Dear Dr. DuBois,

The enclosed invitation to the New York State Candidates dinner is of immediate importance. As the campaign winds up, it is imperative that the strength of the Progressive Party and the A.L.P. be fully demonstrated.

As members of this Committee we feel certain you will want to participate fully in making this dinner a real success.

We are sure that you will fill a table if you can. If not, please call us and we will arrange for several tables for our members and friends.

Most sincerely,

Louis Untermeyer. Alfred K. Stern

Members

RALPH ALSWANG
SARAM AMERLING
GWEN ANDERSON
DR. EDWARD K. BARSKY
REV. REGINALD H. BASS
ALICE DE G. BELMONT
DR. MAX BENJAMIN
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DR. LEO MAYER
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JACOB MOSCOWITZ
STANLEY MOSS
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HAROLD M. PHILLIPS
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BERNARD RESWICK
PAUL ROBESON
PAUL L. ROSS
O. JOHN ROGGE
ELINOR SAIDENBERG
ROBERT SANTANGELO
DR. SEYMOUR SCHOENFELD
VIOLA SCOTT
DR. BENJAMIN SEGAL
JOSEPH SELLY
DR. MARKS S. SHAINE
HERMAN SHUMLIN
GEORGE H. SKOLSKY
DR. RANDOLPH SMITH
ROBERT L. SOLES
HESTER SONDERGAARD
JOHANNES STEEL
PAUL STRAND
WILLIAM M. SWEETS
HORACE TITUS
JACOB TURNER
JULIA VAN DERNOOT
JOCELYN WAGNER
SAM WANAMAKER
FREDI WASHINGTON
MAX WEBER
REV. ELIOT WHITE
ALBERT L. WIGOR
JAMES WATERMAN WISE
HENRY WILLCOX
DR. ALEXANDER WOLF
(Partial List)

[CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO DEFEND...]

620 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Committ

January 20, 1948

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a reproduction of a letter from me to the New York Times, published on Jan. 12 last. The letter deals with the public controversy on the filling of the vacancy created by the death of Councilman Peter V. Cacchione of Brooklyn.

It has been proposed to reprint the letter as an advertisement in the New York Times on or about the date Jan. 23, the day of the City Council Rules Committee public hearing on the issue.

22-30

It is suggested that the letter be accompanied by the following statement:

> "We, the undersigned, support the position taken by Dr. William Jay Schieffelin in the above letter. We feel that any departure from the clear intent of the City Charter would be a serious blow to democratic government.
>
> "Not communism but the continuation of the democratic process is the sole issue involved."

The advertisement will be paid for by voluntary contributions to the Citizens Committee to Defend Representative Government, chaired by State Senator Kenneth Sherbell of Brooklyn.

Would you be good enough to inform us by the enclosed post card whether you wish to have your name appear in the advertisement?

Sincerely,

Wm Jay Schieffelin

Wm. Jay Schieffelin

encl.
uopwa/16

[Enclosure]

Reprinted from Editorial, New York Times Thurs. Dec. 4th, 1947

The New York Times

Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.
"All the News That's Fit to Print."
ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935.

Published Every Day in the Year by
THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY.
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER,
President and Publisher.
JULIUS OCHS ADLER,
Vice President and General Manager.
GODFREY N. NELSON, Secretary.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1947.

THAT CITY COUNCIL SEAT

On Nov. 4, 1941, the late Peter V. Cacchione, running in Brooklyn under the designation of Communist, won a seat in the City Council with 48,536 votes. On Nov. 2, 1943, again running as a Communist, he was re-elected with 69,149 votes, more ballots than were received by any other candidate in Brooklyn except Joseph T. Sharkey, Democrat. On Nov. 6, 1945, he had received 75,000 votes on the twenty-sixth count and was automatically seated. The only other candidate in Brooklyn to get 75,000 votes was Mr. Sharkey. Mr. Cacchione was running as a Communist on this his third victory, and he presumably died a Communist at heart, on Nov. 6, 1947.

The City Charter as adopted in 1937 and later amended provides as to the City Council that "any vacancy which may occur among the councilmen shall be filled by election, by a majority of all the councilmen, of a person who must be of the same political party as the councilman whose place has become vacant if such councilman was elected as the candidate of a political party. * * *" This is the basic law of the city. Its intent seems to us to be clear: it means that a member of the Communist party shall succeed Mr. Cacchione.

On the technicality that the Communist party in New York State has not had legal status since 1936 because of its failure to poll a minimum of 50,000 votes for its candidate for Governor an effort is being made to leave Mr. Cacchione's seat vacant until the next general election. This is a legal quibble of which we do not approve. We detest communism. We fought at the last election for repeal of Proportional Representation, which made it possible for Communists, by slick deals and bullet voting, to win Council seats out of proportion to their true strength in the electorate. But the spirit of the law calls for the seating of a Communist in this Council vacancy, and we think that the law should be obeyed instead of evaded, no matter how unpalatable the immediate result may be. To do otherwise savors too much of the rigging that often goes with Communist elections. Here is a chance to demonstrate the American code of fair play and strict honesty to which we adhere for the sake of our conscience even if we can't teach it to the Communists.

22-30

[Enclosure?]

SEAT SI GERSON NOW-
Says Wm. Jay Schieffelin

Reprinted from
The New York Times
1/12/48

The New York Times

Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.
"All the News That's Fit to Print."
ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935.

Published Every Day in the Year by
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ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER,
President and Publisher.
JULIUS OCHS ADLER,
Vice President and General Manager.
GODFREY N. NELSON, Secretary.

Appointment of Councilman Urged

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

A deep moral issue is involved in the succession to the seat of the late Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, Brooklyn Communist. He died on Nov. 6 last, and his duly designated successor, Simon W. Gerson, has as yet not been seated.

The real reason is, of course, the current anti-Communist hysteria. Faith in democracy is the answer to communism—not the present hysteria, which is an insult to Americans. It implies that voters cannot be trusted. It seeks to suppress freedom.

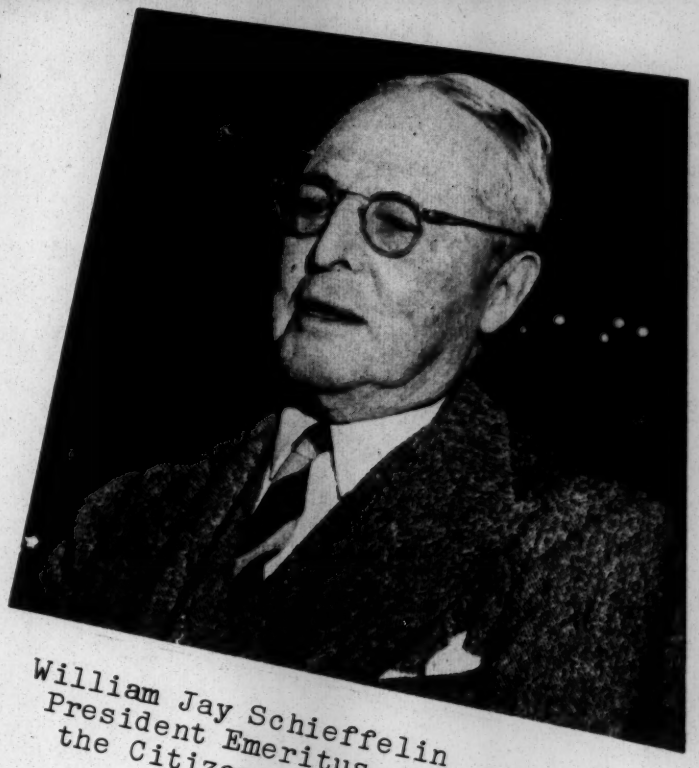
We should show our confidence in our democracy and our City Charter by allowing a minority a voice and not suppressing it either by blunt direction or tricky indirection. THE TIMES editorial of Dec. 4 is entirely correct when it says concerning the City Charter:

"Its intent seems to us to be clear: it means that a member of the Communist party shall succeed Mr. Cacchione; * * * the spirit of the law calls for the seating of a Communist in this Council vacancy, and we think that the law should be obeyed instead of evaded * * *."

To quibble and delay is just as dangerous a method of frustrating the 75,000 citizens who voted for Mr. Cacchione as would be outright suppression. Let Mr. Gerson be seated promptly. Let us put a stop to the un-American witch hunt which is making the world laugh at us.

WM. JAY SCHIEFFELIN.
New York, Jan. 6, 1948.

22-30



William Jay Schieffelin
President Emeritus of
the Citizens Union

A hearing by the City Council Rules Committee is scheduled for Friday, January 23rd.

ACT TODAY!

1. Get your organization to send a representative, 10:30 A.M., Friday, January 23rd, City Hall. Wire Councilman Walter R. Hart requesting time to appear.

2. Attend yourself!

*

Issued by the
CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO DEFEND
REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT
State Senator Kenneth Sherbell,
Provisional Chairman
50 Court Street, Brooklyn 2, N.Y.
Room 406
Telephone: TRiangle 5-6624

Civil Rights

CITIZENS COMMITTEE
TO DEFEND REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

50 COURT STREET, BROOKLYN 2, N. Y. — ROOM 406
TELEPHONE TRIANGLE 5-6624

176

STATE SENATOR
KENNETH SHERBELL
PROVISIONAL CHAIRMAN

MAXINE GREEN
SECRETARY

March 29, 1948

23-22-22

Dear Friend:

You were one of those who endorsed Dr. William Jay Schieffelin's letter to the New York Times asking that the City Council vacancy created by the death of the late Peter V. Cacchione be filled by his duly-designated successor, Simon W. Gerson. The statement of Dr. Schieffelin and your endorsement was published in he Times as an advertisement on February 19, a copy of which is on the back of the enclosed pamphlet.

The whole issue, as you undoubtedly know, has as yet not been resolved. The resolution to seat Mr. Gerson has been acted upon unfavorably by the Council but is back again in the City Council Rules Committee.

Meanwhile, time is running out and 75,000 voters who elected Mr. Cacchione are as effectively disfranchised as if they lived in a poll tax state.

May I thank you for your support in this good fight and suggest that, if you care to express yourself further on the matter, you may write to Chairman Walter R. Hart, and Council Majority Leader Joseph T. Sharkey, City Hall, New York, and urge that the resolution to seat Mr. Gerson be reported out favorably.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth Sherbell

State Senator Kenneth Sherbell

encl.
uopwa 16

Communist

THE COUNCIL
OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
CITY HALL

MICHAEL J. QUILL
COUNCILMAN, BOROUGH OF THE BRONX
2488 GRAND CONCOURSE
BRONX 58, N.Y.
FORDHAM 7-2442

January 28, 1948

Dear Friend:

A special Congressional election to fill the vacancy in the 24th Congressional District, Bronx, will take place on Tuesday, February 17th, 1948. The critical situation which confronts all of us today necessitates the election of representatives who will speak and work for the people in the spirit of the Roosevelt program. It is for this reason we now write you.

Among the candidates for the office of Congressman is LEO ISACSON. We feel he is highly qualified to carry out the responsibilities of high government office.

In the New York State Assembly, Leo Isacson's program for housing, state rent controls, extension of public child care services, an investigation of milk prices and a strong state FEPC earned him the support of all the people of the Bronx. CITIZENS UNION said "Iscacson had the most outstanding record in the New York State Legislature in 1945-46." As attorney for hundreds of tenants' groups, he has fought successfully attempts by unscrupulous landlords to impose rent boosts or to evict their tenants.

22-30

In Congress, Leo Isacson will continue his fight for the common people — for lower prices, for jobs at a living wage, for continuation of rent controls, for a free labor movement, for decent homes, for a tax program based on ability to pay, for an end to racial discrimination.

Leo Isacson is opposed to peacetime military conscription of our youth. He fights to lift the arms embargo against the Haganah in Palestine. He believes aid should be offered to the peoples of all countries who were victims of Fascist military aggression, and that this help should be given without political strings through the United Nation — the only machinery of world organization which can build a lasting peace.

Because we realize the importance of electing Leo Isacson to Congress, we are forming a

CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO ELECT LEO ISACSON TO CONGRESS.

As one of our community leaders, we invite you to join us on this committee. Your support will help elect to this high government post one who is truly devoted to serving all the people. If you feel you can join the Citizens Committee, will you please sign and return the enclosed card at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Michael J Quill

Michael J. Quill, Councilman

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[Enclosure]

THE CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO ELECT LEO ISACSON TO CONGRESS IS AUTHORIZED TO USE MY NAME AS A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE.

Name .....

Address .....

Telephone .....

Organization* .....

* To be used FOR IDENTIFICATION PURPOSES ONLY.

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[CITIZENS SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL]

IDEAS for Action

- Action-Research
- Community Service Center
- Living Newspaper
- Focused Listening
- Warm Canvassing
- Role-Playing
- Movie Discussions

VOL. 2 , NO. 4 July - Aug. 1948 PUBLISHED MONTHLY $1. FOR 12 ISSUES

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NEW TECHNIQUES FOR POLITICAL ACTION

When The People Take Over Politics

The New Party has the press and radio lined up against it. It can win only by utilizing the most powerful instrument democratic forces possess—**people affecting people.** To change people's opinions, to get them to vote, **face-to-face-persuasion** is far more effective than the press or radio! The New Party, small in funds, has one thing money can't buy—sincere people to work with other people; it **must** rely on an active rank-and-file.

Without real participation—a new kind of participation — the New Party will fail. Reliance on the outmoded approaches and techniques of the old parties can injure the roots of the progressive movement in America.

The old parties operate through political machines; to the superficial eye this is how the New Party should work, too. In fact, many progressives talk of "building a better political machine than the Republicans and Democrats have; one, however, that will serve the people's interests." But such statements miss core differences between the New Party and the old parties. They obscure the need for developing **new means** for achieving **new progressive goals.** And, most important, progressives must never forget that the American people just don't like political **machines**—of any kind.

This dislike and mistrust of machines is justified. Examine what **appears** to be good with machine politics as it has been practiced **on** the American people. Machine politics, wardheeler-style, **attempts** to get to people at the place where they live; it brings the political party close to the neighborhood by having wardheelers go out and meet the people. But watch it carefully from here, for its **what the local party hack does** and **how he does it** that is repulsive to people.

The wardheelers—the lowest link on the chain that stretches up to the patronage-dispensing "party boss"—**pretends** to be interested in the people in his community. He is a "fixer"; he tries to win friends and influence voters by granting "favors" to voters; he tries to

"deliver" his election district to the "party"—to insure his job and to enhance his chances of getting ahead in his party career.

Machines Depend on Apathy

The old parties count on a small, controlled group to win elections for them; the smaller the number of people voting, the easier to corral a block of "sure" votes and win the elections. It is no accident that election laws have been made complicated; this is a tried-and-tested method for changing voters into stay-at-homers. A small, steady group of "regulars" can thereby assure the election results. **Non-participation pays big dividends for old-line political machines.** To insure control and advancement, all kinds of participation are crushed: decisions are made by a top select group of the party; no attempt is made to get an active, working membership; people are asked to vote for candidates they may never have heard of; both candidates and platforms are made up in back rooms.

No wonder that people **hate even the word "machine"** and regard politics in America as a "dirty" business.

PLANNING FOR PARTICIPATION

This issue outlines new techniques of action to encourage real participation. The basis of the following techniques is that even what may appear difficult can be simple — when it grows out of spontaneous participation. All the action techniques discussed here can be carried out by any New Party group — without special training.

The ideas for action in this issue are only a beginning. They will result in active participation and should stimulate each group to develop these and better techniques. These are not abstract ideas. They have come out of working with people, and many of them have been developed by every-day progressives who don't think of themselves as "expert." They are only a small part of what can come from widespread participating. Neglecting such participation is suicide for a people's movement. To stop growing is to begin to die.

As a matter of fact, one of the New Party's big attractions is that it offers hope against the cynical exploitation of the American voter who finds neither Tweedledee Republican nor Tweedledum Democrat has any real interest in his welfare. The hopelessness of working through antiquated parties has made many Americans apathetic.

As The People See It

The Wallace movement can now reactivate those people. It can give them something new and honest in American politics.

Here are some of the qualities of the New Party which people feel make it different from machine politics:

• A secretary in Los Angeles: "Around the office I take orders from bosses who think I come with the desk. In our New Party chapter nobody orders you around. We all decide what we should do."

• An auto-worker in Detroit: "It's pretty hard to tell where people stand these days. This guy Wallace sounds pretty straight to me. I can work with a guy like that... but if the Wallace party turns into a political machine we can all pack up."

• A Negro longshoreman in Corpus Christi: "Wallace seems to believe in people. Did you ever see a picture of him? He looks like a good guy. These politicians give me a pain... I hope Wallace doesn't become one."

If the New Party is to succeed, it must not only maintain but **sharpen the differences** between the old parties and the New Party. Even when old party techniques are used they must be re-examined and then refashioned in the image of human, not machine goals. For example, contrast machine "favors" with the New Party Community Service Center. (See section on New Party Center in this issue.)

Machines supply jobs in the form of patronage and handouts, like newsstand licenses and Christmas baskets. Occasionally they help people get relief. But they have no **comprehensive job-security program.** They fix tickets, but they have no adequate housing and recreation program that will keep children off the streets. These "favors," calculated to "keep people in line" and "deliver the vote," are actually designed to get the most votes for the machine by giving the least. Machines constantly foster the attitude that if people in the community can't derive substantial benefits from political activity in a **large** way, they might as well get as much as they can in a **small** way.

On the other hand, the services and activities of the New Party are and must be different in kind and approach. **Progressive services are not favors,** they are not an attempt to buy anybody. They are based on the same interest in helping people and working with them that has made the national program of the New Party a people's program.

Why participation • Machine politics kills people's interest and participation in politics. • As the New Party grows, more grass-roots leaders will be needed. Participation at all levels is the only healthy way of developing these leaders. • And New Party ideas can come out of the member's "feel" for his community.

Participation is the key weapon of the progressive movement.

PROGRESSIVE PARTICIPATION

How to Hamstring Participation

A whole series of constraints against participation exist at many meetings. **Parliamentary procedure** scares away people who don't know the rules or who don't like the coldness of brisk, businesslike ritual. This formality finds its highest expression in the tendency to adhere unswervingly to Robert's "Rules of Order," which serves to straitjacket the meeting. Once the gavel raps, warning that the meeting is open, the atmosphere becomes weighted down with solemnity and the members adopt attitudes of respectful restraint.

Droning minutes and rigid agendas handed down from above kill interest and whittle down productive discussions. (Typically agendas are badly organized because points are unrelated.) A "classroom" seating arrangement with a speaker's table the center of attention sets the stage for an evening of **listening,** not of working together. Leaders who **handcuff** discussion with "that's out of order" or "take it up with the proper committee"; abnormal fear of digressions; reports by "do all" committees; tabling of new ideas—all throttle participation. The familiar statement, "That's a good idea; why don't *you* carry it out?" discourages the group from developing ideas at all.

An apparently digressive remark may evoke a flow of ideas and stimulate cross-discussion. This is often not regarded as a healthy sign, as evidence of real interest; it is immediately silenced in order to "get on with the meeting." When this happens people who want real participation wonder where the leader is so bent on getting to.

The use of stock techniques (postcards, petitions, street-corner meetings) **without discussion of their purpose** and special New Party slants, leads directly to apathetic mechanization. A real lack of "know-why" develops, and deadened participation follows.

These formal barriers against participation also exist in the **carrying-out stage.** Suggestions from members are tabled as "impractical" without a realistic discussion of why another activity has priority. This is the "busy-bee" school of political action: every activity is a "rush" job—"should have been done yesterday"—because little planning or thinking through of activities occurs. "Rush, rush" work kills interest. No planning for volunteering is done—volunteers are stuck at leg-work in a corner without learning the meaning of their activity or getting a chance to develop ideas about the work from their local experiences.

Volunteers are regarded as **"hands,"** not as intelligent, interested progressives who can give much to progressive action because of their every-day community experience. Even when some leaders do allow participation, they often only throw **participation bones** to the members after all the important decisions have been made by the top committees. An all too typical statement is: **"We** want **you** to do this." **Who is the "we" and who is the "you" in progressive action?** Leadership which

discourages participation from the beginning, ends up doing all the work itself. The vicious cycle is started on its way. **Result:** the "we's" get separated from the "you."

WHAT *IS* PARTICIPATION?

Unfortunately, many progressives believe that participation is achieved when "everybody is busy," "doing something," or when people are "busy at work," **mechanically** sending out mail, canvassing, or getting petitions signed.

• How much heart is in what they are doing?

• To what extent is the *value* of canvassing recognized?

• How effective is it, how is it related to other objectives?

• Do we know why we are sending petitions to our congressman or canvassing a neighborhood? *Is the meaning of the techniques clear to everybody?*

• Are good questions asked at meetings, questions which develop new ideas and new ways of doing things in the particular community, or is everything a matter of procedure and routine?

These questions are a better measure of participation than is counting the number of cards sent out or the number of people taking an assignment. In fact, the people who carry out such assignments without taking a part in forming them or without understanding and learning through them aren't genuinely participating in the first place—they are just continuing after hours the mechanical 9 to 5 routine of the commercial world. They may carry out a few tasks, but are soon likely to drop out. At best such dead work even while it lasts is **passive** participation. The New Party is looking for **active** participation. Without it the people's party is in serious danger.

It is doubtful that those who glibly admit these things but nevertheless make such statements as, "That sounds nice—but this is an emergency—we can't waste time"—understand the nature of participation.

• The **real** participant is an **everyday progressive. Everyday** because he's acting in his capacity as an ordinary person, not necessarily as an "officer." And **everyday** because he doesn't restrict his participation to the Thursday night membership meeting or occasions of officially delegated responsibility (for example, putting in time at the petition table). When a person "puts in time" at the petitioning in the same way he puts it in at the office you can be sure that he is not participating, that he is not developing through his activity.

• The real participant is the woman who talks over the New Party with her grocery clerk; the man who feels like wearing his Wallace button whenever he goes out—and gets into conversation with people as a result. The fellow at the baseball game who hits upon the idea of handing out score cards with the caption, "Do You Know The Score on the New Party"—and then works with other people in his chapter to carry it out. **In this easy, informal way, in all kinds of contexts, new ideas spring up that spell out genuine participation.**

• Genuine participation doesn't always announce itself through obvious results. The man wearing his Wallace button on the trolley car never knows exactly how deeply how many people are affected. It may be three months before the grocery clerk makes up his mind to vote for Wallace—and then the woman may never know whether her conversations were the only factor, or whether they added to other talks the clerk had with other people. **But everyday participation is always effective,** because it completely avoids the pressure connotations of highly organized political campaigning.

As a matter of fact many progressives tend to confuse the *effects* of action with the action itself. Because they can *count* the number of people visited in a canvassing night they think they can *count* the effectiveness of the canvassing. Even when pledge cards are used, many people sign them just to get rid of the canvasser, and many people who *refuse* to sign at all are nevertheless positively affected by the canvasser.... Actually the full effect of canvassing is no more obvious than the effect of wearing a Wallace button.

Organized New Party action attempts to approach as closely as possible this **everyday** participation.

"Listening In" Focused Listening

Many people resist the formal atmosphere of political meetings and lectures. They have little liking for the reading of last week's minutes, a half-dozen committee reports and formal parliamentary procedure. They'd enjoy an opportunity to talk things over in an informal, neighborly fashion.

Listening-in appeals to such people. It involves a small group of neighbors and friends — including non-Wallace supporters — gathering at someone's home in the evening around the radio to hear and discuss Wallace, Taylor or other New Party speeches. Like the old cracker-barrel session and FDR's fireside chat, focused listening is homespun political education.

Focused-Listening is more than listening: Some things to look for...

• Group radio listening stimulate spontaneous discussion.

• People who have been politically inactive will start thinking and talking about the New Party movement.

• Misunderstandings about the New Party can be ironed out.

• Group radio listening makes *active listeners* out of *passive listeners;* i.e., people will begin to pick out or select points made in the speech that most affect them.

• Focused listening enables many people who might feel inadequately informed to discuss the issues that bother them, to find their voice in a group of friends.

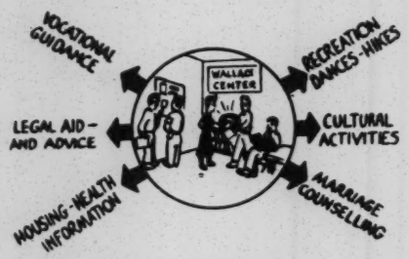
• Often a "listening in" evening will be the first time that many in the group have had a chance to talk over the New Party program and the issues behind it. Frequently practical action on a local level will grow out of focused listening.

• It strengthens attitudes toward the New Party, fights defeatism, helps build morale —again, because the group finds most of its members feel the same way about the issues, and think the same things should be done.

COMMUNITY SERVICE CENTER — Where People Meet

On a community level a great many human needs are not being satisfied. Few communities have permanent meeting places where neighbors can come for a social evening, or down-to-earth political discussions. Few people know where to turn for legal advice, for referral to health services and agencies, or for information on rent and housing problems. Where such services do exist they are impersonal because no one is really interesting himself in the difficulties of the people he "handles." By meeting these needs the New Party club can become a real Community Service **Center.**

The New Party Center is a project for centralizing all these activities in a single place—a community clearing house—**and for integrating them with the political action and education of the New Party.** Progressive groups can provide necessary community services without patronage or an elaborate establishment.



The work of the Neighborhood Service Center would be carried out in a new atmosphere different from that of the machine's political clubs, which "serve" as hangouts for political hacks who specialize in card playing and ticket-fixing. The New Party Center would offer valuable services to the community in a friendly, **personalized** way.

HOW TO START

• **Everything can be set up on a modest scale.** Highly specialized personnel is totally unnecessary. Space can usually be found in the local New Party club. Any place suitable for holding socials and meetings will do—a store, a loft above a row of stores, a basement in a private home, perhaps a large garage.

• Suggestions for beginning the project. **Work with a neighborhood group** in fixing up the place (painting, use of second-hand furniture, simple, colorful decoration). Form a committee of people who can give some time in the Center to help out people who drop in for information and aid; meanwhile, publicize the Center through interesting leaflets, pictures and picture postcards of the new Center, notifications to canvassers, and other contacts. If the Center worker cannot iron out the problem on the spot, or if special action is required, he can arrange an appointment with pro-Wallace lawyers, doctors and social workers in the neighborhood.

If a person needs legal advice, he can be referred to a **Legal Aid Society,** or arrangements can be made for him to meet a **New Party lawyer** (preferably at the lawyer's home). If he has difficulty with his income-tax, an accountant in the New Party can help him. For the people who need hospital or surgical care a Hospital Insurance Plan (HIP) might be set up through the center. Medical treatment in the home can be furnished through a group medical plan with a few New Party doctors.

Exciting possibilities of **political education** will open up. When a person is caught in a legal tangle, an explanation and discussion of the way many laws operate to promote the interests of economic and political groups will gain new meaning. If someone is disturbed over his tax schedule, information on New Party plans to make wealthy people pay a proportionally larger share will strike home.

Thus... the community member is assisted in his problems—proof that the New Party is working in his behalf in concrete matters. At the same time political education is made personally meaningful.

Suggested Services: to be altered, expanded according to local needs.

ADULT NEEDS

• *Health Services:* referral to community clinics and agencies, viz., medical, dental, psychiatric, etc.; *aid in developing new medical and social programs* in the community, such as an H.I.P.

• *Job information:* supply information regarding areas and industries where labor shortages exist; use *personal* contacts in the neighborhood as far as possible for *job leads.*

• *Housing:* information on public housing projects, mutual housing, coops; warnings regarding housing *jokers;* present apartments available, those that may soon be open. It could be used as a clearing house by people in the neighborhood notifying the Center when they have rooms or apartments to rent or share.

• *Legal aid and advice:* fighting evictions and rent-increase intimidations; fighting discrimination in job opportunities; aid in filing income-tax reports.

YOUTH NEEDS (Other than those overlapping with the above)

• *Vocational guidance:* inexpensive aptitude and interest-testing referrals.

• *Marriage counselling:* clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers. Discussion groups; competent library.

• *Recreation:* dances, if the space is available... community-wide dances *held regularly* for which tickets are sold and funds are raised.

• *Progressive movies:* obtain films from New Party Film Division, 39 Park Avenue, N.Y.C.; discussion groups on movies and on other political and social topics.

• *Snack bar* (if possible): where sandwiches, coffee, cake, cokes, beer are sold cheaply.

• *Cultural program:* use of People's Songs, People's Choruses, amateur dramatic groups, skits, Living Newspaper, folk dancing, mural painting, etc.

A Visitor Becomes a Friend

It is not just the kind of information a New Party person gives that counts. It is also the way he gives it. An interested, friendly manner should be the aim of people working in the Service Centers. Liking people is more important than experience.

For Example:

A veteran walks into a New Party chapter for information regarding a pension claim. The Center worker with whom he speaks has the latest Veterans' Bulletins and information relating to the problem directly available. He or she discusses with the veteran the best way to file such a claim: Which days are the most crowded at the V.A.? What forms will have to be filed? Which person can one see without being shuttled about excessively? How much time will it all take? Why?

These and other things can be discussed —the recent cuts in V.A. budget, services, and personnel and tie-up of this to the Republocrat economizing on social welfare. The New Party Service Center worker, acting as *informal liaison* man, might end the discussion with a good reference for the veteran to contact... someone who

was really "up" on the particular problem.

But the service need not end there. A casual but interested follow-up phone-call from the service worker would cement the tie made at the Center... the veteran would want to come back as a friend and not just as a "solved problem"...

A sincere desire to work out people's problems, and to **reveal the political underpinnings** of these problems, will make the New Party the first political party **to do things for people even while not holding office.** This is the most certain indication that Wallace people are fighting for the people **all** the time, not just during election campaigns.

Joint Action

These services require cooperative action. One way to foster the cooperative spirit necessary for effective progressive work is to **focus** or **channelize** action on local problems and issues through the Center. Groups concerned about rent control, fare rises, public medical facilities, better playgrounds, school facilities can meet and work out their problems at the Service Center... always with the people's party taking an active part. Other neighborhood affairs, such as parties, dances, social meetings can be planned at the new neighborhood centers.

It is easy to think of other things which **could be done.** These are just beginning suggestions. But the service centers should begin on a very **simple scale,** then develop and expand.

Through new projects like the Community Service Center, the New Party can deliver the goods **NOW**—and **TOMORROW,** and the **DAY AFTER.** In meeting people's needs, it builds political action and political awareness. The concrete benefits and satisfactions that derive from such a center are part and parcel of the vital political issues of our time. They begin locally what must some day be carried out nationally—a program for people's planning.

Today, in most communities, the Democratic and Republican clubs mean nothing to the average person as he passes by. The New Party clubs can escape this fate, for as a person walks past the New Party Center he will say to himself: "Here are my friends."

WARM-CANVASSING — The New Approach

When Wallace people first began canvassing they thought that canvassers had to be walking encyclopedias, simply switching on a stream of facts like talking machines. As the New Party movement grows and takes shape, they are learning that progressive canvassing involves an entirely different approach.

Recent scientific studies have shown that informal conversations influence voters more than radio or newspaper propaganda. While the American people frequently discredit radio and newspapers for their bias and manipulation, the warm, sincere interest which neighbors display toward each other has always been very effective.

Clearly, canvassers should rely on warmth and sincerity as human beings, rather than on the impersonal approach of radios and newspapers.

Canvassing is more than facts, issues, and door-bell pushing. To New Party people canvassing is a personal visit in which warm, human relationships prove to be the best approach to deeper understanding of political issues. Presenting an overwhelming array of facts in a clipped, sharp manner makes the canvasser sound like a Fuller Brush man ... not a genuine progressive talking things over with a friend, or a potential friend.

Progressives are not out to manipulate or high-pressure people; the New Party is not selling a cheap soap that requires a sales talk. Wallace people like the people they're canvassing; they work **with them,** not **on them.**

People's party canvassers know the issues, but they don't canvass with a prefabricated speech that supplies the last word on everything. If they do, people are likely to think, "More speeches—he's not interested in me. He just wants to get his own ideas across."

The Wallace program is positive and constructive—but it doesn't have to be pushed as the Ten Commandments. One of the positive things about the program is that New Party people don't pretend to know all the problems or all the answers—but they want to learn them by getting people to help find and work them out.

For this new approach it is best to use warm canvassing (contact-to-contact canvassing) rather than old-style cold canvassing. Cold canvassing is pushing one doorbell after another from the top to the bottom of the house, never knowing what reception you'll get. Some people do not like to canvass because of this uncertainty.

Warm canvassing is different. The first few people canvassing are reached either through personal contacts, a list, or the old hit-or-miss method. They tell the canvasser of friends or people who may be interested in the New Party movement. The canvasser can then say to these contacts, "Joe suggested I come down to talk with you." This **use of introductions** is called warm-canvassing, because you're not approaching the people cold. In fact, try to get Joe to take you down to his friend's house, or to invite Bill up.

This may be the start of a new house-committee. This is warm canvassing; this is **organized canvassing.** (Warm canvassing is actually much more organized than the old type, but in an easy, informal way.)

When organizing house committees be on the lookout for informal neighborhood leaders. These are people who don't hold official leadership positions, but are looked to by people in the neighborhood for everyday advice and everyday leadership. Enlisting their help in setting up house committees is added insurance that the committees will be successful.

LIVING NEWSPAPER

In almost every century except our own, folk drama has been a vital way of expressing the problems of every-day living. In the United States during the past century democratic group participation in folk drama has virtually disappeared from drama. Big Stars and Colossal-Productions have monopolized dramatic entertainment. Increasing professionalization of the theater industry has separated drama from the people and nipped participation in the bud. The effect is **passive entertainment,** encouraging cultural apathy or "spectatoritis" — that sits side by side with political apathy.

The Living Newspaper, a form of political drama especially enjoyed wherever it has been shown among American people (for example, WPA Theater projects), meets political apathy head-on. It gives people an opportunity to articulate their progressive feelings and attitudes in an unforgettable way . . . both for those who see and hear the Living Newspaper as well as for those who write and work out material. Through the use of realistic episodes close to the lives of people, progressive drama stimulates the audience to think out the meaning of the ideas presented. People remember because it is lively and the concrete.

Participating Atmosphere

The atmosphere of the Living Newspaper is that of spontaneous group expression — by actors and audience alike. Like the members of the audience, the actors have no professional experience; but they can make real and exciting a role that they understand. In such an informal setting the audience feels it can participate in the drama's action. An easy, cooperative, non-perfectionist setting should be the goal.

Who Does It:

Ordinary people, not big stars. The "professional standards" demanded by the commercial theater have discouraged people from participating in any kind of drama. But "experience" or "hidden talents" aren't necessary for conveying ideas and feelings in the Living Newspaper. Nor need the director have directing "experience." A well-informed neighborhood leader — convinced of the importance of the grass roots theater and interested in learning about directing through **doing** — can be a very effective director.

What it is:

In the Living Newspaper crucial events or issues are dramatized through a series of fast-moving episodes which demonstrate their significance.

For example: To show the effects and meaning of the Taft-Hartley act, the episodes could be arranged as follows: (1) background of the event (showing group of big businessmen laying plans for hamstringing unions); (2) opposition to the event (picturing a labor leader testifying in congressional committee against the proposed law); (3) propaganda angle (pointing out how the law was sold to the public — "safeguarding national interest by preventing strikes"); (4) effect of the act (showing scab taking job away from union worker during a strike).

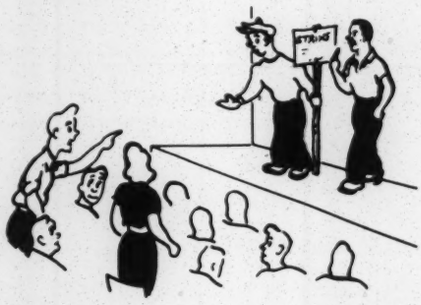
The Living Newspaper requires no special acting skill; just a lot of cooperation. Props, scenery, and rehearsals can be cut to the bone. For speed, a spotlight can be focussed on different parts of the stage, where successive scenes take place. A narrator ties the scenes together with interpretive comments. An inexpensive slide-projector can be used to flash against a backdrop important background scenes and graphic designs for artistic effects.

Enter the Audience

The Living Newspaper grows even more exciting when the **audience becomes a part of the action going on.** The narrator or any person on the stage can ask questions of the people in the audience. Individuals in the audience answer, thus taking an active part in the Living Newspaper, or there can be a general audience-response; the latter will occur when the audience feels and lives what is taking place. At times, people will feel they **just have to say something,** and the actors on stage should be sensitive to this mood. The actors can then **invite participation** by coming down into the audience during the show, with the lights turned up all over the room, and talking with the audience.

When the prime aim is to increase political action, the Living Newspaper can be directed so as to build up enthusiasm and lead directly into **discussion of techniques for action.**

Toward the end of the drama, some people in the audience can get up and start talking over what should be done. What they say will **not** have been **rehearsed** in detail, but will merely be a decision to take a particular point of view which is likely to create discussion. Building up demands for action can be a natural outcome of the drama. **Fund-raising** can be done **personally** in the audience — not in the usual formal, driving manner. People will go home with new political understanding, aware that they have participated in meaningful political action.



Ideas for Acting

In Living Newspaper the emphasis is on understanding a role and then making it real, rather than mimicking or posing it. First, have the whole group work through its **meaning** and the meaning of each part in it. (This is an invaluable **political** education for the people involved.) When the actors understand the significance of their parts they will not have to use **stereotyped symbols.** Stereotyped gestures and movements should be avoided—and they can be if people really grasp their parts. Political villains don't walk around with perpetual sneers. Stilted stage-speech should be avoided: use clear, unhurried, natural talk. If the people in the audience see that the "actors" talk and act the way they do, they will not be afraid to participate themselves.

Suggestions for Greater Participation:

- **Have actors come down into audience, mingle with the people, stimulate participation.**
- **Encourage individuals in the audience to go up on the stage; often people feel constrained unless they too can take an active part.**

• Vary the endings of the drama; sometimes organize Living Newspaper or skit so as to lead directly into an action program . . . fund-raising, canvassing, a letter campaign.

• In the skit, each actor should have one task to perform in relation to the situation, not a hodge-podge of roles.

• Use *partial improvisation:* writing a basic plot, then acting it out spontaneously. After a few rehearsals the skit will be ready for presentation.

• Even in the final form of the skit or Living Newspaper allow room for partial improvisation; don't insist on everyone's knowing a part perfectly . . . the "imperfection" will often bring out a real human conflict or indecision, which in itself is dramatic.

• Include both original (by the group) and non-original skits on the same program. Involve a lot of people in the writing, organization, and acting out of the drama.

ACTION-RESEARCH
Door-to-Door Fact Finding

To date, public opinion polls and community research have been used by big business for its own ends, and by universities largely unaware of, or unconcerned with, the **real** needs of the people. Progressive organizations have not used this inexpensive fact-finding and idea-finding approach to strengthen their forces.

A double-barrelled advantage develops from studying community problems and attitudes through action-research surveys conducted by New Party people themselves.

Research: You Learn About the Community

In action-research we look for information, not just attitudes. We want to know the facts about specific local needs (how many veterans are living "doubled-up" in apartments? What is inadequate about recreational facilities?) Such information can be enormously valuable in determining those neeeds uppermost in the minds of local people, so that local campaigns can be conducted on them. Meaning—the New Party does not manufacture a program of what people **should want**—but responds to real needs.

Action: The Community Learns About You:

Apart from the facts you learn about the community in the course of an action-research project, your organization is strengthened in the community.

1. **This kind of study brings your group new standing in the community. People learn both the scope and *personal* nature of the New Party's interests at the same time. One of the ways to sharpen the effectiveness of this is to do research on groups that you are especially interested in working with (veterans, minority groups, etc.).**
2. **Many groups in the community (churches, settlement houses, Y's, etc.) might not be willing to work with the New Party on a purely political issue, but would be interested in cooperating on community research. Action-research is therefore an excellent way of working with other community groups, and moving them toward the Wallace program.**

Door-to-door research should be coordinated with the Community Service Center. For example: if doctors, lawyers, and social workers know accurately what local problems are, they will be well prepared to work with individuals coming to them for services through the New Party Center.

Additional material on political action techniques can be obtained from Ideas For Action, 114 West 109th Street, New York 25, N. Y.

ROLE-PLAYING

Role-Playing is the unrehearsed acting out of everyday situations that arise in New Party organizing. Key situations are chosen from important activities in which the group participates or expects to participate. Examples are canvassing, running a street corner meeting, visiting a Congressman.

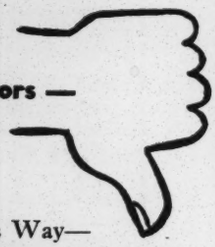
Its Significance: Role-Playing provides the people in the local New Party group with an opportunity to practice basic techniques and gain confidence in meeting problem-situations. In acting out situations which they will face, members of the group learn what problems are likely to occur, and how to tackle them successfully. Role-Playing is a concrete common group experience which serves as a springboard for discussion and education. Because the procedure is one of meeting a new situation in an **unprepared** manner the members of the group don't rely on old automatic stand-bys, but participate in a spontaneous fashion.

How to Use It: When some particular problem in political action is being discussed by the group — after a few basic points have been covered — a few people are asked to act out a key situation that will come up in connection with the problem. For example: If the subject is canvassing and the members of the group are concerned with getting people for an E.D. house-committee, two people might take the parts of a canvasser and a neighbor who is potentially sympathetic. After each situation is acted out, the members of the group discuss good points of the action, mistakes or omissions, and suggestions for improving the action.

In this manner, role-playing acts as a stimulus for a flow of questions and suggestions that were not specifically mentioned in the situation itself, and rounds out the group's understanding of the problem. Difficulties of many people in the group will be brought to light and can be tackled on the spot.

Role-Playing as Political Recreation: Role-playing is a good recreational activity. Many people have a great deal of easy-going spontaneity, but have been restricted in developing and expressing their ideas because they think they don't know enough facts. They appreciate role-playing as a way of expressing themselves. On the other hand, people who are more "up on the facts" but feel ill at ease in personal situations find role-playing a good introduction to getting into the habit of letting their hair down and gaining confidence in informal situations. To both, role-playing's de-emphasis on elaborate techniques of self-expression, such as writing or stage acting, will often have a great appeal — especially when performed in a cooperative, friendly group.

Organizational Errors —



Let's Not Do It This Way—

• "We *gotta have organization*": Of course we do. But organization for organization's sake is artificial and so much dead-weight that kills participation and group spirit. Progressive organization grows out of progressive goals. When Robert wrote his "Rules," you can be sure he wasn't thinking of the New Party.

• "*That mysterious know-how*": The only thing mysterious about organization is the fact that so many people think it is mysterious. Placing an aura of "know-how" around what are essentially simple, common-sense action techniques gives people the idea that they can never "measure up," scares them out of participating.

• "*Copy-catism*": The Thirty Party is trying to find new ways to do things for new goals. It is easy to accept the old traditional ways—but it is not always functional. (Common copy-cat errors are creating local news-bulletins in the image of daily newspapers; modelling progressive group procedures after business bureaucracy.

• *Near-sighted Practicality*: Psuedo-practical emphasis on quantity and speed, overlooking less obvious results. The myth, "what works fastest works best." (For example, getting through a canvassing visit in the shortest time possible . . . disregarding what effect you may have had on the person.)

• *Using the same old slogans as substitutes for thinking and understanding.*

• *Driving people*: People dislike having spurs smacked into their sides. Driving people drives them away from your organization. Work becomes "busy-work" for the "volunteers"—it becomes work for work's sake alone.

• "*We know it all*": Elite attitude of leaders ("exec") toward group, and of whole group toward "outsiders."

• "*No time to Think*": Planlessness, over-concreteness without looking for general policy.

• "*The Boys who cry wolf*": Not every event is a crisis; not every action is a matter of life and death—don't make it sound like one.

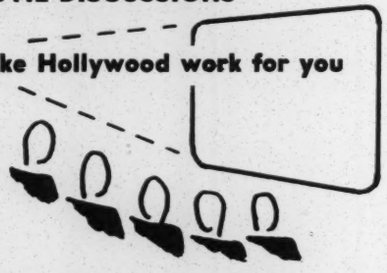
• *Perfectionism*: When the people sense that the pressure is on to do things with inhuman perfection or 100% efficiency they get scared, are reluctant to take any responsibility at all.

• *Chauvinism*: Subtle chauvinism toward Negroes, youth, women, minorities.

• *Business atmosphere*: People hate office work and factory work because they are treated *coldly, formally,* and *aloofly*. It is much easier to work with them by being *friendly, informal,* and *straightforward*.

MOVIE DISCUSSIONS

Make Hollywood work for you



Together with "listening-in," movie discussions can bring out solid participation and start exciting discussion in the informal setting of the E.D. house committees and other smaller New Party groups. Movies are famous for their anti-progressive themes — such as the barrage of "get-ahead" stories and romantic love as a solution to all problems. They are also well-known for their stereotypes — workers as apathetic or unreasonably hot-headed, women as "homebodies," Negroes as lazy, etc. Everybody likes to talk about the movies and everybody is an "expert" on them. Movie discussions provide concrete material for a contrast between the deeply anti-progressive attitudes in Hollywood's "silent propaganda" and the basic progressive attitudes underlying the Wallace movement.

Things to look for in every movie:

(a) How are workers, Negroes, farmers, women, and foreign-born presented in the film? What attitudes about them can the audience pick up as a result of the role?

(b) Is the dominant theme success, sadism, individualism, the universal-love-solution, or another?

(c) What problems (such as how to be happy) are raised by the picture openly or vaguely? What kind of answers are implied?

(d) Is the particular movie part of a trend? What other pictures resemble it? What is the significance of the trend?

(e) How do the non-progressive attitudes in the picture tie up with reactionary legislation and forces? *What are the implications for a Wallace program?*

IDEAS FOR ACTION is a non-profit publication designed to provide usable "Know-How" and "Know-Why" tools for organizers.

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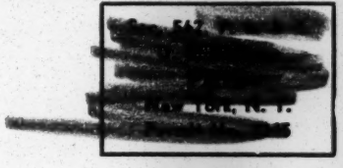

[Civil Rights Congress,]

Informed by phone, 3-2-48, that Dr. DuBois is in California (by Smythe)

23-22-23

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PRESIDENT

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DR W E B DUBOIS=

NAACP 20 WEST 40 ST=

PROTESTING HOLDING OF FERDINAND SMITH GERHART EISLER CHARLES DOYLE AND JOHN WILLIAMSON WITHOUT BAIL ON ELLIS ISLAND WITH PICKETLINE BEFORE IMMIGRATION OFFICE SEVENTY COLUMBUS AVENUE THURSDAY AFTERNOON MARCH FOUR FIVE OCLOCK URGE YOU JOIN US AND LEAD PICKETLINE SMITH DEFENSE COMMITTEE SANTO DEFENSE COMMITTEE JONES DEFENSE COMMITTEE BITTELMAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AMERICAN COMMITEE PROTECTION FOREIGN BORN

PLEASE REPLY TO JOSEPH CADDEN CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS 205 EAST 42 ST= UNSIGNED.

205 42.317P.

RWUC125 #1337

March 3, 1948

Mr. Joseph Cadden
CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
205 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Cadden:

This will confirm the information given your secretary by phone on March 2, in re your telegram to Dr. DuBois to lead picketline of Smith, Santo, Jones, Rittelman defense committee, that Dr. DuBois is out of the city lecturing in California.

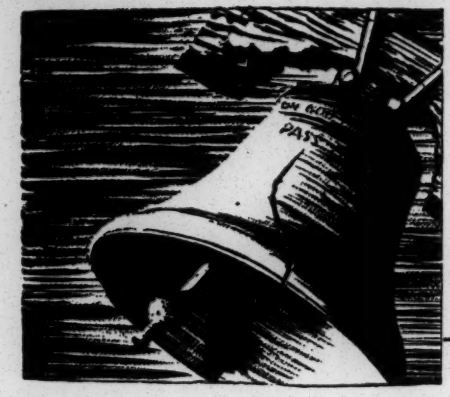
Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23-22-37

CIVIL RIGHTS [CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS]



CONFERENCE IN DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS

SUITE 33, 23 WEST 26 STREET, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MU 4-3457

[c March 30, 1948]

SPONSORS:

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
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CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
George Marshall,
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JOHN SANTO DEFENSE COMMITTEE
JOHN WILLIAMSON DEFENSE COMMITTEE
CHARLES DOYLE DEFENSE COMMITTEE
ALEX BITTELMAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

23-22-39

Dear Sir or Madam:

At least 1,500 delegates from labor, fraternal, church, Negro and nationality groups will participate in a Conference in defense of The Bill of Rights on Saturday, April 10th, at the Hotel Diplomat in New York City.

As indicated by the Call, copy of which is enclosed, the conference will be devoted to the development of a program of united activities which can best mobilize public sentiment in support of the traditional American civil freedoms which today are so seriously threatened.

We invite you to send a message of greeting and encouragement to this conference. Such a message will contribute materially toward inspiring the delegates and assuring the success of the conference.

We look forward to a favorable response.

Sincerely,

John W. Darr, Jr.

Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.

George Marshall

George Marshall
For the Sponsors

uopwa
16-96

HOTEL DIPLOMAT, 108 WEST 43 STREET — 264 — SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1948

[Civil Rights Congress,]

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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DR W E B DUBOIS= CARE WHITE 409 EDGECOMB AVE

=NAACP ~~20 EAST 40 ST NYK=~~

HOUSE COMMITTEE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES SPONSORING VICIOUS THOUGHT CONTROL BILL IF PASSED ANY PERSON OR ORGANIZATION DIFFERING FROM ADMINISTRATION POLICY ON ANY SUBJECT COULD BE INDICTED REQUIRES REGISTRATION MEMBERS AND FINANCES OF COMMUNIST PARTY AND ANY ORGANIZATION SELECTED BY ATTORNEY GENERAL BARRING ALL MEMBERS FROM GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT AND FROM GETTING PASSPORT ALSO LIMITING RIGHT TO STRIKE WILL YOU JOIN US AND OTHERS IN SIGNING LETTER TO CONGRESSMEN ASKING DEFEAT OF THIS POLICE STATE MEASURE REPLY COLLECT WIRE=

=DR HARRY F WARD HONORARY CHAIRMAN GEORGE MARSHALL CHAIRMAN OF BOARD CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS 205 EAST 42ND ST NEW YORK 17 NY.

22-19

File

205 42. Will sign letter to Congressmen

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Civil Rights Congress]

April 19, 1948

23-22-20

Dr. Harry F. Ward
Civil Rights Congress
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Ward:

I have just arrived in New York from an out-of-town lecture. In reply to your wire of April 17, re the letter to congressmen asking defeat of the un-American Committee thought control bill, this is to say that I will join you in signing the letter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

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22-34-11

September 10, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We invite you to testify as an expert witness in the coming trial of the twelve national Communist leaders indicted for forming an organization which allegedly "conspires" to overthrow the government by force and violence.

The testimony defense attorneys would call upon you to give concerns only one proposition; namely, that Marxism is a science. You need advance no endorsement of the Marxist philosophy, but only to tell what you know about Marxism as a science of society which has profound implications for the whole course of human history.

Of course, you would not be called upon to testify at all concerning the nature or activities of the Communist Party.

If you accept in principle the invitation here extended, we will arrange to provide you with a more definitive statement of the general nature of your testimony.

The trial is scheduled to begin on October 15th. It would probably be around October 22nd before your services would be needed. You may complete your testimony in one day, and certainly in two.

We would reimburse you fully for any expense incurred incident to this service.

We do hope you find it possible to serve as a witness.

Sincerely yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

Doxey A. Wilkerson
Special Assistant

P.S. - Thanks for the beautiful statement to the NAACP Board.
There are several things I need to discuss with you and I shall call you soon to see whether we can arrange an unhurried date.

264

BY THE SENDER OF THIS MESSAGE. PLEASE GIVE IT TO THE MESSENGER OR TELEPHONE IT TO

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NEWYORK NY SEP 15 1948

DR W E B DUBOIS KY

409 EDGECOMB AVE NYK

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS IS SPONSORING A DINNER FORUM "DEMOCRACY ON TRIAL" OCTOBER 14 THE NIGHT BEFORE THE OPENING OF TRIAL OF THE TWELVE LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. THE PURPOSE OF THIS DINNER IS TO BRING THIS GROSS VIOLATION OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS TO THE ATTENTION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. BECAUSE OF YOUR OUTSTANDING FIGHT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, WE WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH TO HAVE YOU AS ONE OF THE SPEAKERS. PLEASE WIRE YOUR REPLY COLLECT.

GEORGE MARSHALL CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
205 EAST 42 ST NYK

725P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Civil Rights Congress]

Letter, 1948

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AUBREY WILLIAMS

October 6, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-48-19

The Civil Rights Congress of Michigan is planning a dinner in Ann Arbor, to raise funds for the defense of the twelve Communist Party leaders.

A very broad Committee for Democratic Rights was formed in Ann Arbor around the fight against the Mundt-Nixon bill. Attempts are being made to revive the committee to take some action on the indictments. The proposed dinner would attract most of the old committee sponsors and lend it the proper aura for further activity, both financial and educational.

It was suggested that we ask you to be the guest speaker at that dinner. If you are available, a suitable date for the affair would be any weekday this month. (Football weekends in Ann Arbor preclude weekend dates).

We hope you can accept this engagement, and if you do, please let us know as soon as possible, what date will be most convenient for you.

Sincerely,

Felix Kusman

Felix Kusman

FK:rs
uopwa 16-47

October 18, 1948

Mr. Felix Kusman
CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
205 East 47th Street
New York 17, New York

My dear Mr. Kusman:

I regret to say that it will be impossible for me to come to Michigan this month. I am sorry not to be able to serve you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

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[redacted]

23-22-24

Oct. 29, 1948

Dear Friend:

We sincerely hope that you will find it possible to sign this letter, the original of which will be sent to the President of the United States. It has already been signed by a number of prominent individuals who are in no way associated with Gerhart Eisler. They are, however, Americans who are deeply alarmed at the trend of events in America where women with infant children as in Denver are thrown in jail with utter disregard for "due process of law".

We are extremely hopeful that you will add your name to the list of prominent Americans who through this channel are registering their protest.

Yours very truly,

William L Patterson

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
Nat'l Executive Secretary

WLP:jn
uopwa 16-47

P.S. Please return signed letter to this office.

WLP

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23-22-13

December 28, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
New York NAACP
20 W. 40 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are enclosing for your information a memorandum giving full details of the expulsion of James Zarichny from Michigan State College. As you will see from this fact-sheet, Zarichny was expelled for the offense of attending a meeting of a civil rights group at which Carl Winter, one of the twelve indicted leaders of the Communist Party, spoke against his indictment.

We feel that this is probably the most serious violation of civil liberties on the campus since the war. We regard it as especially dangerous in that it extends, in a most flagrant manner, the principle of guilt by association to a person who merely listened to ideas unpopular withthe college authorities.

We are extremely anxious for personal protests to go to Dean Stanley E. Crowe and President John A.Hannah of Michigan State College. The defense of Zaricnny whould be given the widest possible support, and we would like very much to know what you feel should be done and what contribution you personally can make toward it. We would like to discuss the case with you and have the fullest possible exchange of opinion on the question.

It would be most desirable if we could have an appointment with you at your earliest convenience. If prior to that time there are any matters not covered by the enclosed fact-sheet or any questions that you may have, we would be most happy to deal with them either by mail or by telephone.

In any event, pleaselet us know your reaction to this case as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Marcia Freedman

Marcia Freedman
Student Director

uopwa 16-47

[Enc.]

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23-22-23

MEMO ON THE CASE OF JAMES ZARICHNEY

1. James Zarichney was a senior at Michigan State College in East Lansing, Michigan. He is a Navy veteran and a resident of Mt. Morris, near Flint, Michigan.

2. In January, 1947, Zarichney was placed on disciplinary probation by the school as a result of distributing a leaflet of the American Youth for Democracy calling for a Fair Employment Practices Commission. The terms of the probation were never given in writing, but they were said to prohibit Zarichney from participating in any political activity on campus.

3. In April and May of 1948, Zarichney was questioned by the Callahan Committee of the Michigan State Legislature. He refused to reply to a question asking if he were a Communist. On the last day of the legislative session, the Senate, acting as prosecutor, judge and jury, found Zarichney guilty of contempt and sentenced him to prison. Under the Michigan Constitution, however, this sentence could last only the life of the legislative session, and since the sentence was imposed on the last day of the session, Zarichney did not have to go to jail.

4. On December 6 of this year, Zarichney attended a meeting of the Ingham County Civil Rights Committee at which Carl Winter was a speaker. Winter is the leader of the Communist Party in Michigan and is one of the twelve indicted Board members of the Communist Party. He spoke at that meeting on the indictment.

5. On December 20, just before the close of school for the Christmas vacation, Zarichney received a letter from Dean S. E. Crowe. This letter merely stated that Zarichney would not be allowed to reregister for the new quarter which begins immediately after the vacation, on the ground that he had violated his disciplinary probation. The letter contained no specific charge, but the college Administration issued a statement saying that the ground for the expulsion was Zarichney's attendance at the off-campus civil rights meeting.

6. After two years of actual persecution by the college administration, Zarichney now is prevented from graduating in March because he exercised his right to attend an off-campus meeting in which he was interested. By expelling Zarichney for an off-campus meeting, the college attempted to order, not only his activity on campus, but the whole of his political life. And the political activity for which he was punished was limited to listening to a speaker. These violations of Zarichney's civil rights go far beyond any recent case and have far-reaching implications.

23-22-38

April 9, 1948

Miss Eleanor F. Salkind
CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF ILLINOIS
187 North La Salle Street, Suite 503
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Miss Salkind:

Your letter of April 8, to Dr. Du Bois, has arrived during the absence of Dr. Du Bois from his desk. The Doctor lectured in Chicago on April 16, as you noted.

In regard to the reception, for Saturday April 17, I am forwarding your letter to the Doctor for action. You will hear from him directly, or I shall contact you as soon as I have his decision.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Civil Rights Congress]

April 21, 1948

Miss Eleanor F. Salkind
CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF ILLINOIS
187 North La Salle Street, Suite 503
Chicago 1, Illinois

23-2-21-X

My dear Miss Salkind:

I am sorry that I had to disappoint you in regard to the reception. You will realize that for a speaker on tour a reception is a difficult thing, and if I have one tendered me I like to have notice of it ahead so that I can prepare my program accordingly. I did not hear of yours until I returned to my desk about April 15, and then I let you know that I would be glad to receive it; but when I arrived in Chicago, Dr. Lochard said that on account of the short notice it was all off. I therefore made other plans. When at the last moment I got your telephone call, it was too late to arrange otherI am sorry and I appreciate your good will.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Civil Rights Congress]

Leo. completed Jan. 1949

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

OF MICHIGAN

FORMERLY CIVIL RIGHTS FEDERATION

424 REID BUILDING, 138 Cadillac Square CAdillac 6278 DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

Lech - Conf

December 14, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Research Director
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
Freedom House
West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

23-38-44

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Esther Cooper communicated to us the essence of her discussion with you regarding your appearance in Detroit at a Meeting of the Civil Rights Congress on January 12th. We have engaged the Music Hall which has capacity of 2000 people.

The meeting is intended to give community support to the National Civil Rights Conference, of which you are a sponsor, to be held in Washington, D.C., on January 17th and 18th.

This Conference, as you know, will call for the abolition of the poll tax; passage of an anti-lynch bill; passage of an FEPC bill; the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee; will call for a stoppage of the deportation drive against the foreign born, and the quashing of the indictments against the 12 leaders of the Communist Party.

We have set ourselves a quota of 100 delegates for Michigan. A meeting of this character will greatly enhance our success.

We are confident that if it is at all possible, you will be with us for this meeting. We are of course prepared to meet your expenses and honorarium.

Will you please confirm by wire collect?

Sincerely yours,

Jack Raskin

Jack Raskin,
Executive Secretary

JR/nd
uopwa-26cio

P.S. Would you please ship mats and other publicity material as soon as possible. That is if you accept the speaking engagement, of course.

I can accept only a few talks in 1939
and must charge accordingly

I can speak for you Jan. 12.
The fee would be $250 and of
course I will pay all my
expenses. The talk will be
20-30 minutes.

[Civil Rights Congress]

lecture, 1949

December 15, 1948

Mr. Jack Raskin, Executive Secretary
Civil Rights Congress
423 Reid Bldg., 138 Cadillac Square
Detroit 26, Michigan

23-38-45

Dear Mr. Raskin:

I can accept only a few talks in 1949 and must charge accordingly. I can speak for you January 12. The fee would be $250 out of which I will pay all my expenses. The talk will be 20--30 minutes.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Civil Rights Congress]

DOMESTIC SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM		SERIAL	
DAY LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

WESTERN UNION

1206

JOSEPH L. EGAN, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE
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CODE		NIGHT LETTER	

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

WU A136 PD=NB DETROIT MICH DEC 16 226P=

=DR W E B DUBOIS,

RESEARCH DIRECTOR NAACP

FREEDOM HOUS

=ANXIOUSLY AWAITING CONFIRMATION SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT

JANUARY TWELFTH PLEASE WIRE COLLECT

=JACK RASKIN CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS=321P..

IRWUA136 JNE VEZ

23-38-42

A NEW CURTIS SERVICE

Telegraph your order for America's favorite magazines—HOLIDAY, 1 yr., $5 • the Post, 1 yr., $5 • LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, 1 yr., $3. All prices U. S. only. No charge for wire. Pay Western Union clerk for subscription or when billed by publisher.

Publisher will, on subscriber's request, refund full amount paid for copies not previously mailed. Prices subject to change without notice.

Sech. com

[Civil Rights Congress]

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
December 28, 1948

Mr. Jack Raskin
Civil Rights Congress
424 Reid Bldg., 138 Cadillac Square
Detroit 26, Michigan

My dear Sir:

I have your letter of December 22. Please arrange no other appearances or meetings except the speech at your rally on January 12.

I should not object to a small dinner provided I do not have to speak.

I shall attend to the hotel arrangements. I shall let you know the time of my arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

HARLEM COUNCIL
CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF N. Y.
307 Lenox Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of ($) to help fight police brutality.

☐ I want to join CRC. I am enclosing $1.00 for membership.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... POSTAL ZONE ..... STATE .....

Make checks payable to: CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF NEW YORK

JOIN CRC TODAY

HARLEM COUNCIL
of the
CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF NEW YORK

307 Lenox Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.
MO 2-4570

• ● •

BERTRAM ALVES
Executive Director

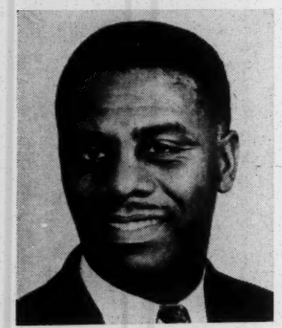
357

because his skin was black . . .

NEW YORK police beat him half to death. Then, to cover up their unbridled brutality they arrested and tried him for a crime he never committed. This is a true story. And it has been repeated a score of times in the last year—on New York City streets!

None of the Negro victims had committed any crime. They were savagely beaten, and many sustain lifetime injuries. In nearly every instance the cops were backed by the courts, the case ignored or whitewashed by Police Commissioner Wallander.

The shocking fact is that brutality to Negroes and flagrant disregard of their civil rights is accepted as routine in the New York Police Department.



THE case of Samuel Symonette is one of the worst. On October 18, four detectives entered Symonette's candystore at 101 West 143rd Street. They started a search. When Symonette asked for a warrant, the cops attacked him with guns, blackjacks and pop bottles. Uniformed police, summoned by the neighbors to save Symonette's life, arrested him for felonious assult on the cops and gambling.

After three weeks in bed recovering from his injuries, Symonette found a magistrate (Judge Rothenberg) who issued a complaint against his attackers. The case was brought before Magistrate Haddock. The detectives admitted the beating, admitted they had no search warrant. While high police officials crowded the courtroom, Haddock dismissed the complaint and denounced Symonette for making it.

ANOTHER scandalous case involves Randolph Sutherland, a Negro seaman. On December 8, he was walking along Lenox Avenue with Antonie Van Kouteren, a Dutch seaman. They were accosted and beaten by two plainclothesmen, for no reason except that they were white and Negro, and walking together in Harlem. Both men were arrested for disorderly conduct.

Magistrate Sala, who heard the case, added his voice for brutality by characterizing Harlem cops as "genteel and over-cautious."

Compare this callous indifference with the prompt intervention of the Mayor's Office in the police beating of Murray Becker, a white news photographer, and you discover that in New York City there is one law for white; and another, or none, for Negroes.

The Civil Rights Congress is fighting this wave of police terror against the Negro community. We are defending the victims in court, prosecuting their attackers and demanding the suspension of all officers guilty of such brutality.

We Ask You

- To demand that Mayor O'Dwyer take steps to end police brutality against Negroes.
- To support us with funds needed to fight all these cases in court.
- To join the fight yourself by becoming a member of the Civil Rights Congress of New York.

JUDGE ROTHENBERG

Said:

". . . officers have a right to use reasonable force in order to subdue a defendant who resists arrest, but they have not the right to use excessive force . . .

"There have been too many charges, altogether too many charges, of excessive force and unnecessary force used by police officers. I think it would be a very wholesome thing if a court of competent jurisdiction were to pass upon this case, which brings into issue the fact whether or not officers have used excessive force in making an arrest."

—Remarks of Magistrate Rothenberg on Symonette's complaint against the four detectives who beat him. Later, Magistrate Haddock dismissed the complaint in direct contradiction of the evidence.

23-25-40

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

February 12, 1948

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Alexander:

Thank you for the invitation to the Dinner in honor of Dr. DuBois on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. I regret that I have a previous engagement in Washington on that same date.

On behalf of the entire Meharry family, I wish to congratulate Dr. DuBois.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

M. Don Clawson
President

MDC/ec

CLEVELAND
Call Post

PUBLISHED BY P-W PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
EXPRESS 4141

MEMBER
AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS
NATIONAL NEGRO NEWSPAPER
PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

May 26, 1948

2319 EAST FIFTY-FIFTH STREET
CLEVELAND 4, OHIO

23-39-94

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Sir:

We acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 21 submitting a proposed column for our consideration.

This matter will be taken up at our news conferance this week and we hope to have a reply to you within the next few days.

Respectfully yours,

William O. Walker,
Editor

WOW:lac

[Colby]

Lecture

January 2, 1948

28-38-50

Dr. Ossip K. Flechtheim
Colby College
Waterville, Maine

My dear Dr. Flechtheim:

I have your letter of December 17 and am very glad to know of your whereabouts and of your family. Please give my best regards to your wife.

I could speak at Colby between February and May. The best time for me would be the third week in February. I would have to charge a fee of $150.00, out of which I would pay my own expenses. The cost of travel is so great now that I cannot speak for any ordinary amount. I shall not be at all surprised if this is more than the college can afford.

With best regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

lecture

COLBY COLLEGE
WATERVILLE, MAINE

12 January 1948

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

23-38-104

Mr. Flectheim has handed me your answer to his inquiry re a lecture here at Colby College. I am happy to state herewith that the terms - $150 - which you cited are satisfactory.

In casting about for a subject, it seemed to me that Civil Liberties and Race might be a topic which you would be interested in discussing. You indicated that the third week in February would be agreeable and as far as I know February 19th is open. The lectures are usually scheduled at 4:00 P.M. in order to minimize the demands on the speaker's time in the event that he might wish to leave on an evening train the same day. But I shall write you details on possible arrangements when I receive corroboration of your acceptance.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Fullam

Paul Fullam

P.S. I have checked the element of doubt in the date this A.M. and found that Feb. 19 may be considered definite.

[Colby College]

23-38-105

January 14, 1948

Mr. Paul Fullam
COLBY COLLEGE
Waterville, Maine

Dear Mr. Fullan:

In reply to your letter of January 12, this will confirm my speaking engagement at Colby College on Thursday, February 19. The subject "Civil Liberties and Race," is quite all right.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Colby College]

January 28, 1948

Dr. Ossip K. Flechtheim
Colby College
Waterville, Maine

My dear Dr. Flechtheim:

I plan coming to Waterville from Boston so as to arrive late in the evening of February 18. I shall lecture the 19th, and then take the State of Maine Express on the 20th for New York.

What subject do you have in mind? I had thought, perhaps, it would be well to talk about the NEGRO AND THE UNITED NATIONS or THE GENERAL QUESTION OF COLONIES.

Let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

[Colby College]

Lecture

January 30, 1948

Mr. Paul Fullam
Colby College
Waterville, Maine

Dear Mr. Fullam: This is to confirm the acceptance by Dr. DuBois of the subject, CIVIL LIBERTIES AND RACE, for his lecture at Colby on February 19.

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

Lecture Corp 1948

COLBY COLLEGE
WATERVILLE, MAINE

7 March 1948

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Thank you so much for your kind note. We were all very glad to have you here, and I have heard much favorable comment about your address.

23-37-1

One of the few laudatory views appears in this week's student paper. I am enclosing the rather silly 'letter to the Editor' (as well as the report about your talk) in case you should care to write a reply.

With best wishes and regards to you and Mr. Smythe,

Sincerely,

Roy P. K. Heath

March 9, 1948

Dr. O. K. Flechtheim
25 College Avenue
Waterville, Maine

Dear Ossip:

Your letter with its enclosure to Dr. Dubois has arrived during his absence from New York. He is lecturing on the West Coast and will not return to New York until late in April. I know that he will be glad to get the material you sent and I shall be gald to bring it to his attention immediately upon his return to his desk.

Hope you and your wife and baby are well. Look forward to seeing you whenever you are in New York.

Cordially,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Research Branch
Folder No. 1

2074 Madison Ave.,
New York 35, N.Y.

November 23, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have just read The New York Times Magazine, for November 21, 1948, which carried that splendid article of yours under the caption "The Negro since 1900: A Progress Report". It is superb.

I wish that the Times would send a copy fo the President of the United States, to Governors of all the States, to Mayors of all the large cities, and to College Presidents and Universities all over the country.

You should have it put in reprint in pamphlet form and sent it to the four corners of the earth.

I sent a very strong letter to Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn, stating that I did not like the way you had your job taken from you and that I thought Mr. White had too much power, and that the members of the branches throughout the country should decide as to whether or not you or Mr. White will have the last say.

Very truly yours,

L. F. Coles

November 26, 1948

23.38-9

Mr. L. F. Coles
2074 Madison Avenue
New York 35, New York

Dear Mr. Coles:

Thank you for your kind letter of November 23. I appreciate your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-33-14

June 8, 1948

The Editor
Collier's Magazine
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Sir:

Recently I made a survey for the concluding exercises of the Rosenwald Fund. It covered the matter of Political and Civil Rights for Negroes in the United States between 1917 and 1947; a period of 30 years.

I was, myself, astonished at the progress that had been made and the methods by which this progress was attained.

It seems to me that this might make an article which Collier's would publish.

May I ask if you would be willing to read such an article and have you any suggestions as to its space and style.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

April 15, 1948

International Documents Service
Columbia University Press
2960 Broadway
New York 27, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find check for sixty cents to cover the purchase of the following document:

Supplement No. 1
Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Third Year
Sixth Session

This document contains the Report of the Commission on Human Rights.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:

Enclosure

THE TRUSTEES OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

REQUEST THE HONOR OF YOUR PRESENCE

ON THE OCCASION OF THE INSTALLATION OF

DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

AS THIRTEENTH PRESIDENT OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

ON TUESDAY, THE TWELFTH OF OCTOBER

ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHT

AT TWO O'CLOCK IN THE AFTERNOON

PLEASE REPLY BEFORE
SEPTEMBER FIFTEENTH TO
THE SECRETARY OF THE UNIVERSITY

CARDS OF ADMISSION
WILL BE REQUIRED AND
WILL BE MAILED ON
RECEIPT OF ACCEPTANCE

23-22-5

September 7, 1948

Office of the Secretary
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

23-22-1

Dear Sir:

Thank you for the invitation to attend the ceremonies on the occasion of the installation of Dwight David Eisenhower as thirteenth president of Columbia University, on Tuesday, October 12. I will appreciate your sending me two cards of admission.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:S

March 2, 1948

The Editor
COMMENTARY
American Jewish Committee
386 4th Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

If available we would appreciate receiving several reprints of the article, HARLEM GHETTO, by James Baldwin, which appeared in the February issue of the COMMENTARY.

Thank you in advance for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

March 11, 1948

Miss Terry Blatt
COMMENTARY
425 4th Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Blatt:

It was very kind of you to send the reprints of James Baldwins' article, HARLEM GHETTO, which appeared in the February issue of COMMENTARY. Please accept my thanks and appreciation for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY INTERRELATIONS
OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STUART W. COOK
Director of Research

ISIDOR CHEIN
Assoc. Director of Research

ALFRED J. MARROW
Chairman, Executive Committee

212 WEST FIFTIETH STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y., TELEPHONE: CIRCLE 5-5432

April 9, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, NY

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Under separate cover I am forwarding to you a copy of the Northtown Community Self-Survey as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Evelyn Bullock

Evelyn Bullock
Secretary to Dr. Stuart Cook

SWC:eb

D3-20-74

April 12, 1948

Miss Evelyn Bullock
Commission on Community Interrelations
American Jewish Congress
212 West 50th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Miss Bullock:

This will acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the copy of the Northtown Community Self-Survey. It was indeed kind and courteous of you to cooperate so quickly with us in this request.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

[1948]

慶祝勝利

32.30.72a

"Congratulations On Your Victories"

Receipt for One Dollar for Greetings to the Chinese People for October Tenth 1948 Through the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy 111 West 42nd St. NYC

[COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EAST. POLICY]
[1948]

慶祝勝利 Greetings:

to the Chinese people

On this 37th anniversary of the Chinese Republic we Americans hail with great joy your inspiring achievements in the struggle for freedom and proudly reaffirm our friendship with you.

Your long and tortuous fight for national and social emancipation is approaching its final triumph over enemies who betrayed our common victory in the recent war.

Your victorious struggle for liberation has given new heart to the millions all over the world who strive for freedom. The age-old serfdom has been shattered. 170 million Chinese peasants now, for the first time, till their own debt-free land. You are building new industries which give promise of a life of plenty for all.

Your achievements are bringing to a close the bitter chapter of "cheap coolie labor" with which the profiteers of East and West undermine the living standards of workers throughout the world.

We Americans have not forgotten that our nation was born out of revolution. Nor have we forgotten that we, like you today, once had to fight a civil war to preserve our national unity. We stand firm with you against those who provide and use American dollars and guns to hinder your advance.

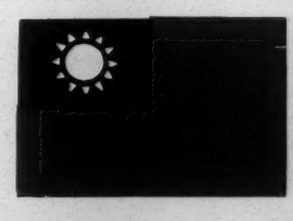
To you, professional men and women, who prefer persecution, imprisonment or exile to treason, our salute!

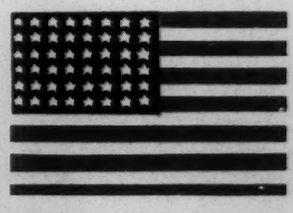
To you, heroic students, professors and intellectuals, who, resisting the establishment of thought control, face death without fear, our salute!

To you, magnificent workers and peasants, vast majority of the Chinese people fighting for a new and better life, our salute!

As a token of our solidarity, we have each contributed to a fund which will be used to help awaken the American people to an appreciation of the great part your valiant fight is playing in our struggle for freedom and peace. We pledge intensified efforts here at home against reaction, and look forward, with you, to the day when all the free peoples of the world will live together in friendship and peace.

	Name	Address	City	$1.00 Contribution
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				





Return to: **COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY**
111 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

32.30.72

[COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EAST POL.]

SPOTLIGHT

ON THE FAR EAST

Published monthly by the COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY
Vol. III, No. 2 111 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-6343 • Single copy, 10¢ February, 1948

'NO ARMS, NO LOANS, NO AID TO CHIANG KAI-SHEK;' NATIONAL FAR EAST PARLEY APPOINTS COMMITTEE

The democratic self-interest and conscience of America was expressed at the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East held in New York on January 23-25, 1948, under the chairmanship of New York City Councilman, Stanley M. Isaacs, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and T. A. Bisson, Far East scholar and former adviser to the Government Section of General MacArthur's Headquarters in Japan.

The 485 delegates, visitors and observers from 138 organizations constituted a wide cross-section of U. S. public opinion. There were many experts on China and the Far East, writers, churchmen, and leaders of organizations of varied political beliefs. They were joined by delegates from the grass roots groups, Americans disturbed by the dangerous effects of current U. S. policy in Asia. This combination of expert opinion and vigorous grass roots demands for action gave the conference its unique character.

Opening the first formal session, co-chairman Stanley M. Isaacs called attention to the diversity of groups which now united in action on Far Eastern issues:

> "I realize that those participating in this conference hold varied views as to many matters. I assume and I am sure that there is no difference of opinion among us that the present policy for dealing with China and other Far Eastern problems must be re-studied, revised, and completely re-cast. . . . As to Europe, I suppose we do differ in many respects, especially concerning the Marshall Plan. I for one am strongly for it, as Secretary Marshall presented it to Congress. . . . Whether or not you agree with what I have said as to the soundness of the Marshall program certainly we all agree, I am sure, that there isn't a dissent in this room that the Truman Doctrine for Greece and Turkey and the Truman policy in China are wholly unsound."

Other speakers and sponsors saw no difference between U.S. policy in China and the policy for Europe embodied in the Marshall Plan. They viewed the two as different sides of the same coin. But regardless of differences of opinion on questions outside the scope of the Conference, there was complete unanimity behind the Conference resolutions condemning U.S. intervention in China and urging no arms, no loans, no aid to

(*Continued on page* 12)

Dorothy Doyle, Ex-UNRRA Nurse in China, Speaks at Conference

Among leading speakers at the Conference were Prof. Rexford Guy Tugwell of the University of Chicago, original New Deal "Brain Truster" and ex-Governor of Puerto Rico; Michael Straight, Editor, NEW REPUBLIC; former Congressman Hugh DeLacy of Washington; Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs, City Councilman, New York; Agnes Smedley, writer on China; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; President James Durkin of the National Union of Office & Professional Workers (CIO).

Tugwell

Straight

DeLacy

Isaacs

Smedley

DuBois

Durkin

LABOR MUST ACT NOW

Resolution by Union Delegates

The present policy of the United States Government in China and the Far East affects the jobs, wages and standards of living of American workers. Our military intervention in China alone has already taken $135 out of the pocket of every U. S. taxpayer. It is part of a generally warlike foreign policy which . . . enriches our big bankers, food speculators and munitions contractors, but brings the wage-earner only a skyrocketing cost of living today and the threat of war tomorrow.

Present U. S. policy in the Far East, by supporting reactionary and colonial governments there, tends to preserve "coolie standards" against which Oriental workers are themselves fighting, and which are a threat to workers everywhere. Chiang Kai-shek, who has received $4 billions of U. S. support since V-J Day suppressed all genuine trade unionism in his area in April 1947, and substituted a Hitler-like "Labor Front." His aim is to push Chinese factory and maritime workers back to their old prewar wages of 20-40 cents a day. His Wall Street backers look forward to the day when, with "order" restored and these wages obtaining, they too can set up factories in China. The new U. S.-Chinese commercial treaty facilitates this. Corporations for the purpose have been organized. . . . Such arrangements mean only new slavery to the workers of China and new pressures on the livelihood of workers in the U.S. Chinese workers have appealed to the workers of America to help them against U. S. intervention and its stooge, Chiang.

Our policies have been directed against labor in other places. In the Philippines, . . . in Korea, . . . in Japan. . . .

We trade unionists, believe that those who have shackled American labor with the Taft-Hartley Law now similarly seek to enslave the peoples of Asia. The present American policy of intervention on the side of reaction in China and the other Far Eastern countries is Taft-Hartleyism in foreign policy. . . .

The proposals in Washington to increase American aid to Chiang Kai-shek must be defeated. No loans—no arms—no aid to Chiang Kai-shek.

The time for action is now!

We salute and support our brother trade unionists, the seamen of Canada, and the dock workers of Australia who . . . refused to carry arms to China or load Dutch ships in Australia carrying death for Indonesians. . . .

We remind the American people that U.S. scrap iron, much of which Pacific longshoremen refused to load for Japan in an effort to arouse the whole American labor movement and the public to the imminent danger, finally ended up in the bodies of American soldiers who fought in the Pacific area in World War II.

We pledge our whole-hearted support to any steps that may be taken by maritime labor in the United States to aid the cause of peace by depriving the reactionary warmakers in China, of arms. . . .

We call upon organized labor in the United States to support this program of action.

We call upon the World Federation of Trade Unionists to urge its affiliates to halt the shipment of arms to Chiang as well as to France and the Netherlands now waging war against the Indonesian and Viet Namese peoples. . . .

We who have known hardship are eager to aid the people of China. . . . for reconstruction, which can only come when her people have won a genuine democratic coalition government. . . . We advocate aid to peoples for peace, not to their oppressors for war.

OUR ANTI-IMPERIALIST TRADITION

By Abraham Chapman*

Speaker, South-east Asia Session

A majority of the press and all those who would impose "thought control" upon our nation are trying to make "imperialism" an unmentionable four-letter word, hoping apparently that this will prevent criticism of our foreign policy as imperialistic.

The American empire-builders of the last century were less squeamish. They spoke openly of "manifest destiny," of Anglo-Saxon "superiority" over the Asiatics, to "justify" their course of empire. In 1869 the rising trusts, the "money power" issued a newspaper—*The Imperialist*. The first issue complained:

> "The American Republic founded on the self-evident falsehood that all men are born free and equal and the atheistic absurdity that government owes its authority to the consent of the governed has proved a total and humiliating failure. The empire will bring us peace. Today *The Imperialist* raises the banner of the empire against the red flag of republican anarchy."

"Anti-Imperialist League"

The democratic opponents of this policy were equally blunt. They called themselves the "Anti-Imperialists." At a conference such as this in 1898 the Anti-Imperialist League was organized. From our history books you might never know there was such an organization, yet it embraced two ex-Presidents of the U.S., former Cabinet officers, fifteen Senators, governors of many states, scores of Congressmen, university officials, ecclesiastics, etc.

Anti-imperialist sentiment was so widespread that in 1900 the United States Senate was divided equally on a resolution for Philippine independence. It was only the deciding vote of the Vice-President that embarked America legally, so to speak, on imperialism.

Many groups participated

Just as at this conference many groups and diverse political views are represented, so did the organized anti-imperialist movement of the early twentieth century include diverse groups

First were old-fashioned democratic Americans who thought that an imperialist foreign policy, upon which we were then embarking in earnest for the first time, betrayed the tradition and Constitution of the United States.

Second were the Abolitionists. Typical of these was the President of the League George S. Boutwell, who wrote:

> "Of all modern history the most disgraceful chapter is that which the American nation is now writing in . . . the war against the Philippines. At the opening of the last third of this century we abolished slavery in America. At the end of this century we are making war for the establishment of a system of slavery in Asia."

Third was the young and emerging labor movement. Fourth, the opposition of the Negro people. Fifth were the Populists who fought against the "money power" and against the overseas expansion of the "money power".

*Editor *Fraternal Outlook*, IWO

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Doris Senk, delegate from the American Agency for World Federation of Youth.

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THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

By Paul Robeson

Closing Speech of Conference

In China today we are dealing with a people who are trying to work out their own destiny; to build a world for all people, not just a few. They sense that we live in a changing world and they have begun to build a new life for the millions who live in their country.

Powerful people here in America say, "we can't have that." They want China's raw materials for themselves. They try by every possible means to back up the few in China who would exploit the great masses of the people.

But there is a section of the people in China today who represent a real vanguard. We Americans must understand that we have got to get along with them. We have got to understand that maybe the exploiters will be ruled out; that we are going to have to get along with socialists, cooperativists, and a whole lot of communists in many parts of the world. . . .

We have got to have courage and sincerity and love for our fellow men so that we will say, "Yes you have a right to struggle for your rights, just as we in 1775 had to struggle for ours!"

Let us try to bring pressure from meetings like this to see that America does not take the leadership in enslaving mankind, in constructing some new, crazy kind of fascism which would impose its will on China, Africa, Latin America, and on the people of the United States themselves.

We do not seem to be a very large band. But we are quite large enough to turn back the tide if we stand firm, if we lose not one part of the courage that we have had until today, struggling not only for ourselves but for the people of the world, including those brave people now showing us the way—the people of China.

Committee To Carry Out Program

(Conference Resolution)

"Insofar as the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy is an organization devoted to carrying out the principles embodied in the Call of this Conference, the Conference Committee requests and authorizes the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, 111 West 42nd St., New York, to carry out and coordinate the action program adopted by the delegates, observers and individuals at this Conference, with specific mention of such groups as Labor, Youth, Negro, Christian, Jewish and community organizations.

"1. The Conference urges the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy to expand to include representation from individuals and organizations present at this Conference who agree with the Action Program of the Conference.

"2. The Conference calls upon your organizations and individuals to implement the Action Program of the Conference in their own organizations, and to cooperate with the Committee and utilize its resources; its experts on Far Eastern affairs, its speakers' bureau, its information material and its monthly publication, *Spotlight on the Far East;* and to help establish new Chapters of the Committee on the West Coast and wherever else possible.

"3. Insofar as *Spotlight on the Far East* is the only publication in the United States that continuously reports and interprets developments in the Far East in the spirit of this Conference, we urge special efforts to intesify a *Spotlight* subscription campaign among the members of participating organizations as the best assurance of educating and organizing their members, as well as bringing the program of the Conference to individual citizens throughout the country."

Memorial For General Carlson

A Memorial Service for the late Brig. General Evans F. Carlson, Pacific war hero and Chairman of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, was held by the National Conference on January 25. A moving tribute was paid by Agnes Smedley who said that because Carlson was a sincere and practicing Christian, he developed into a fighting revolutionary, which is in the Christian tradition.

Michael Straight, editor of the *New Republic,* described his visit to General Carlson on the day before he died.

Joining in this tribute to a friend of China was Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, former Vice-Generalissimo of China who has now come out against Chiang Kai-shek. He said he was there to "represent the soldiers and people of China."

Gandhi Reaction's Victim

Reaction has claimed another victim. Mahatma Gandhi, who only desired to see peace between the Hindus and Moslems of India, has been assassinated by a member of one of the extreme right-wing groups, which have been characterized by Pandit Nehru as "Brown Shirt Brigades."

The many thousands of Hindus and Moslems who mourn Gandhi's death demonstrate the myth of an unbridgable gulf between the the two communities, a myth on which the monstrous partition has been erected.

The fulfillment of Gandhi's life-long dream —lasting Hindu-Moslem unity and the establishment of a free democratic state—is the legacy he leaves the leaders and peoples of India and Pakistan.

MESSAGES TO THE CONFERENCE

Among those sending messages and greetings to the Conference were:

From the U.S.: Senator Wayne Morse (R.-Ore.); Rep. John A. Blatnik (D.-Minn.) Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.); Mrs. Evans F. Carlson; 20,000 ILWU Sugar Workers in Hawaii; Y.W.C.A. Public Relations Committee, Alberqueque, New Mexico; Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance, New York; Korean Peoples Democratic Front in America.

From China: The Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, Hongkong, through Marshal Li Chi-sum (Li Chi-shen); Chu Hsueh-fan, President, Chinese Association of Labor; Liu Ning-I, Trade Union Representative of the Liberated Areas to the World Federation of Trade Unions; China Democratic League, Hongkong & Malaya; A group of Chinese writers, Kuo Mo-jo, Chien Po-tsan, Sung Yun-pin (historians); Mao Tun (novelist), Liu Ya-tzu (poet), Hou Wai-lu (writer), Hsia Yen (playwright), Miao Lang-shan (professor); National Student Federation of China, Shanghai and Hongkong; Dr. Shen Chun-ju, on behalf of the China Salvation Group; Mrs. Herman Liu, on behalf of the China Human Rights League.

From the Philippines: Congress of Labor Organizations; Hukbalahap, Manila; Luis M. Taruc, leader of the Hukbalahap.

Others: Tran-Ngoc-Danh, President, Delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, in Paris; Women's International Democratic Federation, Paris; International Union of Students, Prague; Vancouver Labor Council, Canada.

No Aid to Chiang

(*Continued from page* 1)

the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek government.

The Conference reporters presented a rich and significant body of facts and information on every major area in the Far East (see excerpts from the reports on other pages). The delegates in turn, focused their attention on translating the facts into action.

The majority of the action proposals came from the delegates and representatives of organizations present. The call for a "China Week" to dramatize and organize America's dissent from our present disastrous Far Eastern policy came from the floor. It was picked up spontaneously by a series of delegates pledging the support of their organizations, and suggesting how the "China Week" could be developed in community, campus, and among different sections of the population.

Labor Strongly Represented

No conference concerned primarily with U. S. foreign policy, certainly no recent delegated assembly on China, has won as large a response from the trade unions. There were 160 labor delegates from 58 CIO, AFL and independent national, local and shop unions. The labor delegation, sparked by the seamen, originated the proposal for embargoing shipments of arms for the war in China. The important declaration of the trade union delegates to the Conference appears on page 2 of this issue.

While the Conference discussed all aspects of U. S. foreign policy, it was quite clear, both from the reports and the discussion, that changing U. S. policy in China is the key task in the fight for a democratic Far Eastern policy.

Committee to Carry on Work

The Conference was only a beginning. Its biggest work is still ahead—to bring the facts of the experts and the program of action adopted by the delegates to the widest possible audience of Americans. For this purpose the Conference called upon the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy to serve as the continuing body and to expand both its work and its composition.

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March Eighth 1948

My dear Dr DuBois -

As the Conference directed, we are planning to have a CHINA WEEK; I enclose the first set of suggestions which has gone out to our members throughout the country: we hope to make many many more thousands of Americans aware of the issue that the China policy presents.

As a tool for this CHINA WEEK we are making the April issue of SPOTLIGHT a China Week issue; and in it we want to have a series of short statements from nationally known leaders telling why they think that CHINA WEEK is important, urging citizens to join in this effort to halt further help to Chiang Kai-Shek, etc.

Would it be possible for you to make such a statement for SPOTLIGHT? We want it only two or three sentences in length - not an article, just a statement.

We would very much appreciate it if you can find time during your busy tour days to do this; we would like to have it by return mail!

Dr Smythe tells me that you will still be on tour during CHINA WEEK. In your talks during those days, April 4th to 11th, could you include some emphasis on the China policy issue. We can supply you with SPOTLIGHTs or other material if you would like this to distribute. It would help a lot if you would mention this WEEK and the reason for it during that time.

Tmorrow night we are having a meeting of the New York City area delegates to talk over CHINA WEEK plans for this area; Friday night the trade union delegates to the Conference meet to make suggestions and plans for trade union ohservance of the Week.

We should have had a greeting to you for your birthday. Our staff were simply amazed to learn that you are over eighty years old!! We all hope we are as good fighters when we reach 80!

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

Maud Russell
Executive Director

R.r

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COMMITTEE FOR A
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Dear Friends:

The National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East opened Friday evening January 23, with a Mass Meeting. The cooperation of hundreds of members and friends helped to make this meeting for a democratic Far Eastern policy a great success.

The meeting was an excellent stimulus to the American people's fight for a non-interventionist policy in China.

In order to close our records we urge you to send in all outstanding tickets and monies -- IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE SO.

In the event that you were unable to dispose of any of the tickets, would it be possible for you to make a small contribution to our work?

In these days of high prices, the "high cost of Conferences" is staggering.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

For the Conference Committee

ucpwa #16-172

[COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR E.]

SPOTLIGHT
ON THE FAR EAST

Vol. III, No. 5 | Published monthly by the COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY 111 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-6343 • Single copy, 10¢ | May, 1948

China Week Spreads Facts; Follow-Through Needed Now

China Week, April 4-11, marked a new effort by alarmed citizens to turn U.S. Far Eastern policy from war to peace. During the drive sponsored by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, the facts of America's present role in China were given the people at mass and group meetings, over the radio and in Sunday sermons. Thousands who heard them passed resolutions, wrote to their Congressmen and Senators, and signed "Get-Out-Of-China" petitions.

The job now is to work harder and carry these activities to communities all over the country. No one can afford to sit back while the government leads us step by step to another war. If present policy goes on, American combat troops will surely be thrown into China's internal battles. You are urged to act now to avert this calamity by signing and circulating petitions demanding that:

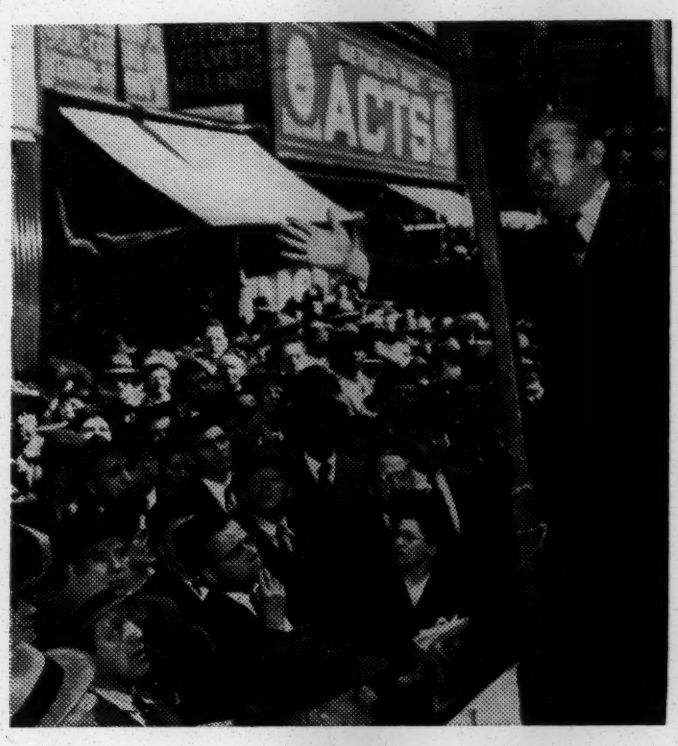
No loans, no arms, no troops go to China.

U.S. military personnel now training and advising Chiang Kai-shek's forces be withdrawn.

The Chinese people be allowed to settle their own affairs.

The traditional friendship between the Chinese and American peoples be restored.

Printed petitions can be obtained from, and when completed should be returned to, the *Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy*, 111 *West* 42*nd Street, New York.* We will forward them to Washington.



Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang speaks to New York garment workers during China Week.

Highlights of China Week

In New York China Week featured a dozen meetings, led off by a street rally in the garment center, seat of the city's main industry. Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, former vice-generalissimo of China, Paul Robeson, great singer and Negro leader, Eugene P. Connolly, New York city councilman, Agnes Smedley, noted author, and other speakers denounced U.S. aid to Chiang Kai-shek's tyranny. Police interference with the China Week sound truck was hotly resented by thousands of listeners, and made the subject of a protest to Mayor O'Dwyer. Marshal Feng called Chiang "a second Hitler." Mrs. Feng, who also spoke, called China's dictator "a common murderer." A substantial street collection was taken.

In Los Angeles two large meetings heard Dr. Anna Louise Strong, who recently returned from a tour of both Kuomintang and Communist areas of China. The meetings were sponsored by the Hollywood Women's Council and the Emma Lazarus Division, I.W.O.

In Oberlin, Ohio, the Oberlin Committee for Peace in China resolved, at a "Mock Convention," to ask withdrawal of all U.S. aid to Chiang. A large wall poster carrying Chiang Kai-shek's picture asked: "Is this man on our side?"

In San Diego, Cal., China issues were presented and discussed at the Unitarian Sunday Morning Forum.

In a nation-wide radio program on April 7, commentator Arthur Gaeth who is sponsored by the United Electrical Workers (CIO) interviewed authoress Agnes Smedley. Miss Smedley said the $570,000,000 President Truman asked for "China's economy" would be used for war. "American soldiers are being prepared to follow the dollars," she warned, linking this with the drive for UMT and the draft.

A sermon by the Rev. Dr. Stephen C. Fritchman at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, Calif., was featured at station WOR's "Sermon of the Week" for New York listeners. City Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs, who read it, was introduced by Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, editor of *The Churchman.* The sermon attacked aid to Chiang, saying: "If the Christian imperative is valid . . . the church must support the new day with all its promise of a better life for the long disinherited masses of China."

FRENCH IN VIET NAM WIN TOWNS, NOT WAR

Indo-China events have reached the historic stage that is becoming familiar in colonial and semi-colonial countries the world over. The French failed to re-impose their rule by any of the usual tricks such as minor concessions and puppet administrations. So they abandoned efforts to negotiate and are trying to crush the Viet Nam Republic, headed by President Ho Chi-minh, by force alone.

The initial French drive into Viet Nam territory last year was successful in that it captured Saigon, Haiphong, Hue, Tourane and several lesser cities, and also cut off Viet Nam from communication with China. The French captured part of the Viet Nam treasury and temporarily silenced the Viet Nam radio. They managed to establish puppet regimes in Laos and Cambodia where the popular movement had had little time to develop.

These partial gains were to be expected. The French forces are heavily armed with American weapons received before V-J Day, and with munitions sent from U.S. military bases in the Philippines since.

But the French do not have the support of Indo-China's people, so they failed to achieve more important objectives. They did not seriously damage the more lightly armed fighting forces of Viet Nam. They did not capture President Ho—an assignment they had given first priority. By the brutality with which they invaded the villages, they strengthened the determination of the people to fight them.

Contrary to the "findings" of Henry Luce's William Bullitt, that the Viet Nam movement is "Moscow-inspired," Andrew Roth reported in the *China Weekly Review* of February 7 that Nationalists, Socialists, and in fact all Vietnamese except those with individual interests in maintaining French rule, were united with the Viet Nam government in a determination to throw the French out forever.

The support of our State Department and the Truman Administration to French imperialism is, unfortunately, much clearer to the Vietnamese than to Americans. The strength of the Vietnamese people was becoming uncomfortably clear to the French military in March, by which time it had found that it could maintain its long lines of communication through a country ideal for guerilla action only at a cost of $1 million per day. Thus far, the French campaign had cost the French Government an estimated $600 million and it was as far from achieving its overall objectives as ever. Now that the French government is receiving Marshall Plan billions, money from U.S. taxpayers' pockets will go down the same drain.

Labor Notes

U.S. Labor and China Week

The disastrous U.S. policy of intervention on the side of reaction in China was denounced at a noon-time "Get-Out-of-China" Rally in New York's Garment Center April 5. Hundreds of needle trades workers, Negro and white, Jewish and Italian jammed the street to hear China's "Christian General," Feng Yu-hsiang, the fiery, fighting Madame Feng, Agnes Smedley, New York's Councilman Eugene V. Connolly, and the great American singer and fighter for the people—Paul Robeson. Incensed by the action of the Police Department in turning off the loud speaker these needle trades workers signed hundreds of petitions demanding an end to all aid to Chiang Kai-shek and eagerly contributed to a collection for the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy to carry on the fight. They joined in shouting slogans against "China's Hitler, Chiang Kai-shek," and expressed anger and determination to fight the police infringement of their traditional right to hold loud speaker rallies in the Garment Center.

Grant Oakes, Farm and Metal Equipment Workers' (CIO) president wrote in a call to local presidents of his union:

> "It is correct and patriotic for the American people, American unions and other organizations to protest against State Department and other administration policies which are wrong—because we pay for the mistakes. The American people have certainly not approved a policy of military intervention in China!"

He asked that during 'China Week' "your Local and members personally will take time to protest this war program to Congress and the White House and to oppose using the American peoples tax money for Wall Street monopoly expansion."

Pres. Hugh Bryson, of the Nat'l Marine Cooks & Stewards wired Chairman Eaton of the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the "membership of the union calls on you to reject Mr. Marshall's proposal to give further aid to the anti-democratic regime of Chiang Kai-shek."

Seamen of the National Maritime Union, numbering 500, cheered Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang at a meeting in their New York union hall on April 28. They voted to wire President Truman protesting intervention in China, and to cable the people of China supporting them in their fight.

The New York District of the United Shoe Workers plans a China exhibit in May.

Photographs, Chinese student posters, and the publications of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy were exhibited at a luncheon of 2,000 members of the Teachers' Union, Local 555, United Public Workers, in New York on April 17.

AFL Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Local 6, heard a talk by Israel Epstein, author of the *Unfinished Revolution in China,* Apr. 29.

AFL Painters Local 848 brought the issue of American intervention in China right home to its Local membership and the German-American community at a meeting held in Yorkville, New York on April 9. 3,000 leaflets distributed by members of Local 848 in the neighborhood deplored the tragic fact that $5 billion of the American taxpayers' money had been used by Chiang Kai-shek to kill Chinese workers and farmers. It warned that this money was earning us the hatred of the Chinese people while it brought only increased prices and the threat of war to American workers.

The Furriers Joint Council of New York marked 'China Week' with an exhibit of photographs of "Life in the Liberated Areas of China," in their Union Headquarters. George Kusick, Director of Activities for the Joint Council reports that the exhibit aroused enthusiastic comment and many inquiries from fur workers as to what they could do to help stop further U.S. intervention in China. The Joint Council showed one way—they wired a protest to Washington condemning President Truman's request for additional millions for the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship.

FAR EAST READING

THE FAR EAST SINCE 1500
By Paul E. Eckel, Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1947, XIV plus 820 pp., $6.75

THE FAR EAST: A HISTORY OF THE IMPACT OF THE WEST ON EASTERN ASIA
By Paul H. Clyde, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1948, XXI plus 862 pp. $7.65

Reviewed by Raymond D. Brooke

Both books are designed for college and general readers. Each is devoted to Far Eastern events of the past 50 years, with some treatment of earlier history.

The authors, both university lecturers tend to neither the sharp cynicism of Charles Beard, or the depressed mysticism of Arnold Toynbee. Theirs is a plain complaisant liberalism, not uncommon in academic circles.

Eckel's book is superior to Clyde's both in scholarship and presentation. For instance, in describing the inhuman coolie trade of 1845-1880, Clyde evades rather than enligthens when he says that:

> "The Chinese free laborer who came to California enjoyed a personal and economic freedom he had not known in China. So relatively prosperous indeed, was the lot of these immigrants that by 1880 there were 75,000 Chinese in California—nine percent of the population." (p. 231)

But Eckel shows clearly that:

> ". . . coolie labor for the mines and railroads of California was procured largely by the credit-ticket system . . . This long-term indebtedness demanded strict control by the company over the coolie until he was able to free himself from all of his financial obligations. Under the credit-ticket system more than 100,000 Chinese migrated to the U.S. between 1852 and 1862. The profits from this traffic were fairly high and might have been even higher had the speculator cared for their human cargoes a little better." (p. 165)

The past fifty years of Far Eastern history can only be understood against the background of the Taiping Rebellion in China and the Meiji Restoration in Japan. Neither author attempts to give clear adequate explanations of the origin and failure of Taipings and the origin and success of the Restoration. Eckel emphasizes the social and institutional aspects of culture, which can give some clues. It is almost impossible to clarify any important issue from the hotchpotch of Clyde.

In contemporary history, Eckel is again more scholarly. He does not hesitate to grasp factual relations, while Clyde often appears to cover them up with legality and formalism. Of General Marshall's visit to China, Eckel says,

> "To the Chinese Central government went considerable lend-lease supplies and surplus war materiel which was used effectively in its fight against the Communists. Moreover, the Americans tipped the scales further in the direction of the Nationalists by transporting their troops in ships and planes to strategically important regions in the northeast." (p. 731)

Clyde too admits "such assistance to Chiang was given with all the resources the American services could muster." Yet he immediately follows this up by saying, "technically, the aid was quite proper. It means simply that the U.S. was assisting the recognized government of its ally, China, to accept the surrender of the Japanese armies of occupation." (p. 715) What Clyde doesn't say, and pretends not to see, is that Washington has given far more, and more frequent aid to Nanking in the post-war 2½ years than during the entire three and a half years of a common war against Japan.

Eckel errs in likening the Chinese gentry of 1911 to the French elite bourgeoisie of 1789 (p. 469), omitting Hu Han-min from the Kuomintang triumvirate of 1926 (p. 481), and not mentioning feudalism along with imperialism as the objectives of Chinese revolution (p. 487). He shows decided bias when describing American public opinion 50 years ago concerning Philippine annexation, he ignores the Anti-Imperialist League of which Ex-President Cleveland and Mark Twain were active members (p. 349). There are also minor mistakes. Wu Ting-fang was Minister and not Ambassador to the U.S. (p. 376). The political status of Chiang Ching-kuo as described (p. 484) ended ten years ago. Three errors in Chinese names occur on page 446.

Clyde omits the "Political Science Group" in his analysis of Kuomintang factions (p. 703), a serious mistake, as that group has been continuously active in Nanking ever since 1930. The government which moved from Canton to Hankow in 1926 was not Soviet (p. 526). Sinkiang became a Chinese province not in 1878 (p. 22) but in 1884. Thai and Shan can hardly be considered two separate peoples (p. 17).

Clyde, more than Eckel, reveals the "American Century" spirit. "The geography of eastern Asia," says he, "is as much a part of American international politics today as was the geography of Cuba half a century ago or the geography of the Mississippi Valley in the year 1800." (p. 1)

SPOTLIGHT BECOMES 20-PAGE MAGAZINE

Spotlight on the Far East **will become a 20-page magazine in June. Its new name will be *Far East Spotlight*.**

The new magazine will be bound in a specially designed black and white cover, the design for which has been contributed by the artist, Bella Gruen.

There will be limited space for advertising.

Subscription will be $2 per year. ($3 foreign), but there will be a special $1 introductory offer for 8 months. Single copies will be 20c. Current subscriptions continue at the present rate for the full term, but voluntary contributions to cover the cost of the increased service will be appreciated.

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY
111 West 42nd Street, New York 18.

I wish to subscribe to FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT in June. Enclosed is:

$2 for one year's subscription.

$1 for eight month's Special Introductory Offer.

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THIS CONCERNS YOU

To our Readers:

A well-known labor leader in the midle west said, "if you tell the American people the facts they know what to do."

The facts about American Intervention in China are terrible. One of our government's recent publications lists 12,751 gallons of napalm among the items in a single ammunition dump turned over to Chiang Kai-shek. "Napalm" is liquid flame, used in the most deadly fire bombs. They are now to be used against the Chinese people. Washington "leaders" are urging that American citizens in uniform follow the billions of dollars we have poured into China—to make China "safe" for American investors.

Can you as an American sit still and think of napalm fire bombs raining down on the Chinese people in the fields, villages and towns? Of American GI's creeping along rice-paddy paths to kill Chinese peasants, as they may soon do?

This is election year. Every reader can act against this insane China policy. Tell people the facts: share SPOTLIGHT and get subscribers. Urge people to question candidates and vote only for those who oppose Washington's war-making China policy and who will pledge themselves to a peace-building policy of cooperative and constructive relationships with Far Eastern countries. Send in your dollars to this Committee which is fighting to get the facts and issues before voters during these campaign months.

Talk—Vote—Contribute in the fight for a foreign policy that makes for peace.

MAUD RUSSELL
Executive Director

Far East Briefs

CHINA: Mar 18: Nanking troops retake Loyang, Honan rail hub. . . . Mar. 22: Post-UNRRA China Relief Mission begins a half million dollar project for rebuilding dykes in South China. . . . Gen. Chennault (retired) calls for 20,000 U.S. officers and men to serve with Nanking forces. . . . Mar. 27: Chairman Arthur H. Vandenberg withdraws Senate Foreign Relations Committee report recommending $463,000,000 China aid, because of its criticisms of the Nanking government. . . . Mar. 29: Police bar students from approaches to Peiping National University in demonstrations against dissolution of their unions. . . . Mar. 30: U.S. Senate passes $463,000,000 China-aid bill. . . . Canadian Mosquito bombers and 6,000 tons of munitions and railway supplies arrive in Shanghai. . . . Mar. 31: Nanking abandons three Shantung ports. . . . Apr. 5: 160 trade unionists arrested in Shanghai. . . . Apr. 7: Loyang retaken by Communists. . . . Apr. 12: 16,000 North China university students strike to protest illegal arrests and police violence. . . . Apr. 13: Peiping professors join students' strike. . . . Apr. 17: Ferrying of 150 C-46 air transports from U.S. starts.

JAPAN: Mar. 23: Far Eastern Commission makes public "policy for disarmament of Japan". . . . Mar. 25: 200,000 communications workers walk out on prohibited 24-hour strike. . . . Mar. 26: The U.S. Under Secretary of the Army says between $480-$580,000,000 in the coming year, and decreasing investments until 1952 or 1953, should put Japan on its economic feet. . . . Mar. 29: Allied headquarters bans scheduled strike of 1,000,000 communications workers. . . . Apr. 2: Premier Ashida favors a labor law "similar to the American Taft-Hartley Law". . . .Apr. 6: Allied headquarters bans publications of John Hersey's "Hiroshima" and 4 books by Edgar Snow. . . . Apr. 12: Russia says repatriation of an estimated 396,000 Japanese war prisoners will resume in May. . . . Apr. 17: The Japanese government agrees to higher wage scales in a settlement of disputes with public employees' unions.

KOREA: Mar. 22: The U.S. Military Government announces "land reform" under which 15.3 percent of total arable land will be sold by the newly created National Land Administration; payment to be 20% of the principal crop each year for 15 years. . . . Apr. 8: 4 Korean police and 12 civilians killed in disturbances on Cheju Island. . . . Apr. 14: American officials asked for back payments for electric current from North Korea or face a shutdown.

PHILIPPINES: Apr. 2: National Defense Secretary recommends an emergency appropriation of $66,000,000 to equip 45,000 soldiers. . . . Apr. 8: The Surplus Property Commission orders potential war material stockpiles frozen. . . . Apr. 10: Pres. Roxas cancels plans to demobilize 8,000 from Army. . . . Apr. 13: Treaty of friendship with Spain is ratified unanimously by the Senate.

INDONESIA: Mar. 24: The Indonesian delegate tells the UN Security Council that Dutch establishment of East Sumatra state March 15 violates truce agreement. . . . Apr. 2: Indonesian Public Works Minister announces purchase of $100,000,000 of American road-building and communications equipment.

INDIA: Mar. 17: Socialist party dissociates itself from All-India Congress party. . . . Mar. 29: Negotiations are completed for exchange of 30,000 tons of Indian coking coal for 100,000 Japanese spindles. . . . 400 alleged Communists reported arrested since the outlawing of the Communist Party by the West Bengal provincial government on Mar. 26. . . . Apr. 2: Large-scale arrests in Bombay and Poona include top labor unionists. . . . Apr. 3: The last of 400,000 American GIs leave India. . . . Apr. 18: Thousands strike in Bombay to protest arrest of labor and Communist leaders. Premier Nehru threatens to fire on any government employee joining strike.

PAKISTAN: Mar. 16: About 15 Moslem students injured when police charge demonstrations against members of East Bengal Assembly. . . . Apr. 11: Governor General, Mohammed Ali Jinnah begins tour of Northwest Frontier.

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111 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y.

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23-17-16

16th June, 1948.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Enclosed is a copy of the first issue of FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT in its new magazine form.

We would very much appreciate having a short comment from you which we would like to use in promoting a wider distribution of the magazine.

You have been familiar with our information and know its value, and now we would like your help in introducing it to thousands more who should know about American relations in the Far East.

Sincerely yours,

Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley

Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley
Editor, Far East Spotlight

My dear Dr DuBois –

I hope you can find time to do a short comment for us. It will help us a lot!

Sincerely.

Maud Russell

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Avenue,
Bronx, New York.

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June 29, 1948

23-12-17

Mrs. Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley
Committee for a Democratic
Far Eastern Policy
111 West 42nd Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Madam:

The FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT is timely and readable. I hope you keep it going.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

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23-17

August 2, 1948

RE: QUARTERLY BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING HELD JULY 26, 1948

To all Board Members and Sponsors:

I want to share with all Board members and Sponsors some of the thinking and outlook of the Quarterly Board meeting held on July 26th when we discussed "The Committee's political perspective."

The deliberate misrepresentation and confusion engendered by Washington on foreign policy issues has had least effect with respect to China. The American public generally knows that Chiang Kai-shek and the Nanking regime are indefensible and that the Chinese people, despite the six billions dollars worth of American "aid" used against them have not been crushed. Europe may have its subtleties, but there is no uncertainty about China policy: sheer intervention with harmful waste of American resources, power and prestige.

This is an election year. Our Committee operates in an area of public concern that is a major campaign issue - China policy. The Committee is thus at the center of a major political issue. This means:

1) that we may be subject to an attempt to curb our work;
2) that the Committee now has heightened responsibility and opportunity to align itself with those Americans -- workers, consumers, church members -- most harmed by Washington's costly and threatening China policy.

The Committee must now become more ambitious in its program. We must mobilize far wider support by showing that we are in a strategic position to aid in the attack on those who by their foreign and domestic policies are injuring our country's well-being. We must aid in organizing for effective political action the growing sentiment against American intervention in China. We must vastly increase the volume of our reporting to the American people on the hopeful significance of developments in China.

The Board of Directors reaffirmed its decision to work through every available channel to promote our aims and with all groups or individuals having a policy with respect to the Far East which we can support. The Board members took satisfying note of the fact that the Progressive Party platform planks on Far Eastern policy and especially on China embody our objectives.

The Progressive Party is a new channel for political action. We of the Committee can help "educate" and implement candidates of this party on China policy issues, as well as those Democratic and

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DR. GENE WELTFISH
DOXEY WILKERSON
ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS
VIRGINIA WRIGHT

Republican candidates who disagree with their party's support of the Nanking regime. We want to use every favorable political opportunity to end United States intervention in China and to press for a change in our country's China policy.

The Board of Directors approved of the campaign to secure a minimum of ten thousand signatures to the GREETINGS To The Chinese People as a valuable means of increasing political knowledge, of engendering hopefulness in our fight against reaction, and of providing the Committee with funds to take advantage of the new political climate here at home. The response to the GREETINGS at the Progressive Party Convention has confirmed the soundness of this GREETINGS plan and we have already secured over five hundred signers, among them scores of nationally known leaders, including Henry Wallace, Glenn Taylor, Paul Robeson, Hugh Bryson and Harry Bridges.

The Board of Directors recognized that its members must lead in this effort which is both political and financial and must each take on a self-imposed quota for signatures; a minimum of one hundred each was suggested; those present took their quotas, one member setting 500 as his goal.

23-17

<u>As usual, this perspective is Utopian only, unless you accept its plain assignment</u>. Experimentally we have proved it feasible, some by button-holing, some by public address followed by appeal. We find that it helps a lot, in arousing curiosity, to wear the character-strip pennant (receipt) on your lapel when soliciting.

If every Board member and Sponsor were to secure 100 signatures (and dollars!) the Committee's finances would be underwritten for two years!! --and a political task of incalculable value achieved.

I want to urge every Board Member and Sponsor to join heartily in this effort to make the Committee intensively active in this critical time in our country's political life. The Committee is in a politically strategic position, and if implemented will reach hundreds with "live political ammunition" that can well effect a change in China policy.

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

Maud Russell
Executive Director

uopwa 16-172

To: The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy

I will join in this GREETINGS campaign and take on a quota of ____ signatures, for which you will send me additional GREETINGS and "character" receipt slips.

_____

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

111 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N.Y. * BRyant 9-6342-3

November 20, 1948

Dear Friend,

The dramatic victories of China's fighters for democracy and peace have a great meaning for us, as democratic-minded Americans, and for all freedom-loving peoples the world over.

In support of the Chinese people's fight for freedom against their "Hitler" - Chiang Kai-shek - and as aroused Americans determined to stop the flow of arms, dollars, and marines to the enemies of the Chinese people, we invite you to attend:

"H A N D S O F F C H I N A R A L L Y"

CITY CENTER CASINO

135 West 55th Street, New York

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 5th, 1948 - 2.30 P.M.

Prominent speakers on China and American policy will address the rally to give you the facts behind the headlines of today. An excellent program is arranged.

We know you will want to attend and ask many friends to support this rally. We are therefore enclosing tickets. For additional tickets, please phone our office.

ADMISSION is 75¢ and $1.20

GET YOUR TICKETS NOW!

WE COUNT ON YOU TO MAKE THIS AN OVERFLOW RALLY!

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

Maud Russell
Executive Director

uopwa-16-172
encl.
rr:mr

P.S. Please return all monies for tickets sold and all unsold tickets to our office by THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2nd, 1948.

230-45

HANDS OFF CHINA MASS RALLY

CITY CENTER CASINO, 135 W. 55th Street

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1948—2:30 P. M.

Prominent Speakers to be announced

ADMISSION — $1.20

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

111 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y. 115 BR 9-6342

HANDS OFF CHINA MASS RALLY

CITY CENTER CASINO, 135 W. 55th Street

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1948—2:30 P. M.

Prominent Speakers to be announced

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23C-45

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HANDS OFF CHINA

Mass Rally

- **How soon will the Kuomintang collapse?**
- **What are the facts behind the military victories of the Chinese people?**
- **What do the Chinese people's victories mean to us?**
- **Will U. S. troops fight in China?**

HEAR THE ANSWERS:

CITY CENTER CASINO

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Tickets at . . . COMMITTEE HEADQUARTERS, 111 W. 42nd Street
BOOKFAIR, 133 W. 44th St.
JEFFERSON SCHOOL BOOKSHOP, 576 Sixth Ave.

115

[Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy]

Miss Maud Russell
Executive Director
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy
111 West 42nd Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Miss Russell -

As a Board Member
Sponsor

I assume responsibility for raising the sum of $_____ for the work of the Committee during 1949.

I plan to use one or more of the following methods:

1. Secure new members_____

2. Secure subscribers to FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT_____

3. Secure contributions_____

   A. Gifts from individuals_____
   B. Gifts from organizations_____
   C. Monthly gifts from individuals_____
   D. Monthly gifts from organizations_____

4. Have a gathering or party in my home_____

5. Arrange for a meeting on China_____

6. Sell the Committee's publications_____

7. Make a personal contribution_____

8. Be available for paid speaking engagements_____

Signed_____

Address_____

Telephone_____

Date_____

uopwa-16-172

[1948]

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

111 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRYANT 9-6342-3 • CABLE CODEMFEP

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32.30.73

TO ALL BOARD MEMBERS AND SPONSORS:

We are launching a campaign that will have tremendous meaning both for the whole progressive movement here and for the Chinese people.

We are setting a goal for 10,000 signatures to GREETINGS to the Chinese people on their glorious victories. These GREETINGS, signed by thousands of Americans will be bound in an attractive volume, and will reach the Chinese people on October 10th, the anniversary of the founding of the CHINESE REPUBLIC.

This campaign has special meaning in this election period because, first, Dewey is making China the cardinal foreign policy issue of his campaign with further military intervention as his goal. The Democrats are out to hide the SIX BILLION DOLLARS AND GUNS that have already gone to Chiang.

We must bring this issue to the people so that they can vote in the only way that will save them from disaster. The China issue is the vulnerable breakthrough point in defeating the present reactionary foreign policy.

Secondly, the Chinese people are not only taking on their own reaction but ours as well, and are winning over all odds. The victories of the Chinese people against their reaction and ours can give the same stimulus to our fight for peace and against war that the Isaacson victory was to spurring on new confidence in our own possibilities in domestic politics.

We are asking for ONE DOLLAR WITH EACH SIGNATURE. The dollar is for two purposes. First, to give us a chance to really explain the issue. To get a dollar from people they must be convinced! Secondly, there is a tremendous amount of material on Far East policy needed for the election campaign. FUNDS RAISED ON THESE GREETINGS WILL GO DIRECTLY FOR THE CHINA ISSUE NEEDS OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

We are writing to you because we know that as members of our BOARD and SPONSORS of our organization, you will want to take the lead in making this campaign the tremendous success that it can be. WE ARE COUNTING ON YOU TO LEAD THE WAY FOR THE REST OF THE ORGANIZATION.

We want to hear from you as to how you feel you can reach all those in your organizations and all those outside who will want to sign these greetings.

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

Maud Russell
Executive Director

uopwa-16-172
mr:rr
encl. 2

COMMITTEE FOR AMNESTY

FOR ALL OBJECTORS TO WAR AND CONSCRIPTION

A. J. MUSTE, Chairman
EVAN W. THOMAS, Treasurer
ROBIN MYERS, Secretary

5 Beekman Street, Room 1029
New York 7, N. Y.
BEekman 3-0463

April 26, 1948

22-30-03

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The Committee for Amnesty appreciates your willingness to support our work by serving as a sponsor.

The enclosed copy of our monthly Amnesty Bulletin is indicative of the kind of work we are carrying on. You will receive it, and similar material to keep you in touch with our progress.

We hope that we may call upon you from time to time for support of specific projects which we may be undertaking. And we are always glad to have your suggestions or advice.

Yours sincerely,

Robin Myers

RM:vr

Robin Myers

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Conscientious Objectors [Committee for Amnesty]

AMNESTY BULLETIN

Published by

COMMITTEE FOR AMNESTY

FOR ALL OBJECTORS TO WAR AND CONSCRIPTION

5 Beekman Street, Room 1029, New York 7, N. Y. **BEekman 3-0463**

June 18, 1948 Number 42

NORTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION URGES GENERAL AMNESTY

The Northern Baptist Convention, meeting in Milwaukee in May, again called upon the President "to grant full pardons to all who have been convicted for conscience sake under the Selective Service Act, thus restoring to them full civil rights."

The Baptist resolution pointed out that while American military governments in both Germany and Japan have granted amnesties to hundreds of thousands of former enemies, including avowed fascists, less than ten per cent of the Selective Service violators in the United States have been pardoned three years after the end of the war.

22-30

NEW HONORARY CHAIRMEN NAMED

Pearl S. Buck, author, and John P. Burke, President of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, AFL, have been named honorary co-chairmen of the Committee for Amnesty.

SOCIALIST PARTY 1948 PLATFORM INCLUDES AMNESTY

"Full amnesty and restoration of civil rights for war objectors, several hundred of whom are still in prison and thousands of whom have lost citizenship" has been adopted as a plank in the campaign platform of the Socialist Party. At its nominating convention in Reading, Pa., a detailed resolution also was adopted condemning the "extraordinary and anti-democratic" decisions of the Amnesty Board. Norman Thomas, Amnesty Committee sponsor, was named the Socialist presidential candidate.

NAACP REAFFIRMS NEED FOR AMNESTY

The Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, meeting May 10, reaffirmed the resolution of past NAACP conventions, calling on President Truman to grant amnesty.

AMNESTY COMMITTEE CONDEMNS TREATMENT OF NEGRO GIs

Discrimination against Negroes in every part of the conscription system was extended to include discrimination against Negro war objectors and even in the granting of pardons after completion of sentence, the Committee for Amnesty testified in Washington on May 8. Oliver Stone represented the Committee in an appearance before the Commission of Inquiry into Wartime Treatment of Negro GIs.

METHODISTS AGAIN URGE AMNESTY

The General Conference of the Methodist Church, meeting in Boston on May 5 adopted a resolution urging "upon the President of the United States, early and favorable consideration to the granting of amnesty to all genuine conscientious objectors, who on grounds of moral or religious belief went to prison for conscience sake, thus restoring their full rights as citizens."

DENVER COMMITTEE DEMONSTRATES FOR AMNESTY

22-30

When the Freedom Train came to Denver, Colorado, it found members of the Committee for Amnesty and the Fellowship of Reconciliation passing out leaflets which read, "Amnesty, Not a Handful of Pardons."

PLENARY AMNESTY NOT INDIVIDUAL PARDONS

"We hereby call upon the President of the United States to grant a plenary amnesty to conscientious objectors to war rather than the individual pardons given last December; and we hereby instruct our secretary to renew our petition to President Truman and urge that general amnesty be granted now," was the recent resolution of the Commission of Christian Social Action of the Evangelical United Brethren Church.

UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS CALL FOR AMNESTY

Renewing the action of its convention in urging amnesty for war objectors, the Veterans Department of the UAW has expressed to President Truman, on behalf of the Union, its desire for no further delay in the granting of amnesty.

RELIGIOUS AND CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS ASK AMNESTY NOW

Among other organizations which have asked President Truman to grant amnesty within the past month are: the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church; the Seattle Council of Churches; the Philadelphia Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church; the Wayland (Baptist Student) Club of the University of Wisconsin; the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union; the Rocky River Conference, Young Adult Fellowship of the Methodist Church; the Philadelphia YWCA, the Twentieth Street Meeting, Society of Friends, New York, and the Blue River Quarterly Meeting, Illinois.

[COMMITTEE FOR HOLLYWOOD ...]
23-20-60 1948?

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21

Buy-A-Book . . . Give-A-Book

COMMITTEE FOR *Hollywood on Trial*

133 West 44th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

This coupon entitles you to two paper bound copies of **Hollywood on Trial** by Gordon Kahn, (Foreword by Thomas Mann), the dramatic story of the almost unbelievable Thomas Committee hearings on Hollywood.

One copy will be mailed to you. We will send the second copy to a public figure — editor, clergyman, teacher, legislator — who should have the unknown facts of **Hollywood on Trial** before him.

COMMITTEE FOR **HOLLYWOOD ON TRIAL**

JOHN LARDNER, Chairman

21

Reddick

Committee for the Negro in the Arts

307 LENOX AVENUE • NEW YORK 27, N. Y. • MONUMENT 2-4570, 4535

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CARL VAN DOREN

Staff
THELMA M. DALE
ADELE ROSENBERG
SYLVIA GOLDEN

February 5th, 1948

23-32-17

Dear Friend:

We are inviting a small group of people from the literary field to a meeting at the 135th Street Library, 104 West 136th Street, New York City, to discuss the situation at the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library this coming Wednesday evening at 8:30 PM.

The Schomburg Collection, for a number of years, has been the only authoritative Source of information in New York on the history, problems and cultural development of Negroes in America and the world. According to recent articles in the newspapers, the situation at the Schomburg Collection needs our immediate attention.

Dr. Lawrence Reddick, who recently offered his resignation from the post of Curator, will be present to explain, in detail, the needs of the collection.

Please attend this important meeting or let us hear from you with regard to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Walter Christmas

Walter Christmas
Acting Secretary
Literature Division

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Justice James H. Wolfe
Mary E. Woolley
Bradford Young

The "Committee of 100"

Founded by WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON

Dedicated to the Creation of an America of Justice and Equality for Our Negro Fellow Citizens

20 WEST 40th STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

April 27, 1948

FRANCIS J. McCONNELL
Chairman
EDWARD L. PARSONS
Pacific Coast Chairman

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, the distinguished Swedish statesman and scholar, will soon be in the United States for his first visit since the publication of his brilliant study of the Negro in American life, "An American Dilemma." Since his return to Sweden Dr. Myrdal has served as a member of the Senate and as Minister of Commerce. He has headed the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe since 1947.

Will you join me and other members of the "Committee of 100" in sponsoring a tribute to Dr. Myrdal for the great service he has rendered Americans through the wisdom and courage of his analysis of the gravest conflict in our national life. Dr. Myrdal's work, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, belongs to the classics of social thought. It is too soon to measure its concrete results, but in the four years since its publication, it has served as a guide and an illumination to those American men and women who are struggling to end the injustice against our Negro fellow citizens which we must acknowledge to be our nation's greatest failure.

We should not do justice to our Swedish friend if, in honoring him, we did not take the opportunity to appraise the progress that we have made since his departure in securing for Negro Americans the equality and justice which our democracy has promised them. At this time, when the issue of civil rights is being debated in terms of political passions, we can do no better than to reconsider our task in the dispassionate and forthright manner of Dr. Myrdal's findings.

A dinner has been planned to honor Dr. Myrdal at the Waldorf Astoria in New York on Wednesday evening, June 2nd. I hope that you can be present. If it is not possible for you to be in New York at that time to join Dr. Myrdal's friends, may we extend to Dr. Myrdal your greetings as a member of the Committee of Sponsors to honor him?

Sincerely yours,

Carl Van Doren

Carl Van Doren
Chairman, Committee of Sponsors

CVD:ac

The "Committee of 100" sponsors the 1948 Appeal for $100,000 of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
98
All contributions are deductible for U. S. Income Tax Purposes.

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Bradford Young

22-80-04

Mrs. Falden

The "Committee of 100"

Founded by WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON

Dedicated to the Creation of an America of Justice and Equality for Our Negro Fellow Citizens

20 WEST 40th STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

FRANCIS J. McCONNELL
Chairman

EDWARD L. PARSONS
Pacific Coast Chairman

May 12, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It is a great pleasure to welcome you to the Committee of Sponsors to honor Dr. Gunnar Myrdal. I am enclosing with this letter the program for the dinner to be held on June 2nd at the Waldorf-Astoria. You will be glad to know that Mrs. Roosevelt, Mr. Bartley Crum, the new publisher of PM, and Mr. Walter White will join us in paying tribute to our distinguished guest.

A dinner reservation has already been made in your name, but as I do not know whether you wish to bring guests, will you be kind enough to indicate on the enclosed card how many there will be in your party.

I am most anxious that you should have an opportunity to greet Dr. Myrdal before the dinner. A reception for the guest of honor and members of the Committee of Sponsors has been arranged to take place at six-thirty on the terrace adjoining the Wedgwood Room. I shall look forward to welcoming you at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Carl Van Doren

Carl Van Doren
Chairman, Committee of Sponsors

CVD:ac

I much regret to find that after all I cannot attend the Myrdal dinner June 2. I find I have another engagement that same evening. I should be glad to remain as sponsor in case you wish

The "Committee of 100" sponsors the 1948 Appeal for $100,000 of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
All contributions are deductible for U. S. Income Tax Purposes.

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Bradford Young

22-30-06

The "Committee of 100"

Founded by WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON

Dedicated to the Creation of an America of Justice and Equality for Our Negro Fellow Citizens

20 WEST 40th STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

FRANCIS J. McCONNELL
Chairman

EDWARD L. PARSONS
Pacific Coast Chairman

June 1, 1948.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mr. Van Doren was so sorry to learn of the change in your plans that seem to make it impossible for you to be at our dinner tomorrow night. He hopes that by some chance the situation may have altered and it may be possible for you to be present as the guest of the "Committee of 100." I shall look forward to hearing from you, if this is the case.

Sincerely yours,

Anna Caples

Anna Caples
Assistant to Mr. Van Doren

AC:ja

The "Committee of 100" sponsors the 1947 Appeal for $100,000 of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
All contributions are deductible for U. S. Income Tax Purposes.

98

Mule Feder

COMMITTEE OF *One Thousand*

1710 G Street N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

District 8665

February 25, 1948

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RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE
WILLIAM WYLER
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Acting Secretary
BOWEN SMITH

Dear Dr. DuBois:

A group of citizens repelled and alarmed by the unconscionable inroads upon our traditional civil liberties that are made daily by the House Committee on un-American Activities, has initiated a Committee of One Thousand whose sole purpose it is to seek the abolition of that committee. Enclosed is a statement of principles.

There is no question that the influence of this committee has spread far beyond Washington. It has inspired state legislatures to draft bills and set up similar committees which tend to create an atmosphere of terror and intimidation throughout this country. We know that many congressmen are opposed to the inquisitorial procedures of the Thomas Committee and are awake to the peril of its operations. They know that the committee incites the formation of "little Dies Committees" in the various states; and promotes secondary purges in business, government, and on campuses. But in this presidential-election year these congressmen need the backing of well-known citizens before taking appropriate legislative action.

Those of us who have initiated the Committee of One Thousand have done so with the conviction that such wholely un-American activities must be fought vigorously and effectively.

We would like very much to have you with us as a member of the Committee of One Thousand. Please fill in the enclosed card. There are no membership dues but any financial contribution you can make would be important in helping us do the job more effectively.

Sincerely yours,

Van Wyck Brooks

Van Wyck Brooks

uopwa
#16-2

[Enclosure]

BELIEVING profoundly in the letter and spirit of the Bill of Rights, we are gravely disturbed by the continued attacks by men in our Government upon the freedoms guaranteed in the First Amendment to our Constitution.

We are devoted to the best in the American tradition. We believe, therefore, that the Committee on Un-American Activities threatens those freedoms that have given us for 170 years the way of life we cherish and respect.

22-40

In a well-known decision in 1945 the Supreme Court of the United States stated . . .

"If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion, or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith thereof."

They are betrayers of American ideals—those who use terror, innuendo, hearsay, and smears, ignoring the common rules of evidence and all precepts of fair play.

We call upon the American people to disavow such subversions of our basic freedoms as lie in the proceedings of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

That there may be a swift termination to such assaults upon our constitutional rights, we ask the American people to join us in a concerted action towards one goal: the abolition of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Solely to accomplish this end, we are organizing as the Committee of One Thousand. Our means: an educational program using every available medium of communication to reach the broadest section of the American people and to enlist them in this fight.

The meaning of Article 1 of the Bill of Rights is very clear . . .

"Congress shall make no law respecting establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

COMMITTEE OF *One Thousand*

1710 G Street N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

UNION UOPWA CIO LABEL

MR. VAN WYCK BROOKS
1710 G ST., N.W.
WASH., D.C.

[Committee of One Thousand]

March 3, 1948

Mr. Van Wyck Brooks
1710 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Brooks:

Your communication to Dr. DuBois, concerning his joining the Committee of One Thousand, has come during his absence from New York on a lecture tour to the West Coast. However, I will try to contact him, and let you hear from me as soon as I have his reply.

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

22-24

COMMITTEE OF *One Thousand*

1710 G Street N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

District 8665

37 Madison Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

22-28-10

March 17, 1948

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ROBERT YERKES

Acting Secretary
BOWEN SMITH

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

There will be a meeting of the organizing committee of the Committee of One Thousand on Monday, March 22nd, at 8:30 p.m. at the home of Mr. Olin Downes, 205 West 57 St. New York City.

I hope you will make every effort to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Hiram Haydn

Hiram Haydn
Secretary Treasurer

JG:hbs

[Committee of One Thousand]

March 22, 1948

22-24

Mr. Hiram Haydn
Committee of One Thousand
37 Madison Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Haydn:

Since Dr. DuBois is out of the city and will not return until the middle of April, he will be unable to attend the meeting of the organizing committee on March 22.

Please accept his sincere regrets.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Signed by WRSD returned 4-26-48

COMMITTEE OF ONE THOUSAND
37 Madison Ave., New York 10, N. Y.
Murray Hill 9-3686

MEMORANDUM

To: Sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand April 23, 1948

From: Jeanette M. Gillerman, Executive Secretary

Congress will soon be called upon by the House Committee on Un-American Activities to consider the Committee's bill to control "Subversive Activities" in the United States. To be known as the "Subversive Activities Control Act of 1948," the bill was originally expected to be introduced by April 23, but its introduction is being delayed, it is believed, until preparations are completed to insure immediate passage.

Although the bill has not been publicly announced, its character and provisions are indicated in the report of the Subcommittee on Legislation of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The proposed bill has already been critically reviewed by the press. A copy of an editorial in the Washington Post and the report of the Subcommittee are enclosed.

Enclosed also is a statement to be used as the subject of a press release or newspaper advertisement by the Committee of One Thousand at the most propitious time. If we may use your name as a signatory to it please sign and return the enclosed card.

[Enclosure]

Committee of One Thousand
37 Madison Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

April 23, 1948

STATEMENT ON PROPOSED "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL ACT OF 1948."

We review with critical concern and apprehension the proposals for a "Subversive Activities Control Act of 1948," to be recommended to Congress by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, because of this Committee's history of almost complete disregard of the liberties which this legislation purports to defend.

The Committee has been in existence for about ten years. Its record was succinctly summarized on January 20, 1947, by the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union--an organization which the Dies Committee itself publicly absolved of any "Communist taint." Referring to the present Committee and its predecessors the Board said:

> ". . . .The principal effect of the committees' probes has been the unwarranted discrediting of genuine liberals who have been earnestly and sincerely seeking needed reforms, particularly in the field of labor, monopolies, and race relations. This has been accomplished by "smear" methods, innuendo, distortion and other propagandistic devices reminiscent of fascist techniques. Nothing in recent years has been as un-American as the conduct of the hearings of the Congressional Committee on un-Americanism."

22-28

That Congress is to be asked by a Committee whose conduct has been so described to safeguard the American way of life deserves serious thought.

The Committee has announced that it will propose legislation which purports to do the following:

1. Make illegal the knowing and wilful advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the United States by any means for the purpose of subverting the interest of the United States to that of a foreign Communist power.

2. Require the registration of "Communist front" organizations as proposed in the Mundt Bill (H. R. 5852).

3. Deny government employment to Communists.

4. Deny passports to Communist Party members.

The Committee suggests additional legislation to -

1. Increase the penalty for contempt of Congress from one to five years and from $1000 to $5000 fine.

2. Strengthen the espionage laws.

3. Require aliens to register annually.

We cannot be unmindful of the fact that for ten years the House Committee on Un-American Activities not only has attacked Communists, but has stamped "subversive" all those whose opinions it found unpalatable. It has exhibited an unwilling-

(over)

ness, as Professor Walter Gellhorn said, "to tolerate those whose estimates of current problems do not match its own."

That this bill is primarily a request by the Committee for legislative sanction to accelerate its drive to squeeze all opinion and activity into the channels of conformity is obvious from the following definitions contained in the Mundt Bill and approved for incorporation:

> "SEC. 3....(2) the term "Communist Party" means the political party now known as the Communist Party of the United States of America, regardless of any change hereafter made in such name; and such term includes, irrespective of its name, any organization carrying out the policies of, or engaged in the same character of activities as, the Communist Party of the United States as it now exists and operates;
>
> (3) the term 'Communist-front organization' means --
>
> (A) the Communist Party; or
>
> (B) any organization which engages in any activity intended, or which it is reasonable to believe is intended, to further the objective of
> (i) bringing about replacement of the existing form of government of the United States with a Communist form of government, or
> (ii) bringing about replacement of free private enterprise in the United States with a Communist economic system, or
> (iii) bringing about acceptance, in the United States, of Communist ideology; or
>
> (C) any organization which is under the control or influence of the Communist Party."

We are aware of no legislative act that does greater violence to the principles which have guided our country to greatness--the encouragement of criticism and the toleration of dissent. If this bill is enacted, persons and organizations espousing such current controversial causes as the partition of Palestine, the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, civilian control of atomic energy, anti-lynch laws, and national health insurance may be subject, if not to criminal action, to abusive investigation and disparaging publicity. They become open to the charge of engaging "in the same character of activities as the Communist Party of the United States," or being under its "control or influence." "America," Professor Henry Steele Commager said, "was born of revolt, flourished on dissent, became great through experimentation."

We condemn what seems to us to be an effort to utilize the unsettled state of international affairs and political discord both at home and abroad to impose upon Americans modern Alien and Sedition Acts, the wisdom of which our history has long since disproved. On the basis of the record of the Committee on Un-American Activities we believe we are justified in discounting this body's estimate of the dangers that face our country. We do not believe we can be charged with ingratitude for refusing their offer to protect our liberties. Instead we propose to Congress the alternative to a government by terror--the defeat of the "Subversive Activities Control Act of 1948" and the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. By so doing we reaffirm our confidence in the strength and virtue of the Constitution of the United States and our faith in the American people.

[Committee of One Thousand]

[redacted]
BY THE SENDER OF THIS MESSAGE. PLEASE GIVE IT TO THE MESSENGER OR TELEPHONE IT TO
[redacted]

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1299

SYMBOLS
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NL = Night Letter
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N18D6 8K NL PD

NEWYORK NY MAY 25 1948

W E B DUBOIS, NAACP

20 WEST 40 ST NYK

23-22-10

SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE IN UNPRECEDENTED ACTION SCHEDULED MUNDT-NIXON BILL HEARINGS FOR PROPONENTS THURSDAY FOR OPPONENTS FRIDAY AND SATURDAY THIS WEEK. URGE YOU WIRE SENATOR WILEY, CHAIRMAN JUDICIARY COMMITTEE FOR TIME TO TESTIFY AGAINST MEASURE AND PROTEST INADEQUATE NOTICE AND DURATION OF HEARINGS BECAUSE OF WIDESPREAD CONCERN ALSO WIRE YOUR SENATOR TO DECLARE AGAINST BILL. WOULD APPRECIATE COPY OF YOUR WIRE FOR RELEASE

PAUL ZIPORKIS EXEC SECY COMM OF ONE THOUSAND
37 MADISON AVE

425A MAY 26

[Committee of One Thousand]

1298

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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NEWYORK NY MAY 25 1948

DR W E B DUBOIS

20 WEST 40 ST NYK

SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE TODAY ORDERED THREE DAYS HEARINGS ON MUNDT BILL THURSDAY, FRIDAY, SATURDAY THIS WEEK. URGENT COMMITTEE BE BOMBARDED REQUESTS TO TESTIFY BY PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS AND THAT HASTE AND BRIEFNESS OF HEARINGS BE PROTESTED. STRONGLY URGE YOU WIRE ALEXANDER WILEY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DEMANDING OPPORTUNITY TESTIFY JUDICIARY COMMITTEE SAME COMMITTEE WHICH HAS BURIED ANTI-LYNCH BILL.

C B BALDWIN

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

committee of

1000

37 Madison Ave., New York 10, NY

Report of Activities to July 31, 1948
And
Proposals for Future Activity

From an initial group of thirty-two, the Committee of One Thousand has grown to over four hundred persons prominent in science, business, the arts, law, education and religion. Thirty-five states are represented.

Dr. Harlow Shapley has been acting chairman, assisted by a temporary steering committee which includes Messrs. Olin Downes, Van Wyck Brooks, Matthew Josephson, Dr. Bryn J. Hovde and Dr. W. Russell Bowie.

During the next six months period the plan is to complete the sponsors group to 1000, establish permanent officers, an enlarged policy committee, and a smaller administrative committee which should meet monthly.

The Committee should look forward to a national meeting of its sponsors in December or early January to plan the Committee's activity during the Eighty-first Congress.

Of primary importance is the introduction of a resolution into Congress to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, similar to the one introduced into the Eightieth Congress by Representative Sabath, and rallying sufficient Congressional support for its adoption.

PAST ACTIVITY — The Committee of One Thousand got under way about the time that the appropriation for the House Committee on Un-American Activities was before Congress. About the same time Dr. Edward U. Condon, Director of the Bureau of Standards, was attacked by the House Committee, and was the cause celebre to justify the Committee's request for additional funds.

In addition to releasing a statement protesting the attack on Dr. Condon, signed by 140 sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand, the Committee took an active part in Washington attempting to secure as large a vote as possible against the appropriation for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Our Committee's activity was responsible for a number of votes against the appropriation. The Committee

of One Thousand received special comment by Representative Sabath, Dean of the House of Representatives, and the leader of the opposition to the appropriation.

Immediately after the House Committee on Un-American Activities announced that it would propose a Subversive Activities Control Act to Congress, the Committee of One Thousand assumed the initiative and continued to be one of the leading forces opposed to this legislation until Congress adjourned. A statement issued by the Committee of One Thousand was signed by over 200 sponsors, received good publicity in the press and was used by a number of other organizations as a basis for their own protests. A copy of the statement was sent to each Senator and Congressman.

On May 20 in New York City the Committee of One Thousand held a meeting for its sponsors and guests at which Mr. Arthur Garfield Hays, prominent civil rights attorney, presented his analysis and opinions of the Subversive Activities Control Act, which by that time had been introduced into Congress by Representatives Mundt and Nixon.

The Committee of One Thousand established an excellent relationship with Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah, one of the leaders of the opposition to the Mundt bill in the Senate. The Committee provided him with a platform at a luncheon in New York City on June 3 for the first public statement by a Senator against the Mundt bill. Senator Chavez of New Mexico utilized this occasion also to announce publicly for the first time his opposition to the bill in a wire to the luncheon. Senator Claude Pepper also wired the luncheon confirming his opposition to this legislation.

22-30

Immediately after this function Senator Thomas took the initiative and called a luncheon meeting in the Capitol at which eleven Senators and an equal number of guests were present, including sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand. During the informal discussion that took place several Senators, particularly Senators Barkley and Lucas, assured those present that the bill would not reach the floor of the Senate.

For the three week period during which the bill was before the Senate Judiciary Committee the Committee of One Thousand contracted for the services of Mr. Heber Blankenhorn, a sponsor of the Committee, as Washington observer and advisor. Mr. Blankenhorn did a most creditable job, keeping the Committee continually apprised of developments in Washington. Through him we were able to get excellent publicity through the Washington press, helping to establish the Committee of One Thousand as one of the foremost opponents of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (The New York Times on June 7 described the Committee of One Thousand as "a leader of the fight against the Mundt bill.") Individual protests by sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand, as well as personal contact with a number of Senators, did much to stall the legislation in the Senate Judiciary Committee and prevent it from reaching the floor at the last session.

Efforts may be made to pass the Mundt bill or a version of it revised in content but not in principle when Congress reconvenes. Senator Wiley, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has already inserted into the Congressional Record (June 19, 1948) a revamped copy of

the bill. Yet, these results are clear -- after 10 years the Un-American Activities Committee ventured to produce something concrete. It was instantly rejected by a large section of American public opinion.

PLAN OF FUTURE ACTIVITY

The Committee of One Thousand in working for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities must be prepared to thwart every move by the House Committee to stifle throught and expression with which it does not agree. Our Committee must continue to make the public aware of the threat to civil liberties that the continued existence of the Thomas Committee represents, and to stimulate protests by effective public opinion against its irresponsible conduct. Simultaneously, organizations and groups must be encouraged to take appropriate action against the very existence of the Un-American Activities Committee.

The views of eminent scholars of American civil liberties must be sought and circulated and the documented widespread opposition to the Thomas Committee collected and announced. The publications and statements of the Thomas Committee must be critically appraised and statements and background material supplied to strategic editors, columnists and radio commentators. An official journal of the Committee of One Thousand, published regularly, could perform a valuable function and be most helpful in promoting the above program. It is hoped that the means can be found to have the first issue appear in the fall.

22-30

Paralleling the latest Un-American Activities Committee hearings the Committee of One Thousand must be prepared to hold hearings for the examination of witnesses whom the Un-American Committee summons, then silences. This will require a small panel of sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand, including lawyers, with provision for examining counsel, etc. to prepare a public record of the facts which the Un-American Committee refuses to hear from its witnesses. Or in cases such as Dr. Condon's, where the House Committee publicly accuses, but gives no hearing, the panel could proceed to "hear the case." We will thus begin to "abolish" the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Committee of One Thousand is now preparing to circularize every candidate for Congress in most of the forty-eight states, asking them to declare themselves on the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The information gathered from this poll will be made available to the sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand and to interested citizens groups, and will be publicized in the candidates' localities. In addition, we will make available the roll call vote in Congress on several important measures affecting the House Committee on Un-American Activities -- the vote on appropriations for the Committee, on the Mundt bill, and contempt citations.

The need to secure commitments from Congressional candidates against the House Committee on Un-American Activities should not be underestimated. It is known that many members of Congress are intimidated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and though they have expressed both publicly and privately their disgust with the conduct of that committee, nevertheless, continue to support its requests. It is important to make known to future members of Congress (whatever their political complexion) that there is considerable effective public opinion against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in order

to create a more widespread opposition to the Committee within Congress itself.

What Professor Walter Gellhorn said in his article "In Defense of American Activities" (American Scholar, Vol. XVII, No. 2, Spring 1948) bears repeating. "More important than any procedural reform, however, is conscious opposition to the Committee's bullying. The dominant pressures in the country today are toward an uncritical conformity, and toward a fearful unwillingness to preserve the civil rights of unpopular groups. The Committee implies that those who oppose it are Communists or tools of the Communists. And thus it intimidates many who ought to be most eager in their defense of the realm of ideas. It is more comfortable, and certainly safer, to worry about attacks on democracy in foreign countries than to be sensitive about non-democratic trends in our own. But if American democracy is to continue in a state of health, dissident opinion must not be stifled here."

The estimated monthly organizational expense budget of the Committee of One Thousand including salaries, rent, telephone and telegraph, postage, stationery and supplies, is $850.00. To this must be added the cost of special meetings and functions, newspaper advertisements, publications, radio time, and specialized personnel as required. It is not possible to estimate the cost of these items because the extent to which they are utilized depends in no small measure upon the future activity of the House Committee.

The Committee of One Thousand receives its funds entirely from voluntary contributions solicited (1) in person and through the mails, and (2) at public functions held by the Committee. By establishing itself as a source of information about the Un-American Activities Committee, as well as a leading opponent of it, the Committee of One Thousand hopes to broaden its base of moral and financial supporters. Those evincing interest in the program and objective of the Committee of One Thousand should be referred to the Committee.

HARLOW SHAPLEY, Acting Chairman

PAUL ZIPORKIS, Executive Secretary

August 1948

uopwa
16-51

MEMO

COMMITTEE OF One Thousand

37 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK 10
MUrray Hill 9-3686

TO: Sponsors of Committee of One Thousand

FROM: Paul Ziporkis, Executive Secretary

DATE: October 11, 1948

I wish that I might meet with all the sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand to discuss the plans and problems of the Committee. Realizing its impossibility, however, I am using this means to tell you what we believe our Committee ought to do, and to ask for your cooperation.

I am sure you will agree that at a time when the House Committee on Un-American Activities shows such a blatant disregard of civil rights that it earns the condemnation of the President and the Attorney General of the United States, it would be most unfortunate if the Committee of One Thousand were not able to continue to do its part in helping to rid the government of such an un-American agency.

The enclosed report outlining our proposed activities stresses the introduction of a resolution into Congress to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities as sine qua non of our objective. We want to organize a group of Congressmen to lead the fight for the passage of such a resolution which we expect will be introduced by Congressman Sabath. As a first step in this project we would plan on the opening day of Congress to have in the hands of every Congressman an open letter signed by the sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand urging the abolition of the Thomas Committee.

We have made many efforts to raise the money necessary to carry out the foregoing program. We are urgently in need of $5,000 to enable our Committee to continue. It is only the failure to raise sufficient funds by other means that compels us to appeal to you for assistance. We shall be most grateful for your help.

P.S. Enclosed is a current list of sponsors of the Committee of One Thousand.

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16-51

[Enclosure]

Committee of One Thousand
37 Madison Avenue, New York 1, N.Y.

October, 1948

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22-30

4 PWA

COMMITTEE TO END THE

JIM CROW "SILVER-GOLD" SYSTEM

IN THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
CHARLES P. HOWARD
DES MOINES, IOWA

CO-CHAIRMEN
MRS. CHARLOTTA BASS
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
W. E. B. DUBOIS
NEW YORK, N.Y.
PAUL ROBESON
ENFIELD, CONN.

2 LAFAYETTE STREET • ROOM 1015
NEW YORK 7, N.Y. • WORTH 4-7117

August 31, 1948

Dear Friend:

Did you know that the government of the United States is the official sponsor and protector of a complete pattern of Jim Crow social and economic discrimination involving more than 20,000 of its employees - Negroes, Panamanians and British West Indians in the Panama Canal Zone?

Did you know that our government, through the Department of Justice, is now engaged in a campaign of intimidation and terror equal to any ever attempted by Southern racists in an effort to prevent these workers from winning equal rights and a better standard of living?

23-19

We call to your attention a few startling facts which have recently come to our attention.

For nearly forty-two years the "silver" (colored) workers on the Zone (as contrasted with the white "gold" workers) have suffered starvation wages, unsanitary and inadequate housing, primitive school facilities, etc. The government set the wages for the "silver" workers. The government provided all other facilities - but never enough and never the same as it provided for the white "gold" workers.

Two years ago the "silver" workers organized into a trade union - the United Public Workers of America, CIO. Within a short period, through aggressive action and through negotiations with the local administration, the union won wage increases, overtime pay, a grievance procedure, maternity leave, sick pay and a host of other benefits. The union also prevailed upon the government to remove the hateful signs designating all facilities "For Silver Workers Only" - "For Gold Workers Only." These signs appeared on toilets, on drinking fountains, everywhere in the Zone until the union succeeded in having them removed.

The union is still fighting for a program to improve the standard of living of the silver workers.

Naturally, the union has been under severe attack. English language newspapers, AFL unions of white foremen and others have tried to destroy the union.

Some months ago these forces were joined by representatives of the Department of Justice. The local District Attorney, Daniel E. McGrath, a Department of Justice appointee, has been in the forefront of the drive. In an effort to discredit the union, the District Attorney succeeded in sending to jail a former financial secretary of the local on a charge of "forgery."

The most recent incident occurred in July when the District Attorney indicted an organizer of the union, Joseph Sachs, on a charge of criminal libel. U. S. Attorney General Tom Clark assigned one of the Department's ace prosecutors, Tom De Wolfe, to handle the prosecution. As a result of a viciously handled trial, before an all-white jury, Sachs was sentenced to nine months at hard labor in the Panama penitentiary. He is now out on bail pending appeal.

At the present time, McGrath is suing the local and the International Union for $75,000 damages arising out of the same libel case.

We are pleased to report to you that the "silver" workers have not been intimidated by this latest attack. They have rallied in unprecedented unity to free Joe Sachs. Out of their meager earnings they have pledged a day's pay for the defense fund.

23-19

We believe we have an obligation to raise our voices in this situation. Ultimate responsibility for the Department of Justice drive to protect Jim Crow in Panama rests with the President of the United States. Maintenance of economic and social discrimination in the Zone is a function of the executive branch of our government. States' rights are not involved.

Will you join with us in a petition to the President urging an end to "silver-gold" discrimination in the Zone and an unconditional pardon for Joe Sachs, one who devoted all of his energies towards that end?

Enclosed is a copy of the petition. Will you indicate by returning the enclosed post card whether you will join with us - and in a Citizens' Committee to take other measures which may be necessary to secure a Civil Rights program - not in fine words, but in action - for 20,000 "silver" workers, employees of the United States government? We will consult with you concerning any future actions by the Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Charles P. Howard

CHARLES P. HOWARD

Charlotta Bass

(MRS.) CHARLOTTA BASS

W. E. B. Dubois

W. E. B. DUBOIS

Paul Robeson

PAUL ROBESON

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enc.

PETITION TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN

We, the undersigned, respectfully petition the President of the United States to end by executive order the shameful system of "silver-gold" Jim Crow discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone which has been officially maintained and sponsored by the government of the United States for the past 42 years.

We call to your attention the following startling facts: Although the "silver-gold" system arose out of a method of payment of wages it has degenerated into a complete pattern of anti-Negro discrimination which operates as if it were fashioned by the most violent southern racists. In the Canal Zone, nearly 20,000 colored "silver" workers are paid only a fraction of the wages paid to white "gold" workers although the cost of living is as high for both groups. "Silver" workers are housed in primitive barracks, suffer inadequate educational, recreational facilities. On the other hand the government maintains excellent facilities for the "gold" workers.

Two years ago the "silver" workers began to organize into a CIO union, the United Public Workers of America. In a brief space of time the union was able to win substantial wage increases, a grievance procedure which eliminated previously accepted arbitrary dismissals by white foremen, maternity and sick leave policies, etc. The union also secured the removal of the hateful "For Silver Workers Only" - "For Gold Workers Only" signs which proclaimed the system of discrimination for all facilities on the Zone.

23-19

Because it has attempted to win a measure of equal opportunity for the "silver" workers the union has been violently attacked by the unions of white supervisors and by the English language press. Recently official representatives of the Department of Justice joined that union-busting campaign.

Only last month, the effort to destroy the only instrument these "silver" workers have for betterment of their working conditions - their union - was climaxed when one of the union organizers, 29-year-old veteran Joseph Sachs, was sentenced to nine months at hard labor after conviction by an all-white jury on a charge of criminal libel. The criminal action was initiated by District Attorney Daniel McGrath. It was prosecuted by Tom De Wolfe, specially assigned to the task by Attorney General Tom Clark.

This latest incident has served only to increase bitterness among the "silver" workers whose loyalty to the government of the United States has never been questioned. All during the war not one single act against the interests of the government was ever committed by a "silver" worker. This is a matter of official record.

The vengeful persecution of a union organizer, whose only crime was to fight Jim Crow, and the behavior of representatives of the government against the union of "silver" workers must not be permitted to stand unchecked.

The situation in the Panama Canal Zone offers an opportunity to prove the sincerity of the Civil Rights program.

We therefore urge you to order an end to government sponsored "silver-gold" discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone.

Simple justice also requires that you grant an unconditional pardon to Joseph Sachs who fought this discrimination with vigor and in all sincerity.

Prompt action by executive order will put meaning into a Civil Rights program. Neither States' rights nor a recalcitrant Congress are involved in this situation in Panama. It is up to you now, Mr. President.

SIGNED _____

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Room 1015

2 Lafayette Street

New York 7, N. Y.

83-19

Dear Friends:

I authorize you to add my name to the "petition to President Truman" urging an end to "silver-gold" discrimination in the Canal Zone and requesting an unconditional pardon for Joe Sachs.

Please add my name to your committee ___

Signed_____

(Also please print name)_____

Address_____

Organization (for identification only)_____

_____

[Enclosure]

August 30, 1948

Man to Man

By Harold L. Ickes

As an advocate of fair play for the government's long-mistreated "silver" employees in the Panama Canal Zone, I have addressed the following open letter to President Truman:

"M. Dear Mr. President: On the 29th of last month, in a federal court in the Panama Canal Zone, Joseph Sachs was condemned to nine months' imprisonment at hard labor. A veteran of World War II, Mr. Sachs had been so rash as to volunteer for service in a struggle against racial discrimination in the federal administration of the Zone. He was charged with having libeled United States District Attorney Daniel E. McGrath.

"As you may know, the word 'silver' has come to be used by the government itself to designate the Zone's non-citizen workers—chiefly Negroes native Panamanians and West Indians — as distinguished from the 'gold' citizen workers who are, with few exceptions, white.

According to testimony given in a hearing before an Appropriations subcommittee of the Senate during the last regular session of the Congress, the latter receive four to five times the pay of the 'silver' workers, for the same work, in addition to better housing, commissary and recreation facilities and other benefits.

* * *

"About two years ago, as a result of appeals to President Philip Murray of the CIO, the United Public Workers of America began to organize the 'silver' workers of the Canal Zone. The union charges that as the movement has gained strength, a systematic campaign to destroy it has been carried on by District Attorney McGrath.

"After an honorable discharge at the end of the war, Sachs worked for a time with the OPA and in the fall of 1946 was assigned to organize Negro and white federal civil service employees in Birmingham, Ala. He became deeply interested in the problems resulting from segregation and, in the summer of 1947, he asked for an opportunity to help in union efforts in behalf of the mistreated 'silver' workers of the Canal Zone. He entered energetically into the struggle for a settlement of grievances stemming chiefly from race discrimination and made more urgent by the hardships due to inflation.

"In cooperation with others, Sachs undertook to counter McGrath's campaign. On Feb. 4, when Sachs was scheduled to make a radio address, McGrath issued a statement, published by a local newspaper, in which he declared that he had evidence to substantiate charges that the officials of the union, including Sachs, were 'swindlers and embezzlers, living off the backs of "silver" workers.' When Sachs went on the air he added to his prepared talk a demand that McGrath 'put up or shut up.' He challenged the district attorney to produce the evidence that he claimed to have, commenting that he, McGrath, would do well to clean his own house. This was a reference to a union allegation...

* * *

"McGrath's answer was not in the form of evidence of swindling and embezzlement on the part of the union leaders. Instead, he instituted an action for criminal libel against Sachs and a civil action against the union. According to an official of the union, McGrath was successful in having one of the Justice Department's ace prosecutors, Tom De Wolfe, sent from Boston to prosecute the Sachs case.

It is further charged that Sachs was tried before a newly appointed judge from Tennessee who was without previous experience on the Federal bench, and an all-white jury of 'gold' workers, the only Negro on the panel having been peremptorily challenged. A further allegation is that the trial was punctuated throughout by the prosecution's contemptuous references to Negroes, 'Reds' and Jews. An appeal has been taken to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

"Mr. President, your utterances on civil rights, the pledges of your party, your recent order for non-discriminatory treatment of all government employes, indicate that you can be appealed to, with confidence, for executive action in which a searching investigation of the Sachs case would be incidental to the relief for the 'silver' workers of the Canal Zone. Despite the fact that their loyalty has been proven in the crucible of war, their plight is not only a disgrace to the United States, it is giving rise to widening resentment and distrust in an area vital to our national security.

"You need no act of Congress. You have the power to put an end to a situation in which the United States Government, in a department directly under your control, sponsors an economic and social pattern of race discrimination which, were he still alive, would undoubtedly win the approval of Hitler. Both the responsibility and the opportunity are yours. The occasion calls, not for mere words, but for action.

"Sincerely yours,

"(Signed) Harold L. Ickes"

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COMMITTEE TO END THE

JIM CROW "SILVER-GOLD" SYSTEM

IN THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
CHARLES P. HOWARD
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NEW YORK, N.Y.
PAUL ROBESON
ENFIELD, CONN.

2 LAFAYETTE STREET • ROOM 1015
NEW YORK 7, N.Y. • WORTH 4-7117

Liv UPWA

September 10, 1948

Dear Friend:

Did you know that the government of the United States is the official sponsor and protector of a complete pattern of Jim Crow social and economic discrimination involving more than 20,000 of its employees - Negroes, Panamanians and British West Indians in the Panama Canal Zone?

Did you know that our government, through the Department of Justice, is now engaged in a campaign of intimidation and terror equal to any ever attempted by Southern racists in an effort to prevent these workers from winning equal rights and a better standard of living?

We call to your attention a few startling facts which have recently come to our attention.

For nearly forty-two years the "silver" (colored) workers on the Zone (as contrasted with the white "gold" workers) have suffered starvation wages, unsanitary and inadequate housing, primitive school facilities, etc. The government set the wages for the "silver" workers. The government provided all other facilities - but never enough and never the same as it provided for the white "gold" workers.

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We are pleased to report to you that the "silver" workers have not been intimidated by this latest attack. They have rallied in unprecedented unity to free Joe Sachs. Out of their meager earnings they have pledged a day's pay for the defense fund.

23C - 38 - 33

We believe we have an obligation to raise our voices in this situation. Ultimate responsibility for the Department of Justice drive to protect Jim Crow in Panama rests with the President of the United States. Maintenance of economic and social discrimination in the Zone is a function of the executive branch of our government. States' rights are not involved.

Will you join with us in a petition to the President urging an end to "silver-gold" discrimination in the Zone and an unconditional pardon for Joe Sachs, one who devoted all of his energies towards that end?

Will you indicate by returning the enclosed post card whether you will join with us - and in a Citizens' Committee to take other measures which may be necessary to secure a Civil Rights program - not in fine words, but in action - for 20,000 "silver" workers, employees of the United States government? We have already had favorable response in our fight, including the use of an entire column by Mr. Ickes on this question. We are enclosing a copy of this column for your information.

From time to time we will consult with you regarding future actions by the Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Charles P. Howard

CHARLES P. HOWARD

Charlotta Bass

(MRS.) CHARLOTTA BASS

W. E. B. Dubois

W. E. B. DUBOIS

Paul Robeson

PAUL ROBESON

uopwa 16
enc.

Dear Friends:

I authorize you to add my name to the "petition to President Truman" urging an end to "silver-gold" discrimination in the Canal Zone and requesting an unconditional pardon for Joe Sachs.
Please add my name to your committee ☐

Signed_____

(Also please print name)_____

Address_____

Organization (for identification only)_____

_____

330 - 38 - 34

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Room 1015

2 Lafayette Street

New York 7, N. Y.

Mathe Fulden

COMMITTEE TO END THE
JIM CROW "SILVER-GOLD" SYSTEM
IN THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
CHARLES P. HOWARD
DES MOINES, IOWA

CO-CHAIRMEN
MRS. CHARLOTTA BASS
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
W. E. B. DUBOIS
NEW YORK, N.Y.
PAUL ROBESON
ENFIELD, CONN.

2 LAFAYETTE STREET • ROOM 1015
NEW YORK 7, N.Y. • WORTH 4-7117

22-40-87

September 15, 1948

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Will you come as my personal guest to a luncheon on Saturday afternoon, 12:30 P.M., September 25th, at the Hotel Piccadilly, 227 West 45th Street, New York?

Brother Pascual Ampudia, President of Local 713, United Public Workers, CIO, the union of "silver" workers, is arriving from Panama and will be present to give us a first hand report.

We also plan additional activity in our drive to end government sponsored Jim Crow in Panama.

Will you let me know immeidately whether you will be able to attend - via the enclosed card?

Sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson

U.N. Petition Correspondence

January 15, 1948

23-19-9

The Editor
COMMONSENSE
41 Commercial House
124 Fox Street
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dear Sir: We are enclosing the first perfect copy of the NAACP petition to the United Nations. May we ask your attention to it and some notice of it in your review section?

Thanking you for your courtesy, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Enclosure

[Common Sense]

COMMON SENSE

DECEMBER, 1947.

OLD WINE IN OLD BOTTLES

HOW GENEROUS IS THE UNION'S LOAN TO BRITAIN?

NOT BY BREAD ALONE

THIS IS THE WAY WE GO TO SCHOOL

THESE MISSIONARIES

SOUTH AFRICAN AND OVERSEAS COMMENTARIES

SHORT STORY

REGISTERED AT THE G.P.O. AS A NEWSPAPER

PRICE 6d.

ART FILMS BOOKS PLAYS

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CONTRIBUTORS' WHO'S WHO

NADINE GORDIMER has written short stories of distinction for a number of South African magazines. She lives in Springs.

WINIFRED M. LUNT (Mrs. Edward Roux) who has just returned from a lengthy stay in England, is a well known South African educationist.

"Common Sense" is a journal for all shades of progressive opinion. Readers should not assume that the views expressed by contributors are necessarily those of the editors. Contributions of about 1,200 words are welcomed.

"Common Sense" is published monthly from 41, Commercial House, 124, Fox Street, Johannesburg, Phone: 22-2654. Subscription rates, Six shillings per year, post free, should be sent to the Secretary, P.O. Box 7791, Johannesburg.

(Communist Party - Illinois)

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1220

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CD 518 NL PD=CHICAGO ILL 5

DR W E B DUBOIS= KV

409 EDGECOMB AVE NYK=

80th Bday

THE COMMUNIST PARTY FEELS HONORED TO SEND GREETINGS TO YOU ON THIS GREAT ANNIVERSARY OF YOUR WELL SPENT LIFE. ALTHOUGH YOU ARE NOT ORGANICALLY ONE WITH US WE FEEL A DEEP SPIRITUAL BOND BINDS ALL PEACE AND LIBERTY LOVING HUMANITY WITH YOU WE GREET YOU MAY YOU GIVE MANY MORE YEARS OF YOUR LIFE TO THE DEMOCRATISATION OF AMERICA

MAY YOU LONG REMAIN A FEARLESS LEADER OF THE PEOPLE HAIL AND WELL MET BELOVED FRIEND=

COMMUNIST PART OF ILLINOIS GIL GREEN WILLIAM PATTERSON.

23-25-4

The Community Church of New York

"Knowing not Sect, Class, Nation or Race, Welcomes Each to the Service of All"

MINISTERS
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
DONALD HARRINGTON

40 EAST 35TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MU 3-4780

Req. to write Article

July 12, 1948

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

After a wait of seventeen long years the Community Church of New York has completed its new hall of worship and community service center at 40 East 35th Street.

The church will be dedicated on October 17th, 1948.

In recognition of this occasion a dedication book is being prepared which will contain beautiful reproductions of the new building, an historical sketch of the 123 years of the church's life with pictures of previous buildings and articles by various prominent persons. The writers of these articles have been selected as being distinguished in their particular field and acquainted with the significant contributions (if we may so term them) which Dr. John Haynes Holmes has made to a better way of life during his forty-one years as minister of this church.

23-38-18

I have been requested to write you to ask if you would be willing to send us an article (up to 1500 words) to be included in this dedication book. It has been suggested that your article might be on: "Dr. Holmes, the Community Church, and World Brotherhood." The actual title and length of the article we leave to your good judgment.

Since the book will go to press in the early part of August, we would greatly appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience. The book will be made available to the four thousand members of the church constituency, to public libraries and to all who take part in the dedication ceremonies.

August 10 deadline

Looking forward to hearing from you soon, I remain

Faithfully yours,

R. Mardus

Richard Mardus
Editorial Committee

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

265

July 12 1948

Mr. Richard Mardus
The Community Church
40 East 35th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Mardus:

Thank you for your letter of July 12. I shall be happy to do the article you mentioned in your communication, but would appreciate your letting me know just what is the latest deadline possible for this contribution. Should you wish to reach me by phone in this regard, my number is LOngacre 6890.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[Community Church of N.Y.]

(see D. B. file Frankel "John Haynes Holmes, the Community Church, and World Brotherhood"

August 2, 1948

23.38.19

Mr. Richard Mardus
Editorial Committee
The Community Church
~~46~~ East 35th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Mardus: In reply to your letter of July 12, I trust that the enclosed manuscript will do. If not, let me try again.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Enclosure

The Community Church of New York

"Knowing not Sect, Class, Nation or Race, Welcomes Each to the Service of All"

MINISTERS
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
DONALD HARRINGTON

40 EAST 35TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MU 3-4780

November 10, 1948

File
John Haynes Holmes

23-38-17

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This is just a brief note to thank you for the splendid message which you sent for the book of dedication of the new Community Church of New York. The dedication services were held on October 17th and all our hearts were uplifted with joy. We are grateful for your part in making our celebration the great success that it has been. I am sending you a copy of the dedication book.

Sincerely and gratefully yours,

Donald Harrington

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Sent

May 19, 1948

Mr. George W. Goodman
The Connecticut Chronicle
Post Office Box 1199
Hartford, Connecticut

23-29-87

Dear Mr. Goodman:

For many years I have served as a columnist for some of the large metropolitan weekly papers such as THE PITTSBURGH COURIER, THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, THE NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS, and THE PEOPLE'S VOICE of New York City. I am, however, becoming aware of the shifting political and social scene nationally and internationally, and acutely conscious of the crucial issues facing Negroes throughout the nation, as well as the interests and interdependence of darker peoples all over the world. I feel, therefore, that colored people in every part of the United States need to know and understand what is going on as a basis for intelligent action on the important problems which confront us. In my opinion an enlarged reading audience could be reached most effectively and economically through a cooperative syndicated column which the larger papers do not see their way to support.

A column of this sort is, therefore, being offered to a selected list of papers in various parts of the country, whose combined circulation seems in my opinion to reach the mass of American Negroes. Because of the strategic location of your publication, the influence it wields in your locality, and the service it is rendering towards the improvement of the position of the Negro in the community of which it is a part and serves, I am writing you.

In the enclosed statement I have set forth in detail the plan for this proposed cooperative weekly column. After you have studied the statement, I would appreciate having your reactions. Your frank criticism and suggestions for improving or making the column fit your specific requirements are desired.

I would be glad if you will permit me to cooperate with you in this venture and it is my hope that I may have the privilege of serving both you and your readers. A reply at your earliest convenience would be appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm
Enclosures:

May, 1948

A STATEMENT

of

A Cooperative Newspaper Syndicate, Under the Direction of

W. E. B. Du Bois

I propose to furnish a weekly column called, THE WINDS OF TIME, to a group of newspapers so chosen that their circulation will cover most of the nation and yet not overlap to any extent.

This column will consist of two parts; one, my opinion and Thought, based on experiences in 50 years of public life; and also interpreting current events which effect the American Negro and colored peoples of the world.

In addition to this, a series of short paragraphs interpreting the important news of the previous week, the opinions expressed upon it, and the application of that news to our situation here in America.

23-39-89

In many cases I should touch upon controversal subjects with which the editors and some of their readers would not agree, but I believe that in most cases the result would be to stir up interest and opposing opinions which could and should be published from time to time. Controversy very often makes for circulation.

I should want it understood that any particular item of news or opinion could be omitted by any one of the papers at any time, but of course if the paragraph was published it would be published as written. I should aim to have the column short and concise and of current interest to most of the readers of these papers.

My idea is that the cost of this service should not exceed $10.00 weekly for each of the participating papers. And also after the first group is chosen, I should expect that no other papers would be allowed to participate in this publication of news and opinion unless their participation was agreed to by the group. So far as possible, I should like to see this a cooperative venture, so that certain local happenings which were really of national interest could be written up and inserted in the column for circulation among the participating papers.

I have in mind several other features that might be added to a column of this sort and I hope by consultation with the participating papers to develop these ideas.

I am convinced of the variety and wide differences in the problems which face American Negroes and I do not think that any single weekly paper even of national circulation can cover and interpret these local problems. On the other hand, if a Negro paper is too local in its views and outlook, then its readers will have to depend on the larger papers for general news and opinions.

There is, however, no reason why the local and regional paper should not through columns and features carry something of the general outlook and world interpretation of news. It is in this line that I want my proposed column to break a new path in race relations in the United States.

CONNECTICUT CHRONICLE PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

GEORGE W. GOODMAN
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

P. O. BOX 1199
TEL. { 5-3624
5-2479

23-39-99

June 19, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 20th and the post-card that arrived this morning speaking of the syndicated column.

Please know that my long delay was not premised upon any uncertainty about the merit of the offering. My conviction about your opinions and reactions were favorably set many years ago. And I recently had the opportunity to refresh that opinion by reading an address that you made to the Alumni Association of Fisk University many years ago. An address that was distinctly disliked by many at the time but has reaped a rich harvest for that institution.

Candidly I have not replied to your offer before because I operate a new and struggling publication. While it is growing, it still has not yet arrived at the point where it is paying its way and thus every additional item of cost is of vital importance.

So it is not a matter of desire but purely one of inability. Thus I could not honestly contract to pay $5.00 a week at the moment. I want it but I cannot reach the price.

Respectfully yours

George W. Goodman

George W. Goodman

1298

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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22-36-2

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FV NEWYORK NY FEB 22 1948

MILITARY

DR W E DUBOIS

KY 409 EDGECOMBE AVE NYK

WILL YOU JOIN ME AS SPONSOR TO INITIATE MASS DELEGATION TO ALBANY MARCH 8TH TO FIGHT FOR ENACTMENT OF LEGISLATION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN NATIONAL GUARD RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS AND OTHER PHASES OF DISCRIMINATION WE MUST ACT NOW IF WE ARE TO GET ACTION BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE ADJOURNS PLEASE ANSWER ME AT THIS ADDRESS COLLECT

CITY COUNCILMAN EUGENE P CONNOLLY
25 WEST 26 STREET NEW YORK NY

1118P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Contemporary Writers]

lecture completed

file

506 West 150th Street
New York City,31.
November 12th,1948.
AU-3-0769

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Ave.,
New York,32.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am a member of Contemporary Writers, which in conjunction with another group of young writers, The Harlem Writers Workshop, and the Committee For The Negro In The Arts, is holding a symposium on Mr. Harry Haywood's recent book,NEGRO LIBERATION, at the Little Theatre of the 135th Street YMCA, on the night of December 17th. We feel this is an important book which few people know about due to the lack of reviews etc. in the daily press. We also feel that this symposium can be a major event in the cultural life of our city, and will attract a broad cross section of the people.

23-48-26

We would very much like to have you as the main speaker of the evening. We are also inviting Miss Shirley Graham, Willard Motley, Malcolm Crowley, Earl Conrad, Roi Ottley, Ted Ward, Langston Hughes, and others. Of course Mr.Haywood will be there too, so we expect a lively and fruitful discussion.

Although we realize you have many calls on your time, we hope you can be at this meeting. Will you kindly let me know at your earliest convenience if you will attend, as we want to advertise and publiicize the symposium as soon as possible. We do not plan any admission charge.

Sincerely,
Len Zinberg,
For Contemporary Writers.

(over)

Nov. 13, 1948

Dear Mr. Zinberg:

Answering your letter of yesterday, I regret to say that my commitments for this winter, both speaking and writing, are such that I cannot accept any further engagements.

I am sorry.

Very sincerely,

W E B Du Bois

23-25-5

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WESTERN UNION

1201

[COOK]

(02)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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1948 FEB 23 AM 10 06

W E B DUBOIS=

409 EDGECOMB AVE=

SINCERE BEST WISHES FOR HEALTH AND HAPPINESS ON YOUR 80TH BIRTHDAY DEEP GRATITUDE FOR YOUR LIFE LONG STRUGGLE=

VASHTI AND MERCER. Cook

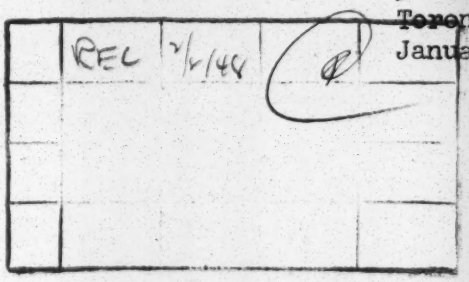
Howard Univ.
Wash. D C.

80

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY FEDERATION.

3 Devonshire Place,
Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada.
January 29, 1948.



The Pan-African Congress,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A.

Dear Sirs;

I recently came across your organization in a reference manual, "Europa", giving a statement of your purposes and aims and it aroused my interest to a great extent. The CCUF is a student organization part of whose program is to be on guard and take action against any form of racial intolerance.

Would it be possible for you to send me literature describing your work and activities? I would also be interested to know what countries are represented in your organization. We are very anxious to establish international contacts with organizations working toward an amiable solution to the world's problems. I will be waiting eagerly for your reply.

Sincerely,

Elgin Blair.

Elgin Blair,
National Secretary, CCUF.

Fwd for Info

The Mansion House,
Newdigate Place,
Newdigate,
Dorking,
Surrey, England.

12th November, 1948

Dr. W.E. B.Dubois,
c/o. The Council of African Affairs,
23, West 26th Street,
New York, 10,
N.Y., U.S.A.,

Dear Sir,

I am writing you on the advice of a Coloured American Journalist friend who gave me your name and address, in the hope that in contacting yoeas a member of the Council on African Affairs you might be able, and willing to assist me in a venture I am on the point of commencing.

Through the painful experience I gained whilst employed as a Welfare Officer to Coloured People in Liverpool, and because of the oft-times frustration which I encountered whilst dealing with cases in connection with Coloured Children, I determined that when I came to London to join my husband who is studying for a Medical Degree I would make every effort to organise a Private Home for Coloured Children, in the main. I said in the main, because I would not ascribe to any form of segregation by founding a Home for Coloured children alone, but the need is so great that I would allocate a greater number of places for the accommodation of orphaned and deprived coloured children, and allocate the remaining places to other children. Amongst many things, when I was in Liverpool I organised a Nursery for Coloured children with a sprinkling of Arab, Jewish, Chinese and White children. The experience I gained whilst working with Coloured people as a whole, was that it is almost impossible to attempt to do anything for Coloured people on an extremely high level publicly, and if one desires to achieve something of a really lasting and beneficial nature it must be done on a private basis, at least at the outset.

My plan for this Private Home embraces the desire not only to attend to the present and immediate care of the child, but to pay as much attention, if not more, to the "after-care." In short, I desire to organise this Home with the intention in mind of keeping the children under my own care, with the assistance of trained supervision and staff and render to these children the same advantages as I will, God willing, to my own son who is only sixteen months old,

With this object in mind , and after many months of searching, often fraught with bitter disappointment I have the lease of a large house of the Mansion type, standing in 50 acres of ground, and I intend to organise the work from this address, as above, during the term of the lease which extends over a period of 21 years. There is a tremendous scope for extending the work once it is in action, as the owner of the property has made me an offer to place other premises at my disposal, these premises being adjacent to the Estate. Unfortunately, the house though very beautiful and ideal for the type of work I have in mind, is in need of much repair to its 40 rooms, and from estimates which have already cost me £72. it will take about £7,000 to put the place in order to suit the accommodation of about thirty children to commence. But the advantages to be be gained when it is in the right state of accommodation, far outweighs the initial cost of repairs, for the surrounding land, after allowing for playing fields for the children and recreation grounds for the staff can be turned over to agriculture, grazing and poultry-keeping, and these latter would enable me to make the place almost self supporting. In addition, there are two lakes stocked with coarse fish and adjoining grounds stocked with edible birds, and these too are included in the lease.

I appeal to you Mr. DuBois for your sympathy and help in raising some of the Capital I need to start this work privately, either by grant, or a long term loan at a reasonable interest, in order that I might be able to tackle at once a really constructive piece of work for the lasting benefit of a body of children, whom, in the eyes of some misguided but ignorant people, should never have been born.

I attach hereto a list of people, who if contacted would verify the honesty of my purpose and would be willing to supply you with any information you might require as to the reliability of my personal character.

II.

I would send you photographs of the house in question, but these cost money and I am afraid, at this stage, the cost is beyond me. I could, however, let you have copies of the estimates for your own interest should you desire same.

Yours very truly,

Eléanore Cornwall.

(Eléanore Cornwall.)

22-39-08

Mrs. E. Molly, 53, Drayton Gardens, South Kensington, London.S.W.10
The Very Rev. Lord Bishop of Croydon, (Cuthbert Bardsley)Croydon, England.
N.A.Orr, Esq., Messrs Wilson & Sons, Estate Agents, 2,Victoria St.,Liverpool,2
C.W. Bateson, Solicitor, Messrs T.Cooper & Co., 71, St.Mary Axe, London.E.C.3

8-22-31-09

December 13, 1948

Mrs. Eleanore Cornwall
The Mansion House
Newdigate Place
Newdigate
Derking
Surrey, England

My dear Mrs. Cornwall:

I have your letter of November 12. I sympathize greatly with the object which you outlined and I know something of the plight of colored children in England; but I regret to say that I have no way in which I could help you.

My acquaintanceship with people of wealth of the United States is limited and I have no organ of expression in which I could print your appeal.

I certainly wish you all success and am sorry that I cannot be of some use.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

July 12, 1948

The Editor
Coronet
Coronet Building
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Sir:

The Julius Rosenwald Fund recently finished thirty years of social work chiefly among Negroes. At its concluding meeting in Chicago, May 28, I was asked to summarize the improvement in Race Relations in this period of time. My investigations made me realize as never before what organized and persistent social effort can accomplish in a generation. Due to the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro colleges, Foundations like the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board and others, these things have been accomplished:

1. The capability of Negroes to receive the highest education has been universally conceded.
2. Race differences have been minimized.
3. Race amalgamation is regarded as not necessarily evil.
4. Factual, scientific study of races has begun.
5. The Negro population is increasing and its health is improving.
6. Illiteracy is decreasing and Negroes in colleges have increased from 10,000 in 1917 to more than 70,000 in 1947.
7. Negro occupations are shifting from farming and domestic and personal service, to trades and professions, with about the same proportion in manufacturing and transport.
8. There has been a large increase in teachers and nurses; a small increase in lawyers, physicians, and dentists.

9. Negroes are receiving recognition in academic circles, in art and literature, in sciences and in sports.

10. Negroes are successfully fighting for political and civil rights. Lynching has been decreased from 64 in the year 1918, to 1 reported case in 1947. There have been 23 cases, involving legal rights, won before the United States Supreme Court between 1915 and 1948, including the constitutionality of the Fifteenth Amendment, annulling segregation by ordinance, outlawing the white primary and the housing covenant.

11. The Negro vote today is recognized and courted by all parties and cannot be bought simply by appointment or purchase.

12. The Negro is entering the Labor Movement in increasing numbers, and in other ways is taking part in social uplift movements in the United States.

This is just a rough and very general outline of progress in race relations in a generation.

I am writing to ask if you would consider an article outlining this development and drawing some conclusions from it?

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Go to Penn

1741 Drummond Street
Montreal P. Q.
Canada
February 9, 1948

Dr. E. P. Alexander
234 W. 139th Street
New York 30, N.Y.

23-25-33

Dear Dr. Alexander:

On account of the invitation sent me at Fisk University, I regret that I shall not be able to attend the Dinner in honor of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Monday, the twenty-third of February. I do wish to attend however, to Dr. Du Bois my best wishes for his birthday and thanks to Fisk University and its New York Alumni for extending the invitation.

Best wishes for the success of the dinner and kindest regards for you I am,

Yours truly
John R. Cattin

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY of San Francisco

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Vice-Presidents
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Executive Director
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Administrative Assistant

An organization of citizens working for equal civil rights and opportunities in housing, employment, education, health, and recreation for people of all colors, creeds, and ancestries in San Francisco . . . toward achievement of the full democratic possibilities of this cosmopolitan city.

101 POST STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 8 • EXbrook 2-3877

11 March 1948

[Council for Civil Unity...]

Dr W. E. B. DuBois
Palace Hotel
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Dr DuBois:

It occurs to me that you might wish to know something of the work which we are doing in San Francisco through the Council for Civic Unity.

Now in its fourth year of operation -- our first year without Foundation funds -- we have made substantial gains toward uniting leaders of the city's several minority groups and substantial sections of the middle class community in extending equality of opportunity along certain specific lines. Some of these activities you will find reflected in the enclosed reports and releases.

May I express again my pleasure at having had the opportunity to meet you at the Post's residence and my appreciation for your magnificent paper at the dinner Sunday evening?

With best wishes

Sincerely yours,

Edward Howden

EDWARD HOWDEN
Executive Director

EH:PC
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COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

January 7, 1948

Dear Council Member:

There will be a meeting of the Council On African Affairs at 4 p.m. Monday, February 2, 1948. The meeting will be held at the Council's headquarters, 23 W. 26th Street, New York, New York.

All members are earnestly requested to be present.

Yours sincerely,

Max Yergan
Secretary

MY:gj

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COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

January 27, 1948

Dear Council Member:

You have undoubtedly received notice of the meeting of the members of the Council on African Affairs to be held next Monday, February 2, 4 p.m., at the Council's office, 23 West 26th Street, New York.

As Chairman of the Council I feel it my duty to write to all members concerning the importance of the decisions which it is their responsibility to make at this meeting, and to urge that they make every possible effort to be present.

These are not easy times for those organizations and individuals who unequivocally support liberal and democratic causes. Now more than ever, however, the people of Africa need the help of liberal-minded Americans. I am convinced that the Council has a most important job to do, and that the organization's continued existence can only be justified if it refuses to evade or shirk that responsibility.

It is because of these reasons that I earnestly hope that you will find it possible to be on hand at our Council meeting next Monday and participate in determining decisions regarding the policy, program and functioning of our organization in this present period.

Cordially yours,

Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson
Chairman

PR/glk

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[Council on African Affairs]

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—in the interest of African freedom and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

Volume 7, No. 1 January, 1948

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First African Petitioner Addresses Trusteeship Council, Asks for Ewe Unification, End of Anglo-French Partition

The second session of the U.N. Trusteeship Council (T.C.), with the Soviet representative still absent, was highlighted by an oral hearing granted a representative of the Ewe people in West Africa, and by the T. C.'s sharp criticisms of the report submitted by South Africa on the administration of South West Africa, the former mandate territory which the Smuts' Government has refused to bring under the Trusteeship System.

The decision to grant an oral hearing to a representative of the All-Ewe Conference of Togoland in support of petitions for the unification of the Ewe people and their land, was made on November 20. The right of an oral petition was not allowed under the mandate system, and this marked the first such hearing in the T. C.

The representatives of the colonial countries were careful to hedge the decision with conditions. Mr. Ryckmans (Belgium) warned of the danger of allowing oral statements to become the normal rule in the consideration of petitions, and of the danger of emotionalism. He felt that only petitioners themselves, and not their agents, should be permitted a hearing before the Council. The representatives of France, United Kingdom, and New Zealand associated themselves with these views. Mr. Sayre (U.S.), president of the T. C., added that oral presentation of a petition was a "grace," not a "right."

A partial view of the Trusteeship Council as Sylvanus E. Olympio (inset and extreme left) appealed for unification of the Ewe people. Official U.N. Photos

With these qualifications a unanimous decision was reached to hear the Ewe representatives if they could be present at Lake Success within two weeks. The shortness of time allowed was questioned by the Iraq and Mexican delegates, and was protested by the Council on African Affairs in a telegram.

Mr. Olympio Makes Effective Presentation

The representative of the All-Ewe Conference, Mr. Sylvanus E. Olympio, arrived in New York by air within the time specified, and on the afternoon of December 8 he took his seat at the T. C. table and, speaking fluently in both French and English, effectively presented the case for his people. Mr. Olympio, a graduate of the London School of Economics, made a very strong and favorable impression on the delegates on the Secretariat members and audience present, and even on the newspaper correspondents.

The forty-five year old business executive from Lomé, French Togoland, first read an eleven page prepared statement and then answered questions from the delegates.

He pointed out that the Ewe population of approximately one million, occupying an area nearly as large as Palestine or Belgium, had suffered from partition of their country since 1884 when it was first divided between Germany and England. The second partition was made in 1920 when the German area was divided between France and Great Britain. As a result, the people and their land are separated today under three distinct administrations in the trust territories of French Togoland and British Togoland, and a portion of the Gold Coast.

This arbitrary division has long been the subject of protest from the Ewe people and other West Africans. It was a matter of discussion before the League of Nations upon several occasions. But nothing was ever done to satisfy the demand of the Ewes for unity. In 1946 the movement for unity gained new impetus with the organization of the All-Ewe Conference consisting of chiefs and representatives of all sections of the people. Mr. Daniel A. Chapman of the Gold

(*Continued on last page*)

Another Case of Concealing the Truth About Present-Day Africa

Sir Alan Burns, former Governor of the Gold Coast and now permanent representative for the United Kingdom in the United Nations Trusteeship Council, had occasion to express some of his views regarding West Africans at a luncheon meeting held in his honor in New York last month.

The N. Y. *Times* reported his speech. Dr. Emory Ross in a letter to that paper noted some errors in its report of what had been said. But the passages quoted bellow were not among those corrected.

An African friend with whom we discussed Sir Alan's statements commented: "It was a speech which the former Governor would not have dared to make back in the Gold Coast. It was obviously designed and delivered for American consumption."

The *Times* quoted Sir Alan as listing the African's "fear of the supernatural," his "inferiority complex," and his tendency to blame others instead of himself for many of his difficulties, as among the reasons why the task of his Government to advance the African people was so difficult. He also described the nationalist movement among West Africans as no more than "a small group of not too well educated persons clamoring for self-government."

Mindful of America's preoccupation with Communism, the former Governor obligingly touched on this question, stating that he believed "there can be no large Communist Party in West Africa because the people just have too much sense for that."

But not long ago, on October 30, 1947, the New York *Times* reported Dr. Vernon McKay, a member of the Foreign Political Association research staff, as holding somewhat contrary views. Upon his return from a four months tour of British West Africa, made possible by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Dr. McKay stated that many Native leaders in British West Africa admire Soviet policies more than they do those of the United States, and that Russia's racial and economic policies have won the approval of a large number of educated Africans.

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Race and Politics

With a national election coming up this year in South Africa, debate is already waxing hot between the Smut's forces, now in power, and the Nationalist opposition, which represents a formidable threat. In the forefront of discussion, as is customary in all South African politics, is the "Native Problem."

The Nationalists raise the slogan of the "black peril" and urge more stringent measures of racial segregation. To quote their leader. Dr. Malan, the Nationalist Party stands for "separate parallel existence, based on respective character, background, culture and mentality, with the supremacy of the European form of civilization."

Mr. Hofmeyr, representing the more liberal wing of Smuts' United Party, likewise speaks of "the permanent retention of leadership by Europeans," although holding out the vague hope of "the eventual removal of the Color Bar which prevents Non-Europeans from being represented in Parliament by their own people."

And Smuts himself? Addressing a United Party Congress in Pretoria last month, the Prime Minister tactfully but firmly repudiated Hofmeyr's slight concession. Said he, "Some of us say educated Natives should go to Parliament at some time in the future. That is a private opinion which people can have. Any man can think what he likes. But that is not the policy of our party. (Cheers) Our policy is clear—the leadership of the European race in South Africa."

Thus, to the voteless African the debate on the "Native Problem" amounts to Tweedledum against Tweedle-dee. The doctrine of European (White) Supremacy is upheld by all the parties (except the relatively weak Communists) contending for power in South Africa.

Race and Education

The South African Secretary for Education last fall made public a scheme to provide compulsory part-time education for white children (Europeans) up to their eighteenth year, at an estimated cost of from $320,000 to $480,000. Anticipating the criticisms that might be leveled at his scheme from some quarters, in view of the fact that educational opportunities for white children are already far in excess of those for Africans and other non-whites (only 3 out of 11 African children get any schooling in S. Africa), the official give this curious justification:

"Lovers of the weak will perhaps doubt the justice of supplying further privileges to Europeans while all the non-Europeans are not yet at school. They need not entertain this doubt, because it is an established fact that non-European advance has always been preceded by European progress, and the more confidence the European has in himself, the sooner he will come to the aid of his non-European countryman."

GOLD COAST—A new West African political movement, the Gold Coast United Convention, was launched last fall, its fundamental aim being the achievement of self-determination for Gold Coast Africans. The founder and chairman of the movement, Mr. George Grant, reflected its spirit at the inaugural meeting when he stated, "Today we can no longer sit down and make protests."

Smuts Identifies Communism, Hitlerism—Links Africa with Marshall Plan Aims

In February, 1945, just after the Yalta Conference, there was a debate in the South African House of Assembly. Dr. Malan, leader of the Opposition, which almost succeeded in preventing the entrance of South Africa into the war against Germany, strongly condemned the Yalta Agreement, stating that it had been dictated by Russia. Russia, Dr. Malan said, was no more democratic than Germany; she was "a wolf in sheep's clothing."

General Smuts, in reply, said the Russians were hardly likely to be afraid of Dr. Malan's "small party political meddling," for they were, after all, a great nation.

Today, General Smuts joins Dr. Malan and affirms what he formerly repudiated. Speaking on December 10, 1947, at the opening of the Transvaal Provincial Congress of the United Party, General Smuts dwelt on the spreading "menace of communism" which, he said, Britain and Western Europe—with the leadership and assistance of the United States—were desperately trying to halt. He warned the members of his party:

"Don't think we are out of it. If the barriers are broken and the gospel of Communism breaks through the Mediterranean countries to Africa, what havoc will it create on this continent!

"You all know what it means. It is not different from Hitlerism. It does not believe in freedom. It is the police state, without freedom of speech or opinion. It is minority rule dominating the majority, as in all countries under Communist sway to-day."

He Thought Differently in 1944

Now contrast with this characterization another made by the same gentleman on the occasion of the Southern African Soviet Friendship Congress in July, 1944:

"I welcome this meeting to promote the spirit of friendship and co-operation between the peoples of Southern Africa and the Soviet people. . . .

"Soviet Russia has in the past generation been a fountain of new ideas and new principles, not all of them readily acceptable to everybody, but many of them progressive and of real value to statecraft in every part of the world.

"We can learn much from Soviet Russia in the pursuits of peace and progress, just as we have found unsuspected strength in Soviet Russia at war.

"Ignorance and prejudice are the enemies of tolerance, friendship and co-operation, and nothing but good can come from the continous exchange of information helping, as it must, the establishment of a common understanding upon which we can hope to build a happier, broader and more enlightened civilization."

And in concluding this brief review of Smuts' ideas on the Soviet Union, we may quote the following comment on the Russians' heroic defense of their country, made by the "Elder Statesman" to the South African Senate in March, 1944:

"We may inveigh against Bolshevism, against Communism, but if these are the fruits of Communism they represent one of the most amazing things in all history. This is a fact, a fact to be reckoned with not only in our day, but for generations to come."

U. N. Commission Lists Human Rights, But Balks at Investigating Violations

The eighteen member U.N. Commission of Human Rights met in Geneva, Switzerland, during December, to deliberate on what should and should not go into the Declaration on Human Rights. But things did not proceed as smoothly and calmly as some of the delegates would have wished. Difficulties arose because at least one or two of the delegates felt that it was necessary to leave the lofty plane of abstract discussion and get down to concrete cases.

Thus it was that the representative of the Soviet Union requested that the Commission consider the petition filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People containing detailed charges of discrimination against Negro Americans and others, and that it provide for a commission to make an on-the-spot investigation of discrimination against Native populations in the colonies. (The latter proposal was included in a memorandum which the Council on African Affairs submitted to the U.N. Human Rights Commission in 1946.)

Both proposals were rejected, on the ground that the Commission should complete its listing of human rights and agree on general procedure before dealing with specific cases. Only the Soviet delegate voted for consideration of the N.A.A.C.P. petition, although there were seven abstentions and only four votes against the proposal.

At the conclusion of its session the Commission succeeded in adopting some thirty articles to be incorporated in a Declaration on Human Rights, and parallel articles to be incorporated in a Convention to be adhered to by member states. Alternative drafts of some articles remain for subsequent decision after the Declaration and Convention have been circulated and commented upon by the fifty-seven members of the United Nations.

The Question of Enforcement

We shall not review the contents of the Declaration and Convention here. The more important question is what actual beneficial effect they will have, if and when adopted. Rights which remain unenforced and unimplemented help no one, as American citizens today have good reason to know.

From reports received, it would appear that the U.S. delegation headed by Mrs. Roosevelt leaned towards waiting for "the moral force" generated by the mere statement of the Declaration on Human Rights to induce compliance.

Among the more specific proposals were an Australian suggestion that a court or tribunal for hearing cases of this character be established, and an American proposal that a "committee" of three disinterested members be established to offer assistance to governments charged with violation of individual or minority rights, *provided that* the governments so charged did not declare their problems to be of internal or domestic character. The committee under such terms would probably have little to do!

The most thoroughgoing enforcement proposal, made by the Soviet delegate, was that all the member states of the United Nations should enact necessary laws in order to guarantee to their populations the human rights subscribed to by the United Nations. No final conclusion on this question of enforcement was reached.

Experts Propose Initial Steps in U. N. Plan For Economic Development of Colonies

In last month's *New Africa* we proposed a United Nations approach to the economic development of colonies as an alternative to the African Development Company plan projecting an internationally sponsored super-corporation designed for the profit and dominance of the Anglo-Saxon ruling-class world.

The first step towards such a United Nations' approach has been taken by a U.N. sub-commission of economic experts headed by V. K. R. V. Rao of India, which on December 20 made public a twenty-nine page report setting forth preliminary recommendations regarding the role of the United Nations in developing the economically backward nations of the world.

The report recommends self-help by the backward countries themselves together with vastly expanded international financing to aid them. The economists:

- warn against neglecting under-developed areas in the general rush of capital into "the economically more developed areas of the world" (Britain and Western Europe);
- describe political and economic interference from outside as one of the main causes of economic backwardness, and propose that the countries to receive aid should themselves set up machinery for planning and supervising the economic development;
- declare that "if economic development is to progress more rapidly during the next few years, a larger and better regulated flow of foreign funds than is currently available will have to be promoted by and through international agencies working within the framework of the United Nations";
- propose that the U.N. should have authority, now denied, to make recommendations to the International Bank and International Monetary Fund, which have failed to provide aid as expected to underdeveloped areas and have pursued the conservative proper-return-on investment policy characteristic of bankers;
- note the rise in the prices of exports and transport services and urge that lending countries make capital goods available for export at "fair and reasonable prices."

The report will unquestionably provoke much debate in the U.N. Economic and Employment Commission and the Economic and Social Council, through which it must pass before the Assembly takes final action. If the recommendations—and there are more to follow from further meetings of the sub-commission—survive these hurdles, they will represent the most decisive and important action yet taken by the United Nations towards fulfilling the Charter's obligation of advancing the welfare of colonial peoples.

The fate of these excellent recommendations rests with the United States. Why? BECAUSE—

It is the U.S. Government which is concentrating, for openly-declared political reasons, upon aid to Western Europe, including Germany.

It is Wall Street which directs and holds the purse strings of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

It is industrial America alone which can at present send large quantities of machinery, agricultural equipment and other capital goods to colonial and other undeveloped countries.

And it is the U.S.A. which controls most of the votes in the United Nations.

Barclays Bank Likes Govt. Plans On Africa, Lauds Profit Motive

It is noteworthy that the British Labor Government's proposal for a government-sponsored Colonial Development Corporation with resurces of nearly a half billion dollars has been favorably received not only by Opposition members of Parliament (who assert that the idea was really theirs) but also by private business and financial interests like Lever Brothers and Barclays Bank, which already have large investments in Africa and which are, as Mr. Julian S. Crossley, the Chairman of Barclays Bank (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas), expresses it, "well placed" in relation to the Government's colonial development program.

One indication of how "well placed" they are is the fact that Lord Trefgarne, who has been named chairman of the Government's Colonial Development Corporation, was one of the original directors of Barclays Overseas Development Corporation, subsidiary of Barclays Bank (D., C. and O.). (*For the role of United Africa Co., subsidiary of Lever Brothers, in relation to the government's scheme, see* NEW AFRICA, *March*, 1947).

In his statement to the annual meeting of Barclays Bank (D., C. and O.) held last month in London, the chairman, Mr. Crossley, emphasized that Lord Trefgarne's resignation from his post with Barclays necessitated by his government appointment "does not in any way imply that there will be a conflict of interests between the new corporation and our own; on the contrary, we believe that our work will be complementary rather than competitive. . . . We look forward to much fruitful cooperation with the new corporation."

"It is reassuring," the Chairman continued, "to learn that the Government corporation is to be operated on a commercial basis and, accordingly, that considerations of profit will not be overlooked. This question of profitability is not a trivial matter to be lightly dismissed, because if the great work of colonial development is to be carried through it is likely, eventually, to need capital resources on a scale far in excess of that available from a Government corporation. The motive of profit or gain has ever been one of the main-springs of human activity, and if conditions are not such as to offer a fair prospective return it may be difficult to attract new capital into this field."

We may note here, in passing, that profits of Barclays Bank (D., C. and O.) after tax amounted to £467,491 for 1944-45, £516,765 for 1945-46, and £572,412 for the year ended Sept. 30, 1947, (£1 = $4.02) Not much cause for complaint there!

The Chairman remarked further that Africa appeared to offer "the greatest scope" for that "constructive policy" of "expansion . . . in economic activity" which was needed to provide "self-sufficiency" in this period of dollar shortage. "Your bank," he said, "is, I believe, exceptionally fortunate in being so well placed to implement this policy."

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First African Petitioner Addresses Trusteeship Council (Cont'd)

Coast was one of the leading spirits in this movement. It was the series of petitions addressed from this body to the T. C. which led to U.N. consideration of the question.

Harmful Effects of Partition

Mr. Olympio revealed vividly the consequences of partition: the fact that the Anglo-French frontier cuts through local states, villages and farms; the fact that it prevents the true development of the people of Eweland, who are of one kinship, language and culture; the fact that the movement of the people and exchange of goods across the boundaries of the territories are restricted, with very harmful effect upon the people; the fact that the distinctly different British and French systems of education further divide coming generations.

"We want our children brought up in the same way, so we can collaborate in the same way toward self-government, which after all is the avowed object of the Trusteeship System," Mr. Olympio declared.

He pointed out that there was not a single permanent road, not a single secondary school, not a single hospital worthy of the name in either the British or French zone of the Ewe country. The only technical school to be found, he said, was one built by the Germans "which is now being used more as a factory than as a school by one of the missionary bodies."

The British and French representatives in substance discounted the validity of the petitions and declared that the demand for unification was politically unwise and administratively unnecessary. They further held that changes of frontiers were outside the scope of the T. C.'s functions—a view which was not accepted by other members of the Council. As a gesture of compromise they jointly proposed certain administrative reforms and accommodations, but evaded the issue of unification.

Mr. Olympio called these proposals "hopelessly inadequate" and "at most a make-shift arrangement." The solution of the basic problem, he said, could not be achieved unless the Ewe people "have a common educational system, the same political organization throughout the land, and economic unity. This can only be brought about by the Government's unification of the country under one administration." A general plebiscite should decide which administration it should be. In conclusion, he asked that the T. C. make an on-the-spot investigation of this problem.

Council's Decision on Ewe Case

After considerable discussion and questioning of the British, French, and Ewe representatives, the T. C. on December 15 unanimously adopted a resolution which in effect left the question open for final determination at a later date, probably two years hence. It acknowledged the measures jointly proposed by France and Great Britain to "represent an earnest and constructive initial effort" to meet the immediate needs raised in the petitions, but asked for a "more precise statement of the proposed measures to be undertaken with regard to the problem of co-ordination in politics, economics, social and educational fields," and for progress reports on these matters to be submitted to the T. C. It invited the administering authorities to consult with Ewe representatives in order to effect fulfillment of the wishes of the Ewe people as expressed in the petitions.

The resolution also stated that the first visiting mission of the T. C. to Togoland should "devote special attention" to the problem of Ewe unification, and that the problem should be reexamined at the T. C. session at which the report of the visiting mission to British and French Togoland is considered.

South Africa Again Under Fire

The single slight concession made by the South African Government toward meeting the United Nations request that the former mandate territory of South West Africa be brought under the Trusteeship System—namely, the agreement to submit an annual report to the U.N. on the administration of the territory as was formerly done under the mandate system—proved a source of considerable embarrassment to the South African Government, even though none of its representatives was present, when the Report on South West Africa for 1946 was examined and discussed by the T. C. on December 12.

A week prior to this discussion, the Council on African Affairs had sent a six-page memorandum to the members of the T. C. analyzing the South West Africa Report and disclosing the serious gaps in information and the self-incriminating evidence therein revealed. The Rev. Michael Scott, representing the Herero and other tribes of South West Africa, also conveyed to the member delegates—even though the request for a formal hearing before the T. C. was denied him—information concerning the true state of affairs within South West Africa.

It was gratifying to observe that several of the members of the T. C., notably the representatives of Mexico, Iraq, China and the United States, expressed dissatisfaction with the inadequacies of the Report on South West Africa, and the conditions of serious administrative neglect and discrimination manifested in its contents. One after another the delegates asked about various vague and questionable points.

While the South African Government declined an invitation to have a representative present during consideration of the Report, it had agreed to answer in writing any questions which might arise. The Council, consequently, by ten votes to none with Belgium abstaining, labeled the fifty-four page Report "incomplete" and decided to submit a series of questions to be answered by the South African Government prior to the Council's session in June, 1948, at which time action on the Report would be taken.

Questions for South Africa to Answer

Examples of the fifty questions which were drafted and approved for forwarding to the South African Government are the following:

"In view of the fact that the Government of the Union of South Africa has been administering the Territory for a long period, to what causes does the Government attribute the continued distrust of and lack of confidence in European rule still shown by the Africans?"

"Would the Government of the Union of South Africa state whether the Colour Bar Act (the Mines and Works Amendment Act) of 1926, prohibiting Africans as such from doing skilled work in the Union of South Africa, applies to South West Africa?"

"Would the Government of the Union of South Africa state whether it is a fact that the Herero tribe has been split into eight sections and confined to separate reserves, between which communication is possible only by means of passes? Has this had the effect of breaking up the tribal organization and unity of the Hereros as a people?"

Other questions raised concerned the representation of Non-Europeans in the Government's structure; regulations and system of land distribution; the amount of money spent on Non-European education, health, education, general welfare and land development; the nature of the taxes paid by Africans and the reason for the low rate of European taxation; the nature of the Pass Laws and residential segregation; the nature of the labor recruiting system and wages and union rights of Africans; the use of convict labor in private employment; the plans of the South African Government for extention of educational opportunities and public health facilities to Non-Europeans; and the exile of the Paramount Chief and fourteen thousand members of the Hereros from their original habitat in South West Africa.

At the last meeting of the T.C. on December 16, Mr. Noriega (Mexico), supported by the representatives of Iraq and the Philippines, made a final attempt to get a hearing before the Council for Rev. Scott. The move was defeated, France, Belgium, the United States, Australia and China all opposing it, mainly on procedural grounds. Following the meeting Rev. Scott told newspaper reporters that he would seek to have Paramount Chief Mahareru and Chief Hosea Kutako attend the next session of the T.C. in order that they might tell what dire suffering the Herero people have endured under South Africa.

Other Action of the T. C.

During its second session, the Trusteeship Council also:—

- Established special committee on administrations of Jerusalem.
- Reviewed and adopted the report of the special mission which went to Western Samoa (under New Zealand) last summer to consider the demand of the Samoans for self-government. That goal has not been fulfilled but increased participation in administration is developing. Discriminatory conditions and the favored position occupied by whites in the territory came under criticism.
- Reviewed Australia's report on the administration of New Guinea (the only trust territory report thus far available), criticized the proposed "administrative union" of New Guinea with the adjacent colony of Papua, and deferred final consideration of the report until the next session in February pending receipt of further information.
- Approved British policy on repatriation of Germans and Italians now or formerly resident in Tanganyika, which matter was the subject of a number of petitions.
- Declared a number of other petitions to be "outside the competence of the T.C."—among them, one proposing establishment of a Jewish state in Tanganyika, one urging liberalization of the Charter provisions on trusteeship, and others concerning the placing of the former Italian colonies, the polar regions, or strategic areas under trusteeship. Consideration of a petition by Marius Fortie giving detailed criticism of the administration of Tanganyika was postponed to a later session, at the request of the United Kingdom, in order to allow the Government more time to study it.
- Discussed the relation of the T.C. to the Security Council in respect to responsibilities for the strategic trust territory of the Japanese Mandated Islands administered by the U.S.
- Decided to send a visiting mission to Tanganyika (under Britain) and Ruanda-Urundi (under Belgium) in East Africa during the summer of 1948.

OFFICERS
PAUL ROBESON
Chairman
WM. L. PATTERSON
Vice Chairman
MAX YERGAN
Executive Director
EDITH C. FIELD
Treasurer
W. A. HUNTON
Educational Director

COUNCIL MEMBERS
RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
HERBERT APTHEKER
LEONARD BARNES
MRS. CHARLOTTA A. BASS
DR. W. A. BELL
BISHOP W. Y. BELL
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
MRS. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
REV. SHELTON H. BISHOP
DR. R. T. BOKWE
MRS. LIDA N. BRONER
DR. CHARLOTTE H. BROWN
DR. HENRY A. CALLIS
REV. J. H. CARPENTER
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DAVID D. JONES
THOMAS R. JONES
ADAH I. KIEFFER
JOHN T. LATOUCHE
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REV. DAVID N. LICORISH
ALAIN LOCKE
RAYFORD W. LOGAN
REP. VITO MARCANTONIO
GEORGE MARSHALL
MRS. JOHN F. MOORS
IRVING POTASH
REP. A. C. POWELL, JR.
THOMAS RICHARDSON
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FERDINAND C. SMITH
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MAX STEINBERG
HOPE R. STEVENS
MRS. MARY CHURCH TERRELL
CHANNING H. TOBIAS
DR. GENE WELTFISH
MRS. BEULAH T. WHITBY
DOXEY A. WILKERSON
J. FINLEY WILSON
BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

Feb. 2, 48

Dr. Du Bois.

This is probably too long. Handle it as you see fit and call me if you need anything further.

Sincerely,
Alphaeus Hunton

[COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, FEB. 2, 1948]

MEETING OF COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

February 2nd, 1948

A G E N D A

1. Certification of Membership
2. Minutes of last meeting.
3. Reports:
   Executive Director
   Educational Director
4. Finance
5. Election of Officers.

23-21-43

[COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, FEB. 2, 1948]

STATEMENT OF POLICY to be presented at the
Meeting of the Council on African Affairs,
February 2, 1948

The Council on African Affairs exists for the purpose of bringing to public attention the truth concerning present-day Africa and its relations to world affairs, and of enlisting American and United Nations support for the African peoples' struggle to free themselves from foreign domination.

Effective implementation of these aims requires a realistic appraisal of the present international scene.

We observe that Britain and France, unable longer to retain their former political domination over asia, are developing plans for the more intensified exploitation of Africa, where they remain firmly entrenched, in order to bolster up their own weakened economies. The other European powers in Africa follow the same policy.

We observe that in the present period the great and largely untapped resources of Africa, including highly-prized uranium, are drawing new attention not only from the European powers but also from the United States, which insists upon a policy of unrestricted trade and open markets for private investment and enterprise.

We observe that Anglo-American military strategists, in order to meet the requirements of their governments' commitments in the Near and Middle East, and in their anticipation of war with the Soviet Union, are making their own plans as to the role of Africa in their war schemes. United States air bases are being integrated with a greatly expanded system of British

military establishments in the Mediterranean and Africa.

And we observe that the hoped-for role of the United Nations in the advancement and liberation of African and other subject peoples has been virtually nullified by the deterioration of rela tions between the two foremost powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, since the end of the war.

It is apparent that under the Truman administration American foreign policy has had as its fundamental objective the attempt to impose "the American way of life" upon the rest of the world. This policy has entailed, among other things, helping Britain, France and the Netherlands to hold on to their empires so that they may be sure to remain within the American sphere of influence.

22-3/

Our State Department is quoted as believing, for example, that if Great Britain should fail to regain its "world position", the "stabilizing influence which it has heretofore exercised in many strategic parts of the world would be lost and the adverse effects on the interest of the United States would be incalculable."

Some of the implications of such a policy may be seen when we hear General Smuts of South Africa, with the infamous record of racial oppression, tell his white countrymen: "We must stand together, not only among ourselves (in the British Commonwealth), but also with the United States, which is now the mainstay of our Western group; we must work together with those countries who have the same outlook and the same faith and the same way of life as we have."

The United States has contributed to the maintenance of the White Supremacy system of imperialism in Asia and Africa through

the operations of American private corporations, through loans and credits of the United States government to the European colonial powers, and through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, an agency which was intended to function within the framework of the United Nations but has instead come under the direction of Wall Street. Moreover, in the United Nations the United States delegation has consistently sided with delegations of other imperialist powers in opposing constructive colonial measures advanced by the Soviet Union, India, China, Egypt and other non-colonial powers.

The European Recovery (Truman-Marshall) Program, now before Congress, represents still another method of propping up European colonial regimes and at the same time drawing them still further within the American orbit. How the E.R.P. will affect the colonies and dependencies of the Marshall Plan countries is seen in paragraph (5) subsection 10 (b) of the State Department's proposed bill. This clause, the State Department explains, "is designed to assist the United States wherever feasible to obtain materials for stock-piling purposes. Such materials will be purchased from a participating country or its colonies or dependencies, either through private contracts or through the procedur es, and with the funds, authorized in the Stock-Piling Act. It is intended that arrangements will be worked out with the participating countries for the acquisition by the United States in the above manner of materials which will be specified in the bilateral agreements."

In view of the foregoing considerations, the Council on African Affairs regards the present foreign policy of the United

States as being clearly opposed to the interests of the people of Africa and of other colonial areas of the world. It is a policy which can only foment hostility of these subject peoples toward the United States. It is a policy which leads to further widening of the breach between this country and the Soviet Union. It is a policy which is opposed to the interests of the American people, forcing them to collaborate with reactionary regimes maintained in power solely by American help and to pay the cost of such aid in enormous military expenditures, material and social deprivations, and loss of civil liberties here in America.

The stark truth is that unless the present direction of American foreign policy is altered, we face the danger of the disintegration of the United Nations and the plunging of the world into another war. The formation of an Anglo-American bloc against the Soviet Union and against freedom-hungry peoples in every continent menaces the peace and security of the whole world.

The Council therefore has the responsibility of allying itself with those liberal and progressive forces in America which are demanding that this country's great power be put to constructive instead of destructive uses, and that our government abandon the profitless role of "world policeman" and apply itself to strengthening the United Nations and utilizing that organization's agencies to give aid not merely to the people of Western Europe but to peoples of every land, the sole criterion of aid being the degree of need.

The Council believes that such a program of United Nations action to promote world economic security must include the

creation of a special commission to be concerned with the economic development of Africa. It should be a broadly representative commission, including the Soviet Union, India and other non-colonial powers. It should have as its aim not simply the increased production of certain raw materials needed by other countries, as is the case with both private monopoly and government-sponsored schemes for utilizing colonial resources.

It should aim at TOTAL development: a diversified economy suited to the needs of each country, industrial as well as agricultural advancement, adequate provisions for education and health, and, above all, participation of the people themselves at all levels in the planning, administration, and execution of the schemes of economic development. Given these conditions, economic and political self-rule can develop simultaneously.

22-31

While striving to obtain this type of United Nations aid for Africa, the Council at the same time must continue to develop close contacts with the rapidly expanding labor and national movements of Africans in all sections of the continent, and must provide more direct and effective assistance to them in every way possible. These functions, together with that of acting as a central source of authentic and up-to-date information from and about Africa, are of the utmost importance in the present crucial phase of Africa's history.

The Council on African Affairs will not be stopped or diverted from pursuing these objectives or from opposing those policies which it regards as inimical to the interests of both Africans and Americans and to the cause of world peace. It will

not be stopped or diverted by the Justice Department's gratuitous labeling of the Council as "subversive", or by Red-baiting from any other source.

The Council stands for accord and peace between America and the Soviet Union, for support and strengthening of the United Nations, for the right of all nations to choose their own form of government without outside interference, and for the universal abolition of imperialist exploitation, from which stem poverty, ignorance, hunger, disease, racial oppression, fascism, and war. If it is "subversive" to endorse these principles then the overwhelming majority of mankind must be described as "subversive."

We call upon Negro and all other Americans to support the Council on African Affairs in achieving the objectives here outlined.

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[COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, FEB. 2, 1948]

MEETING OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS,
23 West 26 Street, New York, February 2, 1948

STATEMENT

23-21-102

The Council on African Affairs reaffirms the purposes for which it was founded. This organization exists to inform the people of America about conditions in Africa and to secure from the American people that action which will aid Africans in their efforts for progress and freedom. We believe this purpose is not only an expression of the unique responsibility of American Negroes but also a reflection of the spirit and principles of our country.

In accomplishing its task, the Council declares its non-partisan character and is not, therefore, identified with any partisan ideology.

In its unceasing effort to help the African people gain for themselves those conditions of life desired by all Americans, we affirm our loyalty to American democratic principles. On this basis, we go forward with renewed efforts to serve Africa.

[COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS 1948]

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COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
Explanation of the Origin of the
POLICY AND INTERIM COMMITTEE
AND Definition of Its Functions

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT to the COMMITTEE'S PROGRESS REPORT

By this time, the members of the Council should have received the minutes of the meeting held on February 2 setting forth the circumstances which led to the election of the Policy Committee and the assignment of certain functions to it. However, for the full understanding of this matter, particularly on the part of those members who were not present at the meeting, it has been thought wise to review the following facts and extracts from a verbatim stenographic record of the February 2 meeting. (This stenographic record was made available to the Committee by the Chairman of the Council.)

1. The Question of the Council's Policy

The first task given the Committee resulted from sharp disagreement at the February 2 meeting as to the type of statement of policy the Council should adopt. On the one hand, Dr. Yergan maintained that in response to the listing of the Council among "subversive" organizations by Attorney-General Tom Clark last November, it was necessary for the Council to declare "its non-partisan character and (that it) is not, therefore, identified with any partisan ideology". Dr. Yergan sought approval of a brief "Statement" which included the just-quoted sentence.

On the other hand, Mr. Robeson and others maintained that such a statement played into the hands of reactionary red-baiters and would not help the Council. After prolonged debate, by a vote of 34 to 29 (including proxies), it was decided to table Dr. Yergan's statement until other reports had been heard.

Subsequently, as an expression of his own views and those of the Educational Director, the Chairman read a six-page "Statement of Policy" which declared that the Council's program requires "a realistic appraisal of the present international scene", and which outlined the role of America's foreign policy in supporting European colonial regimes in Africa and elsewhere, and called for opposition to this policy and support of a progressive U.N. program for colonial freedom, regardless of red-baiting attacks.

After discussion, it was agreed that both statements (Dr. Yergan's and Mr. Robeson's) should be referred to a Policy Committee, "which Committee will report back to the Council its recommendations" (Mr. Lawson). The further proposal of Mr. Houston that the Committee's report be mailed out to all members "at least a week before any meeting (of the Council) is held" was unopposed.

2. The Question of the Council's Functioning

In his report to the February 2 meeting, the Educational Director, Dr. Hunton, in addition to describing his work during 1947, dealt with the general functioning of the organization and attributed its "lack of organizational growth" to the Executive Director's failure to promote "collective planning and functioning", a condition which he said had existed for some time past and which had become increasingly grave during 1947.

Some members present challenged the right of the Educational Director to present such criticisms. Others defended his right. Upon the completion of the reading of the report, it was moved by Mr. Lawson and seconded that "the Chair appoint a Committee to investigate this report". Dr. Yergan's amendment that the Committee be elected rather than appointed was accepted by Mr. Lawson and the Chairman, and the motion was put to a vote and passed.

Later in the meeting the time came for the election of the Committees which had been authorized. When the Chairman in naming them mentioned the Committee to take up the Educational Director's report, it was stated from the floor, "That can be part of the Policy Committee". This proposal was not opposed, and it was so understood.

3. The Question of the Interim Executive Committee

The Educational Director's report contained the statement that although the Council's constitution provides for monthly Executive Board meetings, "There has never been an Executive Board meeting of the Council since. . . 1943". "It is obvious," one of the recommendations in the report stated, "that an essential task of the Council at the present time is to constitute an Executive Board with paramount authority over all functions and activities of the Council."

In view of the fact that the authority of the Policy Committee to act as an Interim Executive Committee has been challenged by Dr. Yergan and one or two other members of the Council, the following extracts from the verbatim stenographic record of the meeting of the Council on Februray 2 are quoted below. The extract which follows is from the discussion of the election of the committees:

The Chairman: Now, I think we should vote for the committees and leave the election of officers for a leter date.
There are three committees, one, the financial committee, second, will be this committee on the question of policy, and one to take up the Educational Director's report.

The Floor: That can be part of the Policy Committee.

Mr. Lawson: I gather since we don't have any functioning Executive Committee - -

The Chairman: I think this is also very important to take up today, that there should be some Executive Committee.

Mr. Lawson: Undoubtedly.

The Chairman: I think this is of the essence myself.

Mr. Yergan: Mr. Chairman, I agree that that is absolutely necessary but we ought to deal with it after the report comes through. We ought to be able at the next meeting to set that up.

The Floor: On procedure, in the interim since there is this difficulty. . . I would submit that some method be found whereby the official actions of the Council. . . and that any matters that need to be dealt with summarily be handled by a group of people for the Council.

The Floor: Elect your Committee chairman.

Mr. Hunton: How many will there be on the Committee?

Mr. Lawson: Five on the Policy Committee.

The Chairman: I would suggest that we elect an Executive Committee at the same time.

Mr. Houston: Let the interim committee be the Policy Committee.

There was no opposition expressed to Mr. Houston's proposal. Nomination and election of members of the Committee followed. However, just before the close of the meeting, the Chairman, having momentarily forgotten Mr. Houston's proposal, remarked that "There is one more interim committee" to be elected. To which the response came from the floor, "That is the Policy Committee.". Again, no one objected.

Obviously, if there had been the slightest expression of doubt at this stage, a formal motion would have been made to have the Policy Committee serve as the interim committee. Since the proposal was made not once but twice without any objection being registered, there can be no questioning of the fact that those present understood this to be agreed upon by common consent.

Summary

From the foregoing account, it may be clearly seen why the Policy Committee was established at the February 2 meeting of the Council, and the three functions that it was intended the Committee should perform. The Committee was charged with making recommendations on policy, with making recommendations on the general functioning of the organization, and with acting in an executive capacity until the time of the next meeting of the Council.

Jan. 1948

[COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, 1548]

SELECTED FINANCIAL RECORDS OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

A. Checks paid to "Cash", and cashed:

D

During 1945 the Council received two loans of $1,000 each, and shown as ANONYMOUS. On the following dates they were repaid as follows:

2/7/46 check #262 - $1,000.00 (The record shows they were charged
5/29/46 ,, #558 - 1,000.00 to repayment of "Anonymous" loans.)

B. Edith Field $4500.00 Loan:

May 1946 - E.F. loaned to Council - #1,500.00
June 1946 ,, ,, ,, ,, - 3,000.00

Paid as follows: On June 11, 1946, three checks were issued and analysed as repayment of E.F. loan:

958 $3,000.00 - Payable to E.F.
959 500.00 - Payable to E.F.
560 1,000.00 - Payable to Cash

The first two checks ($3,000 and $500) were deposited by E. Field. The third check, issued to "Cash", was cashed.

NOTE: The following checks were also issued to "Cash", cashed, and analysed as repayment of E.F. loans. They have no relation to the transactions outlined above; the donor does not claim that the funds they represent are still owed her.
8/16/46 - #499 $1,200.00 - payable to cash
8/11/46 - #711 2,300.00 - payable to cash

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C. Comparative income, relief, administrative and other expenses:

Year Ended	Amount Raised after Deducting Cost of Functions & Affairs	Spent for Relief, Lit., & Activities	Spent for Administrative	Admin. % to Income
1/31/45	$ 14,827	$ 2.472	$ 18,190	122 %
1/31/46	21,886	4,108	23,702	108 %
1/31/47	48,361	12,803	31,012	64 %

D. African Relief Fund:

	Income	Expenses	Credit Balance
Feb.1,1945 to Jan.31,1946	$ 2,946.61	$ 861.12	$ 2,085.49
Feb. 1,1946 to Jan.31,1947	12,122.65	7,175.87	4,946.78
Feb.1,1947 to Dec. 31,1947	1,882.03	881.57	1,000.46
Totals	$16,951.29	$ 8,918.56	$ 8,032.73

Breakdown of expenses for African Relief:

	2/1/45 to 1/31/46	2/1/46 to 1/31/47	2/1/47 to 12/31/47	Total
Money sent to Africa.....	$ 505.15	$ 3,598.20	$ -	$ 4,103.35
Shipping, etc.....	--	1,301.11	617.08	1,918.19
Postage, miscell.....	355.97	541.94	92.31	990.22
Travel.....	--	354.00	--	354.00
Printing and mailing.....	--	983.23	172.18	1,155.41
Advertising.....	--	309.92	--	309.92
Photos and mats.....	--	87.47	--	87.47
Totals.....	$ 861.12	$7,175.87	$ 881.57	$ 8,918.56

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, FEB 2 1948

MEETING OF COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

23 West 26th St., New York, N. Y., Feb. 2, 1948

Financial Statement - Feb. 1, 1947 to Jan. 31, 1948

Income

Contributions	$5,220.00
Literature	1,089.27
Affairs, benefits and meetings	13,599.51
Appeal letters	1,754.28
Miscellaneous	132.95
Total	$21,796.01

Expenditures

Rent, cleaning, lighting	$ 3,000.00
Salaries	15,765.77
Social Security	151.25
Services	36.00
Tel & Tel	1,134.75
Postage	317.09
Equipment office and repair	128.27
Subscriptions	32.25
Office supplies and stationery	329.34
Travel	700.28
Printing and distributing literature	1,717.82
Bulletin	1,787.61
Conferences	119.57
Auditing, legal and bank charges	307.90
Famine relief expenses	881.57
Miscellaneous	100.96
Research activities	1,919.25
House, taxes, interest and mortgage	1,297.50
Total	$29,727.18

Amounts Due as of January 31, 1948

Cash Overdrawn	$ 412.68
Loans payable - M. Y.	5,499.08
Other loans	2,500.00
Social Security payable	18.20
Withholding payable	270.10
Total	$8,700.06

Deficit as per balance sheet - 2/1/47		$5,090.82	
Less House Funds		4,344.43	
	Actual Deficit-2/1/47		$ 746.39
Expenditures - 2/1/47 - 1/31/48		$29,727.18	
Income		21,796.01	
	Loss from operations		7,931.17
	Total		$8,677.56
Stocks		$102.50	
Received from stocks		80.00	
	Loss		22.50
	Total Deficit		$8,700.06

23-21-35

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
FEB 2, 1948

Members of the Council on African Affairs (February 2, 1948)

22 East 89th % McGee LE 4-0317

Paul Robeson, ~~23 West 26th Street~~, New York, New York
Max Yergan, 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York
William Jay Schieffelin, 620 Park Avenue, New York 21, New York
Edith C. Field, 16 West Twelfth Street, New York, New York

Raymond Pace Alexander, 40 South 19th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Herbert Aptheker, 1015 Washington Avenue, Brooklyn 25, New York
Leonard Barnes, Dept. of Education, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, England
Mrs. Charlotte A. Bass, 4071 South Central Avenue, Los Angeles, California
Dr. W. A. Bell, Miles Memorial College, Birmingham, Alabama
Bishop W. Y. Bell, Holsey Institute, Cordele, Georgia
Leonard Bernstein, 130 West Fifty-six Street, New York 19, New York
Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, 1318 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Wa 6-7950 Rev. Shelton H. Bishop, 215 West 133 Street, New York, New York
Dr. R. T. Bokwe, Middledrift, Cape Province, Union of South Africa
Mrs. Lida N. Broner, 514 North Third Street, Newark, New Jersey
Dr. Charlotte H. Brown, Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, North Carolina
Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, National Training School, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Henry A. Callis, 1943 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Rev. J. H. Carpenter, 610 East 38 Street, Brooklyn, New York
William F. Cochran, 411 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland
home Wa. 6-4073 Ci. 6-8323 office Charles Collins, 260 Convent Avenue, New York, New York
F. E. DeFrantz, Y.M.C.A., Senate Avenue and Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana
Hubert T. Delany, 467 West 144 Street, New York, New York
Earl B. Dickerson, 3501 South Parkway, Chicago, Illinois
Dean Dixon, Hotel Ansomia, 2107 Broadway, New York, New York
Mrs. Maw Wright Downs, Box 121, Sewell, New Jersey (Pres., Delta Sigma Theta)
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, 20 West 40 Street (NAACP)--409 Edgecombe Ave., New York
Roscoe Dungee, Box 68, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Rabbi Max Felshin, 62-95 Saunders Street, Forest Hills, New York
Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
Kumar Goshal, 64 Poplar Street, Brooklyn, New York
William Gould, 49 Walker Street, New York, New York
John Hammond, 88 MacDougall Street, New York, New York
George W. Harris, 290 Lenox Avenue, New York, New York (Ethiopian World Fed.)
Rev. Dr. William P. Hayes, 272 South Sixth Street, Newark, New Jersey
Lyndon Henry, 232 West 136 Street, New York, New York
Charles H. Houston, 615 F Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Rabbi F. M. Isserman, Temple Israel, Kings Highway, St. Louis 8, Missouri
Rev. W. H. Jernagin, 1341 Third Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Rev. C. A. Johnson, 29 Livingston Avenue, Staten Island, New York
Dr. David D. Jones, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina
John T. LaTouche, Chelsea Hotel, 222 West 23 Street, New York, New York
Belford V. Lawson, Jr., 2001 11th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Dr. Julian H. Lewis, 4750 Champlain Avenue, Chicago, Illinois
Rev. David N. Licorish, Abyssinian Baptist Church, West 138th Street, New York
Dr. Alain Locke, 1326 R Street, North West, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Rayford W. Logan, 1519 Jackson Street, N.E., Washington, D. C.
Rep. Vito Marcantonio, 1484 First Avenue, New York, New York
George Marshall, 38 East 57th Street, New York, New York
Mrs. John F. Moors, 150 Fisher Avenue, Brookline, Massachusetts
Irving Potash, 250 West 26th Street, New York, New York
Rep. A. C. Powell, Jr., 132 West 138th Street, New York, New York

22-31

Thomas Richardson, 930 F Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Wa.6-0497 > Mrs. Estelle M. Riddle, 540 West 148th Street, New York, New York
Rev. B. C. Robeson, 151 West 136th Street, New York, New York
Mrs. Eslande G. Robeson, The Beeches, Enfield, Connecticut
Bishop David H. Sims, A. M. E. Church, 211 N. 53 Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Christine S. Smith, 716 South 19 Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
(AME Missionary Society)
Rev. William B. Spofford, Jr., 412 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit 16, Michigan
Ferdinand C. Smith, 346 West 17 Street, New York, New York
Mrs. Stanley F. Smith, 110 Haven Avenue, New York, New York
Max Steinberg, American Jewish Labor Council, 22 East 17 Street, New York
Ca.8-2350 > Hope R. Stevens, 209 West 125th Street, New York
Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, 1615 S Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York
Dr. Gene Weltfish, Dept. of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York
Mrs. Beaulah T. Whitby, 358 Josephine Street, Detroit, Michigan
Doxey A. Wilkerson, 913 St. Marks Avenue, Brooklyn, New York
J. Finley Wilson, 1813 Vernon Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., 362 Beale Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee
MU3-7622 > W. A. Hunton, 257 McDonough Street, Brooklyn, New York President 4-3292
Thos. R. Jones, 946 St. Marks Ave. Brooklyn. N. Y.

MU 6-6860 Library of Congress

22-31

Sent to: Dr. W. A. Hunton
Mr. Hope R. Stevens
Mrs. Estelle Riddle
Mr. Charles Collins
Reverend Shelton Hale Bishop
Mr. Paul Robeson
Mr. Max Yergan
D.

COPY

22-31-11

February 9, 1948

Do not copy or destroy

Dear

I am preparing the enclosed statement to be released to the Press, and suggest that the Committee meet and consider it next Friday, February 13, at the offices of the Council, 23 West 26th Street, at 4:00 P.M.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Enclosure

10 copies

Mail to members (1) 11th Feb. 1948 Council on African Affairs

At the beginning of its ---- year of work, the Council on African Affairs is asking the friends of the African peoples to join in its work and program. Its objects today are the same as those which we laid down at our organisation in 1937. The truth and sincerity of this program can be ~~done~~ judged by what ~~we have~~ has been accomplished:

1. PROTESTED AGAINST INTERNATIONAL SANCTION OF ITALY'S RAPE OF ETHIOPIA.

2. CALLED FOR A CONCRETE STATEMENT OF PEACE AIMS WITH RESPECT TO AFRICA INCLUDING RECOGNITION OF ETHIOPIA'S CLAIMS TO ERITREA AND ITALIAN SOMALILAND.

3. ATTEMPTED TO HAVE ~~THAIXMEXIEXAXXXEX~~ U. N. plan ~~DAY~~ AN EFFECTIVE ROLE ON BEHALF OF THE SUBJECT PEOPLES OF AFRICA.

4. PRESSED U. N. ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA'S VICIOUS COLOR BAR SYSTEM AND ITS ATTEMPT TO ANNEX SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

5. POINTED OUT THE CONSEQUENCES OF AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY UPON THE STRUGGLE FOR AFRICA'S FREEDOM.

6. EXPOSED THE WHOLESALE EXPLOITATION OF AFRICAN LABOR AND RESOURCES BY ALIENS.

7. RALLIED AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE RIGHTS OF AFRICAN WORKERS ON SUCH OCCASIONS AS THE GENERAL STRIKE WHICH TOOK PLACE IN NIGERIA IN 1945, AND THE STRIKE OF 60,000 GOLD MINE WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA IN 1946.

8. WHEN FAMINE STRUCK THOUSANDS OF AFRICANS IN THE CAPE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA, THE COUNCIL INITIATED A CAMPAIGN FOR THE COLLECTION OF CANNED FOOD AND CASH FOR THEIR RELIEF. ~~amounting to~~ $14,000 The only relief sent Africa from any place in the world.

THESE AND OTHER ISSUES AFFECTING THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA HAVE BEEN BROUGHT BEFORE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC BY THE COUNCIL, THROUGH 37 PUBLIC MEETINGS AND THROUGH THE MONTHLY BULLETIN, NEW AFRICA, AND VARIOUS PAMPHLETS, AND 43 other pamphlets and OTHER MATERIAL ISSUED BY THE COUNCIL. 51 issues of the

[Council on African Affairs] February 7, 1945

what we have done in the past is proof of what we aim at in the future. And the need of this work in greater and more extended form is painfully clear today. Just when Asia is fighting and struggling toward the light, to rid itself of colonialism, with its compulsory poverty, ignorance and disease; at this very time there is renewed effort to fasten colonial slavery and exploitation on Africa; to suppress and hush its struggle for freedom and autonomy, to restore and perpetuate slavery and serfdom, and make this continent the new base of a restored imperialism.

Small wonder that at such a crisis, the forces of reaction, warmongering and gambling in food should discover, in any effort to protect, defend and uplift Africa, indications of subversion and revolt. We are not disturbed nor diverted by these attacks. We remember that in these days of hysteria and witch-hunting, not a single forward movement nor effort for social uplift in any direction has escaped besmirching by anonymous attack and public innuendo. This is but the proof of the threats, fear and timidity of our day. The only answer to it, is work and more work; effort and greater effort; ideal and higher ideal to rid the world of oppression, exploitation and slavery.

The Council on African Affairs therefor proposes to begin the new year with increased effort, widened program and greater efficiency toward the same objects for which we stood in 1937 and for which we still stand today.

Council on African Affairs

Sent to: W. A. Hunton
Mr. Hope R. Stevens
Mrs. Estelle Riddle
Mr. Charles Collins
Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop
Paul Robeson
Max Yergan

February 9, 1948

22C. 89th St. Mr. Paul Robeson c/o mother
~~23 West 26th Street~~
New York, New York

23-26-4

Dear Mr. Robeson:

I am preparing the enclosed statement to be released to the Press, and suggest that the Committee meet and consider it next Friday, February 13, at the offices of the Council, 23 West 26th Street, at 4:00 P.M.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Enclosure

Dupl [Enc.]

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1. Protested against international sanction of Italy's rape of Ethiopia.
2. Called for a concrete statement of peace aims with respect to Africa, including recognition of Ethiopia's claims to Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.
3. Attempted to have the United Nations play an effective role on behalf of the subject peoples of Africa.
4. Pressed United Nations action against South Africa's vicious color bar system and its attempt to annex South West Africa.
5. Pointed out the consequences of America's foreign policy upon the struggle for Africa's freedom.
6. Exposed the wholesale exploitation of African labor and resources.
7. Rallied American support for the rights of African workers on such occasions as the general strike which took place in Nigeria in 1945, and the strikes of 60,000 gold mine workers in South Africa in 1946.
8. When famine struck thousands of Africans in the Cape Province of South Africa, the Council initiated a campaign for the collection of canned food and cash, together valued at $14,000, for their relief, the only relief sent to Africa from any place in the world.

These and other issues affecting the people of Africa have been brought before the American public by the Council, through thirty-seven public meetings, fifty-one issues of the monthly bulletin, NEW AFRICA, and copies of forty-three pamphlets and other material issued by the Council.

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23-26-3

its gold, diamonds, copper, tin, and uranium; its cocoa, coffee, vegetable oils and spices; to perpetuate slavery and serfdom, and make this continent the new base of a restored imperialism.

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The Council on African Affairs, therefore, proposes to begin the new year with increased effort, widened program and greater efficiency toward the same objects for which we stood in 1937, and for which we still stand today.

Paul Robeson

Max Yergan

Hope R. Stevens

Estelle M. Riddle

Charles Collins

Shelton Hale Bishop

W. E. B. DuBois

23-26-4

SAINT PHILIP'S PARISH HOUSE
215 WEST 133RD STREET
NEW YORK 30, N.Y.

The Clergy
SHELTON HALE BISHOP
C. EDWARD HARRISON
RENDOLPH O. C. KING
WARREN SCOTT

TELEPHONE EDgecombe 4-7950

February 13, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

A very important financial meeting here at the Church, from which I cannot be excused, comes at the same time that you have appointed for the meeting of the Special Committee of the African Council. I am sorry that I cannot be with you because it seems to me vitally important that any statement that we make shall not only represent the corporate thinking and conviction of the Group, but that it shall meet the issue which is involved in the statement.

I cannot find any specific flaws in the statement which you have prepared. It is smooth and meets some of the general issues rather forthrightly. It seems to me, however, too innocuous to have any point in the present conflict within the African Council. I know that we are faced with making a statement to the public, as it were, which shall not only set forth the fundamental position of the African Council but shall seek, at the same time, to maintain unity within the Council. Almost any member of the Council ought to subscribe heartily to the statement which you have prepared, except those who seek a statement that will inculcate within it the specific point at issue between the Chairman and the Executive Director. I do not believe that the statement prepared comes to grips at all with that conflict. I, myself, am not at all sure that any statement for publicity can adequately meet that need. The conflict involves an ideology versus a position, and my feeling is that there can be little or no reconciliation. The only hope that we have is that the two people involved can be reconciled, and it seems to me that that reconciliation cannot come through a statement.

We were committed to preparing something that would make for unity. It seems to me that this statement does not do that, though it certainly undertakes to do it. It is not so much the fault of the

statement as it is the impasse which it seeks to overcome. There would have to be real teeth in any statement that would accomplish our purpose, and I think that that would alienate the principals as well as their adherents on either side.

Very sincerely yours,

Shelton Hale Bishop

SHB:jd

Shelton ~~Hale~~ Bishop
Rector

24-18-12

COPIES TO: Paul Robeson
Max Yergan
Shelton Hale Bishop
Charles Collins
Estelle M. Riddle
Hope R. Stevens
W. A. Hunton
Doxey Wilkerson
Shirley Graham

[Council on African Affairs]

Re: COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

February 17, 1948

23-26-5-92-32

Dr. DuBois, who is away lecturing in New England, has asked me to convey to you the following information:

1. I cannot get back to New York in time for the meeting of the Council on Friday, February 20.

2. If the minutes sustain our status as an executive committee with power, I am willing to continue to serve, although I shall be out of New York until April. But if the minutes sustain Mr. Yergan's contention that we are only a committee of inquiry, then I shall resign.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

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WM. JAY SCHIEFFELIN
Vice-Chairman
MAX YERGAN
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EDITH C. FIELD
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BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

February 20, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am very much disturbed by the last sentence of the note of Feb. 17 sent me by Mr. Smythe for you. I earnestly hope that you will not resign as chairman of the committee, and I am certain that Robeson and the Council as a whole would be extremely sorry to see that happen. I see no reason why it should. Most certainly, there was not the slightest suggestion at the Council meeting on Feb. 2 that your committee should be bound or restricted in any way by the judgment of either the executive director or the chairman of the Council.

As to the scope of your Committee's functions, it seems to me that the Committee should be guided by the verbatim text of the Council meeting discussion, rather than by the minutes prepared by the executive director, in the event there is any difference between the two versions. I am enclosing relevant extracts from the verbatim text. If this record is challenged, the Committee might ask to see the parallel passages in the verbatim record taken by Dr. Yergan's stenotypist at the meeting. I can provide the full verbatim record of the meeting if you or other members of the Committee desire to refer to it.

If Dr. Yergan desires to do so, he can register his objection to this or any other phase of your Committee's work when the Council is again convened. It was precisely to meet such a situation as this that the chairman decided to have a shorthand reporter take down the Council discussion of Feb. 2 for his own record--at considerable expense, incidentally. So I hope this record of the meeting will be put to good use.

The other letter enclosed is for the consideration of the Committee once it has decided to proceed with its work as an Interim Executive body. I leave it to your judgment to deal with it as you think best.

As Mr. Smythe has probably told you, Paul has left for the Coast for an indefinite stay. But it is my understanding that he will arrange to fly back for the meeting of the Council when the reports of the two committees are ready for presentation. If he has not already done so, he will send you word authorizing me to represent him at meetings of your Committee.

I am leaving with Mr. Smythe copies of materials cited at the Council meeting which your Committee may need to work with.

Sincerely,
Alphaeus Hunton

[Council on African Affairs]

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

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WM. DAY SCHIEFFELIN
Vice-Chairman
MAX YERGAN
Executive Director
EDITH C. REID
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W. A. HUNTON
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BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR.

February 20, 1948

Dr. W.E. B. DuBois, Chairman
Policy and Interim Executive Committee
Council on African Affairs

Memorandum from W.A. Hunton on current work of the Council

I regret what I consider to be the necessity of bringing to the attention of your Committee certain facts relating to the current work of the Council, which, as I understand it, your Committee was assigned responsibility for supervising during the interim period until the next meeting of the Council. I should like to report these facts and request the Committee's consideration of them:

(1) On or about January 16, before the Council meeting took place, and again on February 6 and February 17, the Executive Director has told me orally (never in writing) that he could not be "personally" responsible for "any" further expenses of the Council.

(2) In our conversation on Feb. 6 I asked him whether this meant that the two secretaries (his and mine) would be dismissed. I understood him to say "no". During the following week, however, my secretary--apparently on instructions from Dr. Yergan, but without any notice to me--came to work only from 1 to 5:30 on four days of the week and was absent the whole of Tuesday, Feb. 10.

On Friday, Feb. 13, I dictated some material to her which I assumed would be transcribed and ready Monday. She did not come in at all on Monday; the work was not done and there was no word about it. On Tuesday, Feb. 17, not yet having had word from any one, I telephoned her. She told me then that she had been given two weeks' notice by Dr. Yergan and had been instructed not to come to the office unless he called her. She explained that she had intended to do my work on Saturday at the office but that Dr. Yergan had given her other work to do. (During the preceding week when she was in on part time, he had also called upon her services, interrupting work being done for me.)

After the phone conversation with my secretary I asked Dr. Yergan if it would be possible to have her come in for at least an hour or two just to finish the work I had dictated, as I had been left greatly inconvenienced. He replied that he had told me that it would <u>not</u> be possible to keep my secretary, and that he could not be responsible for any further salary for her. I asked whether his secretary (who has contin-

[fragment]

ued working full time) might give some part of her time to help me. He said: "Greta is not here on Council time " that she was doing other work for him and it was unlikely that she could'spare any time.

Two questions arise from the foregoing: Can the Council function without any clerical assistance? To what uses are the office facilities of the Council being put by the Executive Director and his secretary?

(3) In the discussion with Dr. Yergan on Feb. 6 I asked about proceeding with preparation of the Februamy idsue of New Africa. He spoke of debts owed the printer and others and reiterated that he could not be responsible for any further obligations. When I mentioned our obligation to subscribers, he said the issue might have to be published late, and concluded: "We'll cross that bridge when we come to it."

22-34

I have proceeded as best I can without secretarial help to carry forward my regular work. I should like advice from the Committee on the question of the continued publication of New Africa and the issuance of news releases as in the past (there has been none since January).

(4) In the same conversation on Feb. 6 Dr. Yergan told me that he had the check ready and signed that was due me on Feb. 1, but that there were no funds to cover it. He would give me the check as soon as funds were available. I said I did not make an issue of prompt payment, and that I would try to make adjustments accordingly.

He said nothing then or later about my salary beyond Feb. 1, and I have not yet heard anything further about the Feb. 1 check. (My salary check due Jan. 15 was given me on Feb. 2, before the meeting. I am now due salary checks for Feb. 1 and Feb. 15.)

(5) Since the meeting on February 2 there has been a sudden and unaccountable sharp reduction in the amount of mail--both letters and printed matter--normally received on my desk.

(6) There has been no discussion of Council work or program with Dr. Yergan since Feb. 2 other than that reported above.

Alphaeus Hunton

COPY: Original sent to Dr. W. A. Hunton Council on African Affairs
2-24-48

2225 Fifth Avenue, Apt. 2-C
New York 35, New York
Sunday night, February 22, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Doctor:

Tonight I received a wire to contact Dr. Hunton. I did and the enclosed is the result of our telephone conversation and his instructions which were to be passed along to you immediately. Please revise the letters as you see fit.

22-31-04

In regard to LETTER A, Dr. Hunton said to tell you that he feels this covering letter should be sent out to show that: (1) there is preliminary unity of the committee, and (2) the committee is acting in terms of its responsibilities (and is not hamstrung).

Relative to LWTTER B, last paragraph in re Mr. Robeson, Dr. Hunton says he has a letter from Mr. Robeson giving him authority to act as his proxy during his absence.

LETTER B, item 4. Dr. Hunton felt it necessary that your intention to be present at the concluding meeting of the committee be made known and definite, since he felt that on several matters your vote would be the dicisive factor and he would want you to be there to decide.

LETTER B, item 5, section d. Dr. Hunton felt that you would probably prefer to draw up the definite statement of policy which is to be followed by the Council.

In regard to the letter he left and which you read at the office on Saturday, Dr. Hunton would like you to advise him as to whether his letter should be sent to the members or presented personally.

Dr. Hunton asked that you please call him concerning these matters at his home on Monday; his phone number is PResident 4-3922.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:S

Enclosures

COPY: The signed original turned over to Dr. W. A. Hunton of Council on African Affairs

LETTER A NOTE: This letter to be sent to all Council members

This is the copy of the covering letter to be enclosed with the statement drawn up by Dr. DuBois

22-31-06

Dear

The enclosed is a preliminary statement of the Council's activities which has been drawn up by the interim Committee.

The Committee is proceeding with its work and will issue later a definitive statement of policy and its responsibilities as an interim body. The full results of its deliberations are to be released in a final report to all Council members.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

POLICY COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

February 27, 1948

DEAR COUNCIL MEMBER:

The enclosed is a preliminary statement of the Council's activities which has been drawn up by the interim Committee.

The Committee is proceeding with its work and will issue later a definitive statement of policy and its responsibilities as an interim body. The full results of its deliberations are to be released in a final report to all Council members.

22-31

Sincerely yours,

W.E.B. DuBois

W.E.B. DuBois
Chairman

COPY: Original sent to Dr. W. A. Huntion of Council on African Affairs, 2-24-48

LETTER B Note: This letter to be sent to Committee members

Dear

In connection with my chairmanship of the Council's interim Committee, I should like to make known the following information for your consideration.

1. During my absence, I hope the committee will continue to function with the full authority granted it when appointed.

2. While I am away, I suggest that Reverend Bishop or Mrs. Osborne serve as temporary chairman of the committee.

3. That my assistant, Dr. Hugh H. Smythe, be permitted to represent me at committee meetings, acting in the capacity of observer.

4. It is my intention to return in time to attend the concluding sessions of the committee and to participate actively in drawing up the final report of the work of the group. Meanwhile, I will be glad to communicate with the committee whenever it feels that my advice is necessary.

5. As I conceive it, the tasks to be carried out by this committee include:

    a. Consideration of matters raised in the report of the Educational Director.

    b. The scope and general function of the Council to be defined.

    c. Developing procedure for having the Executive Committee supervise various aspects of the work of the Council

    d. The drawing up of a definite statement of policy which is to be followed by the Council.

Like myself, Mr. Robeson will be away for a few weeks. I think it desirable that the terminal meeting of the Committee be held when both Mr. Robeson and Mr. Yergan can be present to participate in drawing up final decisions. However, this latter suggestion is not mandatory.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois
Chairman

WEBD:HHS
cc: Executive Committee

22-31

[Enclosure]

COMMITTEE ON POLICY OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Preliminary Statement

At the beginning of its eleventh year of work, the Council on African Affairs is asking the friends of the African peoples to join in its work and program. Its objects today are the same as those which we laid down at our organization in 1937. The truth and sincerity of this program can be judged by what has been accomplished:

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2. Called for concrete statement of peace aims with respect to Africa, including recognition of Ethiopia's claims to Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.

3. Attempted to have the United Nations play an effective role on behalf of the subject peoples of Africa.

4. Pressed United Nations action against South Africa's vicious color bar system and its attempt to annex South West Africa.

5. Pointed out the consequences of America's foreign policy upon the struggle for Africa's freedom.

6. Exposed the wholesale exploitation of African labor and resources.

7. Rallied American support for the rights of African workers on such occasions as the general strike which took place in Nigeria in 1945, and the strikes of 60,000 gold mine workers in South Africa in 1946.

8. When famine struck thousands of Africans in the Cape Province of South Africa, the Council initiated a campaign for the collection of canned food and cash, together valued at $14,000, for their relief, the only relief sent to Africa from any part of the world.

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Small wonder that at such a crisis, the forces of reaction, warmongering, and gambling in food should discover, in any effort to protect, defend and uplift Africa, indications of subversion and revolt. We are not disturbed nor diverted by these attacks. We remember that in these days of hysteria and witch-hunting, not a single forward movement nor effort for social uplift in any direction has escaped besmirching by anonymous attack and public innuendo. This is but proof of the threats, fear, and timidity of our day. The only answer to it, is work and more work; effort and greater effort; ideal and higher ideal to rid the world of oppression, exploitation, and slavery.

The Council on African Affairs, therefore, proposes to begin the new year with increased effort, widened program and greater efficiency toward the same objects for which we stood in 1937, and for which we still stand today.

The Committee on Policy:

Paul Robeson
Max Yergan
Hope R. Stevens
Estelle M. Riddle
Charles Collins
Shelton Hale Bishop
W. E. B. Du Bois, Chairman

New York City
February, 1948

22-31

POLICY COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

February 27, 1948

DEAR COUNCIL MEMBER:

The enclosed is a preliminary statement of the Council's activities which has been drawn up by the interim Committee.

The Committee is proceeding with its work and will issue later a definitive statement of policy and its responsibilities as an interim body. The full results of its deliberations are to be released in a final report to all Council members.

Sincerely yours,

W.E.B. DuBois

W.E.B. DuBois
Chairman

23-21-55

[Council on African Affairs]

February 26, 1948

Mr. Paul Robeson
22 East 89th Street c/o McGee
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Robeson:

In connection with my chairmanship of the Council's interim Committee, I should like to make known the following information for your consideration.

1. During my absence, I hope the committee will continue to function with the full authority granted it when appointed.

2. While I am away, I suggest that Reverend Bishop or Mrs. Osborne serve as temporary chairman of the committee.

3. That my assistant, Dr. Hugh H. Smythe, be permitted to represent me at committee meetings, acting in the capacity of observer.

4. It is my intention to return in time to attend the concluding sessions of the committee and to participate actively in drawing up the final report of the work of the group. Meanwhile, I will be glad to communicate with the committee whenever it feels that my advice is necessary.

5. As I conceive it, the tasks to be carried out by this committee include:

   a. Consideration of matters raised in the report of the Educational Director.

   b. The scope and general function of the Council to be defined.

   c. Developing procedure for having the Executive Committee supervise various aspects of the work of the Council.

   d. The drawing up of a definite statement of policy which is to be followed by the Council.

Like myself, Mr. Robeson will be away for a few weeks. I think it desirable that the terminal meeting of the committee be held when both Mr. Robeson and Mr. Yergan can be present to participate in drawing up final decisions. However, this latter suggestion is not mandatory.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DU BOIS
Chairman

WEBD:LM
CC: Executive Committee

[Council on African Affairs] Council on African Affairs

22-31-07

1. On meeting called by Max

a. Not necessary--committees are not ready to report.
Any emergency situation should be handled by Interim Comm.
Refer to record of Feb. 2 meeting, pages 135, 136, 139

b/ Improper procedure--action taken without consultation with Interim Comm. or other officers, so far as is known.
We do not even know whether other officers can be present on March 12.

c. Violates will of Council as expressed Feb. 2. Those present at that meeting will recogize this, but those absent will not understand since no minutes of Feb. 2 meeting have yet been sent out by Exec. Director, so far as is known.

d. This committee should formally go on record as opposed to holding of meeting on March 12 for reasons given in a and b, and in view of c it should authorize its secretary to advise all members of the Council immediately of its stand and reasons for it.

2. On Educational Director's Report

a. See record of Feb. 2 meeting, pages 108-111 and 134 for authorization for committee to deal with it.

b. Propose sub-committee of two persons (Bishop and Osborne?) to draft recommendations on future functioning of the Council in light of Educational Director's report, and to submit its report to full committee for discussion at next meeting.
The sub-committee may, as it desires, consult with Yergan, Hunton or other officers to get information or suggestions.

3. On current work of the Council

a. Necessity for considering in light of
1)Recent Gold Coast riots (14 killed) and other important developments
2)No publication of New Africa or press release or other reaction from Councilto these developments evident

b. Reading of memorandum of Feb. 20 from Hunton to the committee

c.Proposals for action:
1) authorize secretary of the committee to write letter to Yergan asking for information about matters raised in Hunton's memorandum, and for information as to Council's current work.

2) authorize Educational Director to:
prepare and issue a release, in the name of the Interim Committee (if Yergan opposes this action), dealing with the Gold Coast situation;
proceed with preparation of New Africa. Ways and means of publication to be decided at committee's next meeting.

Council on African Affairs, c/ March, 1948]

Unfortunately, the minutes of the meeting of Feb 2 are not yet made available to the membership of the Committee on Procedure & as followed 22-31-09

Dr Max Yergan

I wish to convey to you formally the attitude of our Committee relative to the meeting of the Council,

Pursuant to the telephone conversation between Mrs Osborne and yourself on March 5 in which she conveyed to you the opinion of the Committee relative to the desirability of postponing the meeting of the Council which, according to the notice sent to the members which you have notified the membership will be held on March 12, this attitude was expressed to you in substance in the telephone conversation which Mrs. Osborne had with you on March 5, when you expressed disagreement with the Committee's view of the matter.

The Committee regards the calling of the Council meeting on March 12 as being contrary to the procedure agreed upon by the Council members at the meeting on Feb 2, when it was stipulated that "the policy committee should report at least a week before any Council meeting is held."

As you are aware, neither the Finance Committee, nor this Committee is ready to make its report, nor was either Committee consulted by you in setting the meeting for March 12. It has been as-

22-31-10

certained that the majority of the members of this Committee cannot even be present at the meeting on March 12 because of other obligations.

At their meeting on March 5, ~~those members of the majority of the Committee present on~~ the majority of this Committee, in view of the foregoing considerations, decided that

1. The request should be made that the meeting scheduled for March 12 be postponed;

2. That an alternate date should be set by the Executive Director after consultation with the Policy and Interim Committee and the Finance Committee, and also with the other officers of the Council.

3- That copies of this communication be sent to all members of the Committee.

W E B DuBois

Doxey - Jefferson

NOTE: Dear Doctor: Dr. Hunton says he is releasing this statement to the Press today, March 1, 1948. He had these mimeographed and I am sending you this copy and the attached letter that went out as you requested.

H.H.S.

[Council on African Affairs, March 1, 1948]

COMMITTEE ON POLICY OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Preliminary Statement

At the beginning of its eleventh year of work, the Council on African Affairs is asking the friends of the African peoples to join in its work and program. Its objects today are the same as those which we laid down at our organization in 1937. The truth and sincerity of this program can be judged by what has been accomplished:

1. Protested against international sanction of Italy's rape of Ethiopia.

2. Called for concrete statement of peace aims with respect to Africa, including recognition of Ethiopia's claims to Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.

3. Attempted to have the United Nations play an effective role on behalf of the subject peoples of Africa.

4. Pressed United Nations action against South Africa's vicious color bar system and its attempt to annex South West Africa.

5. Pointed out the consequences of America's foreign policy upon the struggle for Africa's freedom.

6. Exposed the wholesale exploitation of African labor and resources.

7. Rallied American support for the rights of African workers on such occasions as the general strike which took place in Nigeria in 1945, and the strikes of 60,000 gold mine workers in South Africa in 1946.

8. When famine struck thousands of Africans in the Cape Province of South Africa, the Council initiated a campaign for the collection of canned food and cash, together valued at $14,000, for their relief, the only relief sent to Africa from any part of the world.

These and other issues affecting the peoples of Africa have been brought before the American public by the Council, through thirty-seven public meetings, fifty-one issues of the monthly bulletin, NEW AFRICA, and copies of forty-three pamphlets and other material issued by the Council.

What we have done in the past is proof of what we aim at in the future. And the need of this work in greater and more extended form is painfully clear today. Just when Asia is fighting and struggling toward the light, to rid itself of colonialism, with its compulsory poverty, ignorance and disease; at this very time there is renewed effort to fasten colonial slavery and exploitation on Africa; to suppress and crush its struggle for freedom and autonomy; to monopolize its gold, diamonds, copper, tin, and uranium; its cocoa, coffee, vegetable oils and spices; to perpetuate slavery and serfdom, and make this continent the new base of restored imperialism.

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The Council on African Affairs, therefore, proposes to begin the new year with increased effort, widened program and greater efficiency toward the same objects for which we stood in 1937, and for which we still stand today.

The Committee on Policy:

Paul Robeson
Max Yergan
Hope R. Stevens
Estelle M. Riddle
Charles Collins
Shelton Hale Bishop
W. E. B. Du Bois, Chairman

New York City
February, 1948

23-21-96

OFFICERS
PAUL ROBESON
Chairman
WM. JAY SCHIEFFELIN
Vice Chairman
MAX YERGAN
Executive Director
EDITH C. FIELD
Treasurer
W. A. HUNTON
Educational Director

COUNCIL MEMBERS
RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
HERBERT APTHEKER
LEONARD BARNES
MRS. CHARLOTTA A. BASS
DR. W. A. BELL
BISHOP W. Y. BELL
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
MRS. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
REV. SHELTON H. BISHOP
DR. R. T. BOKWE
MRS. LIDA N. BRONER
DR. CHARLOTTE H. BROWN
DR. HENRY A. CALLIS
REV. J. H. CARPENTER
WILLIAM E. COCHRAN
CHARLES COLLINS
F. E. DeFRANTZ
HUBERT T. DELANY
EARL B. DICKERSON
DEAN DIXON
MRS. MAE WRIGHT DOWNS
W. E. B. DuBOIS
ROSCOE DUNJEE
E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER
RABBI MAX FELSHIN
KUMAR GOSHAL
WILLIAM GOULD
JOHN HAMMOND
GEORGE W. HARRIS
LYNDON HENRY
CHARLES H. HOUSTON
RABBI F. M. ISSERMAN
REV. C. A JOHNSON
DAVID D. JONES
THOMAS R. JONES
ADAH I. KIEFFER
JOHN T. LATOUCHE
BELFORD V. LAWSON, JR.
DR. JULIAN H. LEWIS
REV. DAVID N. LICORISH
ALAIN LOCKE
RAYFORD W. LOGAN
REP. VITO MARCANTONIO
GEORGE MARSHALL
MRS. JOHN F. MOORS
IRVING POTASH
REP. A. C. POWELL, JR.
THOMAS RICHARDSON
MRS. ESTELLE M. RIDDLE
REV. B. C. ROBESON
MRS. ESLANDE G. ROBESON
BISHOP DAVID H. SIMS
MRS. CHRISTINE SMITH
FERDINAND C. SMITH
MRS. STANLEY F. SMITH
W. B. SPOFFORD, JR.
MAX STEINBERG
HOPE R. STEVENS
MRS. MARY CHURCH TERRELL
CHANNING H. TOBIAS
DR. GENE WELTFISH
MRS. BEULAH T. WHITBY
DOXEY A. WILKERSON
J. FINLEY WILSON
BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR.

3-21-88

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

March 2, 1948

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

NOTICE OF MEETING

The meeting of the Council On African Affairs, which adjourned on February 2, 1948, will reconvene at 4 p.m. Friday, March 12, 1948 at the office of the Council 23 W. 26th Street, New York City.

Executive Director

MY:gj

memo from **w. e. burghardt du bois**

23.21.23

2225 Fifth Avenue
New York 35, New York
March 5, 1948

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Dear Doctor:

The attached letter was drawn up by Dr. Hunton, after it was decided upon in the committee meeting held in the St. Philip's Parish House today. Reverend Bishop was insistent that it not be sent out unless you signed it; that if you signed it he agreed to it being sent out to all the Council members, but only on this condition. Otherwise, he wanted it sent to Dr. Yergan only.

Mrs. Osborne, who is now acting as temporary chairman in your absence since Reverend Bishop backed out of the responsibility after accepting it, and Dr. Hunton insisted that the general membership of the Council should be informed of what was going on and know this committee's views and attitude on the action of Mr. Yergan.

If you agree to sign this, to facilitate matters so that the letter can mailed to the membership on Monday, will you please WIRE ME YOUR OKAY at once. As soon as Dr. Hunton has your reply he will proceed to mail out the letters---if you agree, of course. You can return the signed letter to me and I shall pass it along to Dr. Yergan. Since the office is closed tomorrow, Saturday, wire me at my home address given above (Apartment 2-C).

Should you need to call me in an emergency there is a phone where I can be reached, a neighbor:

ADirondack 4-3705

Smythe

[Council on African Affairs]

22-31-08

2225 Fifth Avenue
New York 35, New York
March 5, 1948

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ADirondack 4-3705

Read to Dr. DuBois, via phone, in San Francisco California at 3:00 A.M., March 6, 1948 by H. H. Smythe.
Doctor's okay given to use his name

Color and Democracy
Colonies and Peace

African Conf

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The Committee regards the calling of the Council meeting on March 12 as being contrary to the procedure agreed upon by the Council members at the meeting of February 2, when it was stipulated that "the policy committee should report at least a week before any Council meeting is held." Unfortunately, the minutes of the February 2 meeting, indicating the procedure to be followed, have not yet been made available to the membership of the Committee nor of the Council.

23-21-16

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At their meeting on March 5, the majority of this committee, in view of the foregoing considerations, decided that:

1. The request should be made that the meeting scheduled for March 12 be postponed.

2. That an alternate date should be set by the Executive Director only after consultation with the Policy and Interim Committee and the Finance Committee, and also with the other officers of the Council.

3. That copies of this communication be sent to all members of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois , Chairman
Interim Executive Committee

WEBD:s

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

INTERIM EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

March 5, 1948

Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Yergan:

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Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois, Chairman
Interim Executive Committee
(also Policy Committee)

WEBD:s

INTERIM EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

March 5, 1948

Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

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Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois, Chairman
Interim Executive Committee
(also Policy Committee)

WEBD:s

[Enclosure?]

MINUTES OF THE
INTERIM EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

DATE: March 5, 1948
TIME: 1:30p.m.
PLACE: St Phillip's Parrish House, 215 West 133rd Street, New York, N.Y.
PRESENT: Mrs. E. M. R. Osborne, acting chairman, Reverend S. H. Bishop, W. A. Hunton (for Paul Robeson), and H. H. Smythe (observer for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois).
ABSENT: Hope Stevens, Max Yergan, Charles Collins (Mr. Collins sent word he planned to attend but would be late).

Reverend Bishop was given a copy of the letter of February 26, from Dr. DuBois which was sent to all members of the Interim Executive Committee. Reverend Bishop read the letter and explained that the 4 items under section 5 were purely matters of interpretation, as he understood them.

In beginning to discuss problems, Dr. Hunton asked permission to give his view point on points in the meeting of February 2 of the Council on African Affairs. He did this, and explained that he conceived the IEC to be a policy committee.

Reverend Bishop, in replying to this, explained that he did not understand this interpretation of the Committee. That he accepted membership with the understanding this was not a policy committee, that he would not have accepted membership in it otherwise. He emphasized that he did not wish to become involved in matters of the Council. He said if Dr. Hunton's interpretation stood that he realized he had to abide by the Committe's rules on a technical basis, if Hunton wished to hold him to the rule.

Hunton said the Council would not meet until a report had been handed in by the IEC, as he interpreted the Council's directive.

Rev. Bishop said, technically he agreed to this.

Hunton felt that the two committies should meet.

Mrs. Osborne noted that the two committees were the IEC and the Finance Committee.

Rev. Bishop appeared puzzled at this juncture in regard to just what to do, considering that Dr. DuBois would be away until April 15. He commented that the 4 items set down by Dr. DuBois involved a tremendous amount of work.

Hunton said the matters referred to in the DuBois letter overlapped. The 4 items of section 5 can be summed up as: (1) How the Council functions. (2) Statement of policy of the council to be drawn up by DuBois himself for presentation to the Council for debate and final action. He felt that if this were an executive committee, as suggested, then as emergencies arose they could be taken care of by the IEC and officers of the Council meeting conjointly. The IEC should meet, and if matters it refers to the council are not taken care of, then it will have done its duty and cannot be held responsible for any further action by other responsible bodies.

23-81-63

Mrs. Osborne felt, too, that the IEC should meet and carry on its work.

Hunton proposed that the IEC meet and send a report to DuBois for his consideration.

Rev. Bishop said he believed that there were tow reasons why the African Council should not meet on March 12: (1) The IEC's report was not ready. (2) Robeson was not available.

Hunton said he was unable to say when Robeson would return to New York. He thought it would be around the end of March, but was not certain of this.

Rev. Bishop said he felt that it does not matter who attends the March 12 meeting of the Council, since both sides have proxies.

Hunton said that he did not have any proxies.

Bishop noted that he had them before at the February 2 meeting.

Hunton affirmed this, but said thatfor that meeting he had been given a month's notice. He suggested the IEC should advise Yergan that the council should not meet because of the procedure in which the calling of the March 12 meeting had been handled.

Bishop said this matter should be submitted to the Council for differences of opinion might prevail. He said the precedent for this action was to be found in the February 2, meeting. He thought that differences of opinion would prevail for two reasons: (1) There was legal support for the Executive Director's position. (2) The question of a week's notice to the IEC before the calling of a Council meeting. He felt pessimistic about the whole situation if we had to wait until May 1 for a council meeting to work out problems, since everything evolves around Yergan and Robeson.

Mrs. Osborne compared the present situation of the council to the old Southern Negro organizations where one individual dominated the organization and his demise meant the collapse of the organization, since no one knew anything about the business except the chief officer. The IEC does not know the structure of the Council and consequently cannot stand back of it. The structure of the Council needs strengthening and clarification and this would remove a lot of the present difficulty.

Bishop referred to the African Council's constitution. Was the question of council meetings coveredin it?

Hunton said the constitution says the executive director calls meetings of the Council. However, a revision of the constitution, of January, 1947, changed this procedure on the part of the Executive Director to apply only to annual meetings.

Bishop wanted to know how this was done to change quarterly to annual meetings.

Hunton stated that it was done at the January, 1947, meeting of the Council.

Mrs. Osborne commented that under these circumstances the IEC thus doesn't know where it stands. She referred to the resignation of the Treasurer. It was her opinion that the IEC should meet to clear up these matters.

Bishop responded that the IEC should make a report for the next Council meeting on March 12.

Hunton said the records show that the IEC should serve as an executive committee.

Bishop said the records did not support this assertion by Hunton.

Hunton then read from the record of the February 2 meeting that the IEC should serve as apolicy committee.

Bishop said that the IEC was not an executive committee and the IEC can be interpreted as purely a policy committee. From the report of the Educational Director, he assumed that the IEC was simply to serve as a policy committee. He then read from the transcribed record, of the February 2 meeting of the Council, certain items on pages 136-137 covering the IEC.

Hunton stated that if there were any questions regarding the exact type of committee the IEC was to be , at the time, he assumed the position of the IEC would have been discussed. Consequently, the IEC was accepted as an executive committ and not only as a policy committee. He emphasized that he believed that the IEC has the responsibility to serve as an Executive Committee in intervals between Council meetings. Unfortunately, as yet the minutes of the February 12 meeting had not been made available yet by the Executive Director of the Council. Therefore, the March 12 meeting should not be held. Hunton said he would not include Robeson's absence as a major reason for not holding the meeting.

Bishop said he believed that the March 12 Council meeting should be held; that the IEC should have some kind of committee report, stating that this had only been proposed to Dr. DuBois and the latter has not had time to respond. Bishop felt that a week shoud elapse between a Council meeting and a report from the IEC.

Mrs. Osborne asked if it were not thepolicy to poll members of the council on this and to give due notice?

Bishop asked whether members werepolled thefirst time?

Mrs. Osborne replied negatively.

Hunton noted that the officers were polled. He felt that Robeson would agree to a Council meeting if asked for a date.

Mrs. Osborne said that a previous engagement would prevent her attending a council meeting on March 12, if it were held.

Hunton noted that since there was so much difference of opinion in the IEC he wondered how it would be possible to make a report.

Bishop agreed on this interpretation. He said he was not clear as to the IEC's Executive status and its position as a policy committee. His interpretation is that the IEC is not an ececutive committee.

Mrs. Osborne commented that it is stated in the record that the IEC is an executive committee.

Bishop said he thought it would develop disagreement in the Council to recall the council as a whole to discuss this matter of the exact responsibilities of the IEC.

Hunton thought this matter should be worked out in the small group of the IEC

BISHOP THOUGHT THAT THE IEC ought to make aprovisionsal report. The IEC could hardly do more than outline and definepolicy and submit this to the African Council for action. He felt it was not the intention of the council to place the IEC in the position of a functioning executive group. Hence, the IEC could not call a meeting of the Council.

Hunton felt that the question of dates of meetings should arise in joint meetings of the IEC, with the Executive Director when dates could be proposed.

Bishop said then the meeting of the council on March 12, would help to clarify this matter.

Hunton noted that it might be that he could not be present on March 12.

Bishop stated that Hunton's absence would pose a real problem.

Mrs. Osborne thought the IEC ought to find a solution.

Hunton stated that since so many IEC members could not be present on March 12, that the Council should not meet.

Bishop agreed, but said this should be proposed to Yergan.

Hunton said he would support Bishop's proposal, if the proposal covered postponing the March 12 meeting and selecting a later date.

Bishop assented to this and asked if it was now a question of setting a mutually suitable date.

Hunton responded affirmatively. He proposed calling the Executive Director about postponing the March 12 meeting to a later date.

Bishop felt that since only two members of the IEC could be present and since the IEC has no report to make, that Yergan might reconsider the date.

Mrs. Osborne wanted to know if Bishop had any definite Council meeting date to propose.

Bishop noted that this was the Pre-Easter Season, that this prevented his taking on any outside duties ~~xhi~~ until after March 28.

Hunton thought it was unnecessary to go into the question of a definite date at this time.

Bishop agreed to this, he said there should be clearance with the Finance committee, The Policy Committee, and the officers on a suitable date for a Council meeting.

Mrs. Osborne then telephoned the Council on African Affairs and talked with

Dr. Yergan. (At this point Bishop was called to the phone and reported on a call from Mr. Collins that he was sorry the March 12 Council meeting was being called and wanted to go on record to this effect.)

Mrs. Osborne then reported on her phone conversation with Yergan . She said Yergan said he had polled someoff the members. Yergan stated that because of the urgency of the situation the Council that it should meet. Yergan stated that all the members had not been polled when Mrs. Osborne informed him that the IEC members had not been polled. Yergan stated flatly that the March 12 meeting should be held. He said he had tried to reach Robeson but was unsuccessful. He was sorry but the meeting would be held.

Hunton then proposed that a letter from the IEC should be sent to Yergan regeristering objections to the meeting and why.

Mrs. Osborne said the letter should be prepared and submitted to the Council meeting on March 12.

Hunton said a copy of the proposed letter to the Executive Director should be sent to all the members of the Council recommending postponing the March 12 meeting.

Bishop felt he could not suscribe to this procedure.

Hunton said he advised it because most Council members were not at the February 2 meeting. The members were uninformed officially of what went on there and still do not know. The IEC should give its reaction to this specific matter so that the Council members will know in advance the framework in which the March 12 meeting is to be held.

Mrs. Osborne noted that it was unfortunate that the minutes of the February 2 meeting had not gone out yet. Yergan had assured the IEC that the minutes would be in the hands of the IEC within a week of the February 2 meeting.

Bishop advised the following strategy for the IEC, that it should go to the March 12 meeting and report: (1) That it had no report to make as yet. (2) That there was disagreement in the IEC as to whether it was a policy or Executive body. (3) That Dr. DuBois was to prepare a statement of policy and the present report was in no sense final. (4) That the IEC had proceeded far enough with its work to make a final report. (5) That the IEC should be created as an executive committee.

Hunton said he would make such a report on March 12 if the IEC instructed him. To Bishop's query whether he would include the IEC's letter to Yergan Hunton said yes; that the Yergan letter to the Council members would serve the additional purpose of explaning to the members why the IEC had not functioned as fully as was expected of it.

Bishop said the idea of including the Yergan letter was not his idea of good strategy, although he could be overruled on this point.

Mrs. Osborne asked Bishop whether he thought the Yergan letter should be sent out before the March 12 meeting, or presented at the meeting?

Bishop after saying he was against this, reversed his position and said he would agree to it if it went out to the members under the signature of Dr. DuBois.

Mrs. Osborne then referred to the Memo from DuBois to the IEC in re the Memo from Hunton (copy attached) to the IEC.

Hunton then said that on March 5, he had talked with Dr. Yergan about the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE story of the West African Gold Coast riot; he wanted to know about getting our a release on it. Yergan said the matter should wait until the Council met before taking any action. However, Hunton felt that this was something immediate and should not be put off indefinitely, but Yergan maintained his point of waiting. Hunton said he did not press the matter further. Hunton then said he had not been receiving his mail regularly and mentioned this to Yergan. The latter said he had been keeping all of the general mail but would make it av ailable to Hunton.

The meeting adjourned at 3:10 P. M.

African Council

From the Educational Director, Council on African Affairs

March 5, 1948

1. On meeting called by Max

a. Not necessary--committees are not ready to report.
Any emergency situation should be handled by Interim Comm.
Refer to record of Feb. 2 meeting, pages 135, 136, 139

b/ Improper procedure--action taken without consultation with Interim Comm. or other officers, so far as is known.
We do not even know whether other officers can be present on March 12.

c. Violates will of Council as expressed Feb. 2. Those present at that meeting will recogize this, but those absent will not understand since no minutes of Feb. 2 meeting have yet been sent out by Exec. Director, so far as is known.

d. This committee should formally go on record as opposed to holding of meeting on March 12 for reasons given in a and b, and in view of c it should authorize its secretary to advise all members of the Council immediately of its stand and reasons for it.

23-21-22

2. On Educational Director's Report

a. See record of Feb. 2 meeting, pages 108-111 and 134 for authorization for committee to deal with it.

b. Propose sub-committee of two persons (Bishop and Osborne?) to draft recommendations on future functioning of the Council in light of Educational Director's report, and to submit its report to full committee for discussion at next meeting.
The sub-committee may, as it desires, consult with Yergan, Hunton or other officers to get information or suggestions.

3. On current work of the Council

a. Necessity for considering in light of
1) Recent Gold Coast riots (14 killed) and other important developments
2) No publication of New Africa or press release or other reaction from Council to these developments evident

b. Reading of memorandum of Feb. 20 from Hunton to the committee

c. Proposals for action:
1) authorize secretary of the committee to write letter to Yergan asking for information about matters raised in Hunton's memorandum, and for information as to Council's current work.

2) authorize Educational Director to:
prepare and issue a release, in the name of the Interim Committee (if Yergan opposes this action), dealing with the Gold Coast situation;
proceed with preparation of New Africa. Ways and means of publication to be decided at committee's next meeting.

LIDA C. BRONER, PRESIDENT
MATILDA BASKERVILLE, VICE PRES.
RUTH N. PURDY, SECRETARY
BLANDENA CLANTON, TREASURER

Women's International Affairs Club

AUXILIARY TO THE
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

514 NORTH THIRD STREET
NEWARK, N. J.
HU 3-0919

March, 5, 1948

File → African Council

23-21-3

Dear Dr. Du Bois

Thank you so much for your prelimnary statment on the policy for the Council on African Affairs. I must say that I never read so many words in my life, that meant alsolutly nothing with reguard to such a matter as the Council now has to go through.

If the objects of the Council are the same as in 1937, why not just re-affirm them? I cannot understand why an account of what the Council has done should be gone into. The POLICY is the important thing.

Our government has listed the Council as a subversive organization planing the overthrow of our government. Several members of the Council have been arested as communist. The majority of the Council members are upright loyal American citizens.

In this country we still have political freedom and fredon of speach. There fore a man,s political point of view is his personal and private affair. If there are some communists in the Council it is our job to prove that the Council is not a communist organization.

Yours sincerely

[Mrs.] Lida C. Broner.

[Council on Afr. Affairs]

THE PALACE HOTEL
San Francisco, California

March 6, 1948

28-21-17

To whom it may concern:

I hereby resign as member of the Interim Executive Committee appointed by the last meeting of the Council on African Affairs. This resignation takes place immediately.

SIGNED:

W. E. B. DuBois

Original mailed to:

Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

African Council

257 Mc Donough Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.
March 7, 1948

Phone: PResident 4-3292

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

It is clear from the enclosed that a "coup" is to be attempted next Friday. It is extremely urgent that you act as requested in the appended letter. But we must also be prepared in the event that the unauthorized meeting goes through despite protests.

Please arrange to be present at the meeting Friday -- promptly at 4:00 P.M. If there is <u>any</u> doubt about your attending, write <u>me</u> authorizing me to cast your proxy vote.

In either case, be sure to write or call me during the next three days.

Sincerely,

Alphaeus Hunton

W. A. Hunton

23-21-97

[Council on African Affairs]

257 Mc Donough Street
Brooklyn, New York
March 7, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

An emergency situation has been created in the Council on African Affairs which you need to understand -- and to DO something about, quickly.

During the past few days, you should have received the following three communications about the Council on African Affairs:

1. A letter from Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Chairman of the Policy and Interim Executive Committee, enclosing a "Preliminary Statement" and indicating that the full report of the Committee is in preparation and will be sent later.

2. A letter from Dr. Max Yergan, Director, calling a meeting of the Council for next Friday, March 12, at 4:00 P.M.

3. Copy of a letter from Dr. Du Bois to Dr. Yergan, registering the protest of the Policy a nd Interim Committee against the meeting called for March 12, pointing out that it is "contrary to the procedure agreed upon by the Council members at the meeting on February 2", and insisting upon postponement of the meeting until a date agreed upon by the two special committees elected at the last meeting of the Council.

Briefly, here is what all this means:

The Director is deliberately ignoring the decisions of the last Council meeting and the authority of the Policy Committee, which the last meeting authorized to act as an interim executive committee. Moreover, he is calling this meeting before either of the special investigating committees elected at the last meeting -- on Policy and on Finance -- has completed its report. Still further, this "quickie" meeting for March 12 is being called at a time when Dr. Du Bois and Chairman Paul Robeson cannot attend, both of them being away on the west coast for several weeks.

Whatever may be the purposes of the Director in taking this action, it is clear that such a meeting as he has called for March 12 cannot further the interests of the Council.

When Paul Robeson left town, he asked me to represent him in all matters affecting the Council during his absence. It is this responsibility which prompts me now to write you -- and to ask you to take the following action immediately.

PLEASE WIRE OR WRITE DR. MAX YERGAN (23 West 26th Street, New York,N.Y.), SUPPORTING PROPOSAL OF THE POLICY AND INTERIM COMMITTEE TO POSTPONE THIS UNAUTHORIZED MEETING, AND TO SET A LATER DATE FOR A COUNCIL MEETING IN CONSULTATION WITH THE TWO SPECIAL COMMITTEES AND OTHER OFFICERS. PLEASE DO THIS TODAY.

Also, please send a copy of your wire or letter to Mr. Paul Robeson, 257 Mc Donough Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. -- Care of Hunton.

Whatever may be your opinion on the issues raised at the last Council meeting, I am sure that you want those issues to be resolved in a manner that will not jeopardize the very existence of the Council, but will enable us to carry forward our heavy responsibility for the peoples of Africa. It is essential that the decisions of the last Council meeting, which are clearly evident in stenographic reports of the meeting, be fully respected.

Please let us hear from you at once.

Sincerely yours,
A. Alphaeus Hunton
W. A. Hunton, Educational Director
(Acting for Paul Robeson, Chairman)

[Council on Afr. Affairs]

The Palace Hotel
SAN FRANCISCO. 19

March 7, 1948

23-21-19

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Your letters and enclosures of March 5, conform me in my decision to resign from the Interim Executive Committee of the Council on African Affairs. I return the letter signed because I promised to do this. But it will do no good. Yergan has the right to call a meeting of the Council. Legally his position is impregnable. I shall make no further attempt to fight it. Please make my decision absolutely clear. I shall not change it. The only alternative as I see it is a new organization, with Robeson and Hunton at the head

Very sincerely,

W E B DuBois

The Palace Hotel

San Francisco, California

March 8, 1948

Mr. Paul Robeson, Chairman
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

23-21-18

Dear Mr. Robeson:

After careful thought, I have decided to resign from the Interim Executive Committee of the Council on African Affairs for these reasons:

1. I shall be away from New York until mid-April. Mr. Robeson will also be absent during most of this time. The Rev. Shelton Bishop has been unable to act.

2. The minutes of the meeting which appointed this committee have not yet been issued and cannot be legally binding until a meeting of the Council approves them.

3. This leaves the authority of this committee in doubt, while all authority and funds rest in the hands of Mr. Yergan who has in the past acted without any special authority and still has, so far as I can see the same right. When, therefore, he lately called a meeting of the Council, I signed a letter of protest, but I am not certain that he will heed it or indeed is legally bound to.

Under these circumstances it is useless for me to try to act as chairman of the committee. I am sorry. I hate to run away from just jobs. But I am sure you see my helplessness in this case. I like the work the Council has done. I hope it will continue. But I am in no position to help now and my decision is final.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:LM

CC: Mrs. Estelle Osborne, Mr. Doxey Wilkerson, Dr. W. A. Hunton
Dr. Max Yergan, Rev. Shelton H. Bishop, Mr. Charles Collins
Mr. Hope R. Stevens

March 9, 1949

Mrs. Lida C. Broner
Women's International Affairs Club
814 North 3rd Street
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Mrs. Broner:

I am sure Dr. DuBois will appreciate your candid remarks, re Council on African Affairs, made in your letter of March 5. The Doctor is in California lecturing and will not return to his desk until late in April. However, I shall see that your communication is brought to his attention upon his return.

With thanks for your interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

FHS:LW

Plain Office

23c-37-24

March 10, 1948

Dr. W. A. Hunton
Educational Director
Council on African Affairs
257 McDonough Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. Hunton:

The enclosed just arrived and it is self explanatory. I thought you would be interested in it so I am passing it along. You may convey this information to the Committee if you wish.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

Enclosure:

[Council on African Affairs]

March 12, 1948

Dr. W. A. Hunton
257 McDonough Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Al:

Enclosed are the minutes of the meeting of the Interim Executive Committee, held on March 5, in the St Phillip's Parrish House. You will notice that they are quite full, and I decided to send them in this way since they seemed to be rather important and it is best to have a detailed account of what went on in this meeting.

I am sending a copy of them to Mrs. Osborne, the acting chairman, of the IEC and retaining a copy for Dr. DuBois' files.

At the time of the mailing of this letter I have not received the minutes from Mrs. Osborne that you asked her to send me, ~~along with the copy of the March 6 meeting, which I am sending her.~~ I am writing her about the minutes you mentioned she was to send me.

You saw in todays' NEW YORK TIMES where the state of West Virginia had banned Shirley Graham's life story of Paul Robeson. It appeared on page 21 of the paper.

Best of luck.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Enclosure;
P. S. Will you please attach the memo from yourself to Dr. DuBois, as referred to in the first paragraph on page six of the minutes to the enclosed minutes?

OFFICERS
PAUL ROBESON
Chairman
WM. JAY SCHIEFFELIN
Vice Chairman
MAX YERGAN
Executive Director
EDITH C. FIELD
Treasurer
W. A. HUNTON
Educational Director

COUNCIL MEMBERS
RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
HERBERT APTHEKER
LEONARD BARNES
MRS. CHARLOTTA A. BASS
DR. W. A. BELL
BISHOP W. Y. BELL
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
MRS. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
REV. SHELTON H. BISHOP
DR. E. T. BOKWE
MRS. LIDA N. BRONER
DR. CHARLOTTE H. BROWN
DR. HENRY A. CALLIS
REV. J. H. CARPENTER
WILLIAM E. COCHRAN
CHARLES COLLINS
F. E. DeFRANTZ
HUBERT T. DELANY
EARL B. DICKERSON
DEAN DIXON
MRS. MAE WRIGHT DOWNS
W. E. B. DuBOIS
ROSCOE DUNJEE
E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER
RABBI MAX FELSHIN
KUMAR GOSHAL
WILLIAM GOULD
JOHN HAMMOND
GEORGE W. HARRIS
LYNDON HENRY
CHARLES H. HOUSTON
RABBI F. M. ISSERMAN
REV. C. A JOHNSON
DAVID D. JONES
THOMAS R. JONES
ADAH I. KIEFFER
JOHN T. LATOUCHE
BELFORD V. LAWSON, JR.
DR. JULIAN H. LEWIS
REV. DAVID N. LICORISH
ALAIN LOCKE
RAYFORD W. LOGAN
REP. VITO MARCANTONIO
GEORGE MARSHALL
MRS. JOHN F. MOORS
IRVING POTASH
REP. A. C. POWELL, JR.
THOMAS RICHARDSON
MRS. ESTELLE M. RIDDLE
REV. B. C. ROBESON
MRS. ESLANDE G. ROBESON
BISHOP DAVID H. SIMS
MRS. CHRISTINE SMITH
FERDINAND C. SMITH
MRS. STANLEY F. SMITH
W. B. SPOFFORD, JR.
MAX STEINBERG
HOPE R. STEVENS
MRS. MARY CHURCH TERRELL
CHANNING H. TOBIAS
DR. GENE WELTFISH
MRS. BEULAH T. WHITBY
DOXEY A. WILKERSON
J. FINLEY WILSON
BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR.

23-51-17

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

March 13, 1948

Dear Council Member:

As you were advised, the meeting of the Council On African Affairs, scheduled for March 12, 1948, was postponed at the request of the chairman who telegraphed me on March 10 that he could not be present in New York until March 25. This letter is, therefore, formal notice to you that the meeting of the Council adjourned on February 2, 1948 will reconvene on March 25, 1948 at 4 p.m, at the office of the Council, 23 W. 26th Street, New York, New York.

Because of the indecisive character of the meeting of February 2, another meeting of the Council, as soon as possible thereafter, was urgently required to make important decisions in the interest of the organization's work. I had sought to advise the chairman of this and had suggested February 24 or 27 as possible dates. His failure to reply to my communications was doubtless due to his absence from the city. Under the circumstances I felt it necessary, as authorized by our constitution, to call the meeting scheduled for March 12.

At the March 25 meeting I shall have occasion to correct a number of inaccuracies reflected in the several communications you have had from the Policy Committee and the Educational Director. One important correction should be made now.

The Policy Committee appears to have misinterpreted its functions. As clearly indicated by the minutes of the February 2 meeting, that committee was elected only for the purpose of considering a number of statements made at that meeting. This it was instructed to do and report its findings back to the Council in accordance with normal procedure. There is no authority in the minutes of the February 2 meeting for the Policy Committee to refer to itself as an "interim" or "executive" committee as it has called itself in the several communications it has sent out.

Fortunately, we can look forward to our March 25 meeting for those decisions which will enable us to get on with our work on behalf of the people of Africa. This is what the Council was organized to do eleven years ago, and this, I am sure, is what the Council wishes to continue doing.

Yours very sincerely,

Max Yergan
Executive Director

MY:gj

23-21-8

African Affairs

March 17, 1948

Mrs. Estelle Osborne
540 West 148th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Osborne:

Here is a copy of the minutes of the March 5 meeting of the Interim Executive Committee. Dr. Hunton has been sent a copy of them too.

Dr. Hunton informed me that you are to send me a copy of the minutes of the previous meeting. I shall expect to receive or hear from you about them.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

Enclosure;

23-21-71

[COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, MARCH 17 1948]

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

PROGRESS REPORT OF THE POLICY AND INTERIM EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

At the meeting of the Council on February 2 the following were elected to the Committee: Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Chairman; Mrs. Estelle Riddle Osborne; Rev. Shalton H. Bishop; Charles Collins; Hope R. Stevens; and (as ex-officio members) Max Yergan and Paul Robeson.

At the same time, the Committee was given the tasks of (1) drawing up a statement of policy, (2) considering and reaching decisions on the report of the Educational Director, and (3) serving as an Interim Executive Committee. (See accompanying "Supplementary Statement".).

1. Committee Meeting of February 13

23-21-90

The first meeting of the Committee was held February 13 at the Council's office. All members of the Committee were present with the exception of Reverend Bishop.

At this first meeting, Dr. Yergan denied that the Committee had any interim executive authority. Dr. DuBois and the others present, with the exception of Mr. Stevens, maintained that it did. By vote of four to two, it was decided that the Committee should proceed with its work on the basis of the majority's understanding that it was an interim executive committee. Upon the request of Dr. DuBois, Dr. Yergan promised to have the minutes of the February 2 meeting available for the Committee the following week so that the question of authority could be finally settled. (These minutes have not yet been submitted to the Committee.)

A preliminary draft statement on the Council, prepared by the Chairman, Dr. DuBois, was discussed and approved for distribution to the Council members and the press. Dr. Yergan and Mr. Stevens, however, asked that the minutes record their objection to the next-to-the-last paragraph of the statement, following the Committee's rejection of their proposal to alter that paragraph along the line of the statement presented by Dr. Yergan at the February 2 meeting. (This preliminary statement was mailed to all the Council members, together with a covering letter, under date of February 27.)

Included among the items discussed at this first meeting was the matter of the presence of police and reporters on the Council's premises during the February 2 meeting. It was remarked that the presence of the police caused great embarrassment and indignation among the members attending the meeting, and that the inaccurate reports of the meeting which had appeared in the metropolitan and Negro press violated the agreement repeatedly stressed during the meeting that there should be no publicity given to any of the transactions. Dr. Yergan stated that he was unaware of the reason for the presence of the police or of the source of the Council stories in the press.

The next meeting of the Committee was scheduled for February 20, but it had to be cancelled because of the absence of the Chairman and other members from the city.

Having previously mentioned that he would have to be away from New York during March, Dr. DuBois on February 27 wrote the members of the Committee:

1. expressing the hope that during his absence the Committee would "continue to function with the full authority granted when it was appointed",
2. suggesting that Rev. Bishop or Mrs. Osborne serve as temporary Chairman,
3. requesting that Dr. Hugh D. Smythe, his assistant, be permitted to act as observer for him at Committee meetings,
4. stating that he would keep in communication with the Committee and expected "to participate actively in drawing up the final report", and
5. outlining the tasks of the Committee.

Mrs. Osborne persuaded Rev. Bishop to accept the temporary Chairmanship and it was agreed between them that the Committee should meet on March 1 at the Council office, and that he would notify Dr. Yergan and Mr. Stevens while she notified the others. At the appointed time, however, only Mrs. Osborne, Mr. Collins, Dr. Hunton (authorized by Mr. Robeson to represent him) and Dr. Smythe (observer for Dr. DuBois) appeared. There was no message of explanation from any of the absentees. But it was learned that Mr. Stevens and told Rev. Bishop that the Committee should not meet during the absence of the Chairman. An attempt to reach Rev. Bishop by telephone was unsuccessful but his secretary said that he had a free period on March 5. Those present thereupon agreed to hold a meeting on that date. Notices were prepared and sent to the temporary Chairman for him to sign

and mail out.

2. Committee Meeting of March 5

The meeting on March 5 took place at the office of Rev. Bishop, at his request. Mrs. Osborne, Rev. Bishop, Dr. Hunton and Dr. Smythe were present. During the meeting, Mr. Collins telephoned and explained his absence and endorsed the action taken by the Committee with reference to the meeting of the Council called by Dr. Yergan to take place March 12. Dr. Yergan and Mr. Stevens sent no explanation of their absence.

At the Committee meeting on March 5, Rev. Bishop relinquished the temporary Chairmanship to Mrs. Osborne. The major discussion centered on the clarification of the authority and functions of the Committee and the attitude it should adopt toward the March 12 meeting called by Dr. Yergan. (Notices of which had been received that same morning.)

23-21-91

The members present agreed that Mrs. Osborne should telephone Dr. Yergan and advise him of the Committee's view that the March 12 meeting should be postponed and that an alternate date should be set only after consultation with the two Committees elected February 2 (Policy and Finance) and with the other officers. This was done while the Committee was still in session (Dr. Yergan was at the Council office at the time.) His response was that the March 12 meeting should and would be held.

After further discussion, all present agreed that the Committee's protest against the holding of the March 12 meeting and against procedure of setting a date without consultation with the Committees and other officers should be expressed in a letter to Dr. Yergan signed by Dr. DuBois, Chairman of the Committee, and that copies should be sent to all members of the Council. (Dr. DuBois' approval was secured and the letter was accordingly sent out under date of March 5.)

At its March 5 meeting, the Committee also considered a memorandum, dated February 20, from the Educational Director, Dr. Hunton, to Dr. DuBois, Chairman of the Committee. The memorandum disclosed:

1. that the Executive Director had told him orally "that he could not be 'personally' responsible for 'any' further expenses of the Council;"
2. that the Executive Director, without consultation with or notice to him, had dismissed Dr. Hunton's secretary as of February 13, leaving him "greatly inconvenienced" and without any secretarial or clerical assistance whatever;
3. that the Executive Director had not approved the continued publication of <u>New Africa</u>;
4. that the Educational Director had been without salary since January 15;
5. that since February 2, the Educational Director had not received regularly mail addressed to him at the Council office;
6. that there had been "no discussion of Council work or program with Dr. Yergan since February 2 other than that reported."

Dr. Hunton told the Committee that since sending the memorandum, he had again talked with Dr. Yergan and had urged that the Council issue a release and take other action on the crisis in the Gold Coast and other important developments, but that Dr. Yergan had said that such action must wait until the Council met. Other conditions, Dr. Hunton said, remained as described in the memorandum.

3. Resignation of Dr. DuBois from the Committee

Following the first meeting of the Committee, when differences arose as to the powers and functions it had, Dr. DuBois sent a memorandum dated February 17 to all members of the Committee, stating:

> "If the minutes sustain our status as an Executive Committee with power, I am willing to continue to serve, although I shall be out of New York until April. But if the minutes sustain Dr. Yergan's contention that we are only a Committee of inquiry, then I shall resign."

On March 8, Dr. DuBois sent the following letter to Mr. Robeson and Dr. Yergan, with copies to all members of the Committee:

> "After careful thought, I have decided to resign from the Interim Executive Committee of the Council On African Affairs for these reasons:
>
> 1. I shall be away from New York until mid-April. Mr. Robeson will also be absent during most of this time. The Rev. Shelton Bishop has been unable to act.

2. The minutes of the meeting which appointed this Committee have not yet been issued and cannot be legally binding until a meeting of the Council approves them.
3. This leaves the authority of this Committee in doubt, while all authority and funds rest in the hands of Mr. Yergan who has in the past acted without any special authority and still has, so far as I can see, the same right. When, therefore, he lately called a meeting of the Council, I signed a letter of protest, but I am not certain that he will heed it or, indeed, is legally bound to.

Under these circumstances it is useless for me to try to act as Chairman of the Committee. I am sorry. I hate to run away from just jobs. But I am sure you see my helplessness in this case. I like the work the Council has done, I hope it will continue. But I am in no position to help now and my decision is final."

23-21-92

Conclusion

In view of these unfortunate and unforeseen developments, it has been considered desirable and necessary to send this Progress Report to all members of the Council. For it is essential for the membership to have full knowledge of the reasons why this Committee has thus far been unable to fulfill the mandate given it at the Council meeting on February 2.

Despite these difficulties, we are endeavoring to continue with the tasks which were assigned to the Committee and to complete them prior to the next meeting of the Council. (The meeting scheduled for March 12 was cancelled by the Executive Director, but he has not to date consulted with this Committee as to when it will be held.)

(Signed)
Mrs. Estelle Riddle Osborne, Temporary Chair.
540 West 148th Street
New York, N. Y.

March 17, 1948
ERO:bdh
UOPWA /16

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

March 18, 1948

Dear Doctor DuBois:

All of us, naturally, were extremely sorry to have you resign from the Committee. I hope you do not object to the quotation of your letter of resignation in the ~~xxxx~~ Committee's Progress Report which was mailed to the members (you should have received it). We hope your stand will have a salutary effect in showing them how Yergan insists upon holding all power in his hands.

You have probably received Yergan's letter explaining that the meeting scheduled for March 12 was cancelled and has now been set for Thursday, March 25. Robeson then will be present. He has telegraphed me the following statement for inclusion in writing to members: "This authorizes Dr. Alphaeus Hunton to request proxy for next meeting of Council on my part. . . Thanks for confidence." Proxy authorization may be sent to the following address:

Paul Robeson
c/o W.A. Hunton
257 McDonough Street
Brooklyn, New York.

Robeson and I would also appreciate it if you would write me at that address indicating whether you would accept chairmanship of or membership on the regular executive committee of the Council to be set up--assuming of course the present difficulties can be satisfactorily overcome.

Thanking you for your cooperation and support, and with every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Alphaeus Hunton

W.A. Hunton
on behalf of Paul Robeson

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS [COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, MARCH 25, 1948]

STATEMENT OF POLICY
(Draft to be presented by the Policy Committee, Mrs. Estelle R. Osborne, temporary Chairman, at the Council meeting, March 25, 1948)

The Council on African Affairs exists for the purpose of bringing to public attention the truth concerning present-day Africa and its relation to world affairs, and of enlisting American and United Nations support for the African peoples' struggle to free themselves from foreign domination.

Now in the eleventh year of its work, the Council's record speaks for itself. The record may be seen in the public meetings, conferences, action programs, and direct petitions to government and United Nations officials undertaken by the Council, and in its pamphlets and other publications including the monthly New Africa - all devoted to the cause of African advancement and freedom.

Included among the Council's recent activities have been:

* rallying American support for the rights of oppressed African workers on such occasions as the 1945 general strike in Nigeria and the strike of over 60,000 gold mine workers in South Africa in 1946;

* providing detailed information to the United Nations on the conditions prevailing in the African colonies, and publicizing the promises and the failures of the United Nations in the area of colonial advancement;

* pressing for United Nations action against South Africa's vicious code and practice of "white supremacy" and its attempt to annex South West Africa;

* organizing a campaign for the collection abd forwarding of food and money to relieve thousands of starving Africans in the Cape Province of South Africa, the only help given them from the outside world.

The Council must continue to carry forward such activities as these, reaching a still wider audience and achieving greater efficiency in its work.

Today the Council has a much bigger and more important job to do than ever before. For in the present period, it is the United States which is decisive in determining Africa's immediate future. Without American loans and credits, without the political backing of the Truman administration at Lake Success and London, Paris, Brussels, and the Hague; and without the military assistance of the United States already granted or promised, the European colonial powers could not now maintain or continue to maintain the imperialist control they exercise in Africa and other colonial areas.

In helping Britain, France, Belgium and the Netherlands to hold on to their empires, the United States government hopes to keep these far-flung colonial areas, as well as their European rulers, within the American sphere of influence and the "American way of life".

Some of the implications of this policy may be seen when we hear General Smuts of South Africa, with its infamous record of racial oppression, tell his white countrymen: "We must stand together, not only among ourselves (in the British Commonwealth), but also with the United States, which is now the mainstay of our Western group; we must work together with those countries who have

the same outlook and the same faith and the same way of life as we have.".

The European imperialist powers are, indeed, working together. With the blessing of our President and State Department, and with Britain taking the lead, they have formed themselves into an international consortium having as one primary aim the promotion of inter-imperialist collaboration in the intensified exploitation of Africa to satisfy Europe's economic needs, as well as for joint military action in that continent. This plan is strongly supported by such personalities as Mosley, Britain's leading fascist; Jacques Soustelle, one of De Gaulle's top men; and Smuts.

23-21-33

It must be added that the influence of the United States upon Africa is not limited to the buttressing of European domination. On an increasing scale, American corporations and American investors in European corporations are reaping profits in many sections of Africa. Most of the Uranium ore from the Belgian Congo is shipped to the United States, and the Marshall (European Recovery) Plan provides that the United States may get whatever raw materials it needs from the colonies of the Marshall Plan countries. Add to this the fact that American air bases in Africa are reportedly being integrated with the British and French military systems.

The decisive part which this country is, thus, playing in helping to make Africa the new base of imperialist concentration must be made known to the American people. This is one of the most important tasks of the Council on African Affairs at the present time. To shirk this task because it entails criticism of American state policy and may therefore result in the Council being labelled "Communist" or "subversive" would be shameful cowardice. More important, it would represent betrayal of the people of Africa and tacit sanctioning of their further enslavement.

The Council on African Affairs joins with those liberal and progressive forces in America which are demanding that this country's great power be put to constructive instead of negative uses; that the present war-engendering anti-Soviet policy be replaced by a policy of cooperation toward a common world goal of peace, security, and democracy.

This goal CAN be attained through the United Nations, if we will only <u>strengthen</u> it instead of subverting and destroying it. It CAN be attained by giving people <u>everywhere</u> food it they need it, tools and knowledge with which to work, and the right to govern themselves without outside interference.

But the people of Africa cannot wait for help from abroad. If their numerous appeals to the United Nations remain unanswered, they will be forced to rely on their own strength. Though they may be shot down for demanding their rights - as in the latest instance of such brutal murder in the Gold Coast, British West Africa - they will continue to organize and struggle.

It is of the utmost importance that the Council on African Affairs serve as the medium for developing closer contacts between the Negro, Labor, and other democratic forces in America and the rapidly expanding trade union and national movements in all sections of Africa.

The most effective answer that the Council and its friends can make to the new imperialist offensive, to the war hysteria and witch-hunting of our day, is work and more work, effort and greater effort, ideal and higher ideal to rid the world of oppression, exploitation, and slavery.

23-21-34

UOPWA/16

MEETING OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS HELD AT THE OFFICES OF THE COUNCIL,
23 West 26 Street, New York City, March 25, 1948 [Council on African Affairs, March 25, 1948]

PRESENT: Paul Robeson, presiding, Dr. Max Yergan, Dr. W.A. Hunton, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Mrs. Lida Broner, Dr. H.A. Callis, Rev. J.H. Carpenter, Charles Collins, Judge Hubert Delany, William Gould, Kumar Goshal, John Hammond, Thomas R. Jones, Lyndon Henry, Belsford Lawson Jr., Rev. David H. Licorish, Dr. Rayford Logan, Mrs. Estelle R. Osborne, Hope Stevens, Dr. Gene Weltfish, and Doxey Wilkerson (21 members).

The following proxies assigned to Mr. Robeson were accredited: Mrs. Charlotta Bass, Dean Dixon, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Rabbi Max Felshin, Mrs. Edith Field, Vito Marcantonio, George Marshall, Irving Potash, Thomas Richardson, Rev. B.C. Robeson, Mrs. Eslanda G. Robeson, Ferdinand Smith, Max Steinberg, and Mrs. Mary Church Terrell (14members).

The following proxies assigned to Dr. Yergan were accredited: J. Finley Wilson and Bishop R.R. Wright, Jr. (2 members).

The total membership represented was 37, constituting a quorum, there being a total membership of 69 in the United States at the time.

23-21-24

ORDER OF BUSINESS:

1. Minutes of last meeting
2. Report of Finance Committee
3. Report of Policy Committee
4. 1948 Budget
5. Election of Officers
6. Appointment of Finance Committee
7. Adjournment

MINUTES OF LAST MEETING:

The minutes of the last meeting on February 2, 1948, had not been circulated. Dr. Yergan read a "summary" of the minutes of that meeting. His reference in the minutes to the present meeting as a continuation of the meeting of February 2 was challenged, and this point was discused at length. The minutes as presented were not acted upon.

THE QUESTION OF PROXIES:

There was extended discussion of how to establish the voting strength of the meeting and the validity of proxies not made out for the meeting of March 25. Motion that only proxies sent in specigically for the March 25th meeting be considered valid, and that this be voted on the basis of those present. Motion adopted, two of the members voting in the negative indicating that they voted under protest (10 for, 9 against).

Following this, a motion was made for adjournment of the meeting. Motion defeated (8 for, 10 against).

After further discussion Dr. Yergan called the roll of members of the Council, the proxies for members not present were read, and the Chairman ruled on the validity of each one in terms of the vote previously taken. Dr. Yergan protested the procedure. Following the checking of the proxies, the presence of a quorum was established.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE:

Judge Delany, Chairman of the Finance Committee, presented the majority report of the Finance Committee, stating that he did so under protest. The report concluded with several recommendations for improving the handling of finances.

Attorney Thomas Jones presented the minority report of the Committee. This report was more severe in its censure of certain financial transactions by the Executive Director, and criticized the failure of the Finance Committee to secure a complete audit of the financial records of the Council.

Motion by Judge Delany that the majority report be accepted. A substitute motion that both reports be accepted before dealing with their substance, was not acceptable to the mover of the original motion, who maintained that it was out of order. The original motion was voted upon and was defeated (7 for, 8 against).

At this point the Executive Director and all those who had voted in favor of the last motion left the meeting. The Executive Director contended that no quorum was present. The reply was made that the presence of a quorum had been established, and that the Executive Director, as an officer of the Council, should remain with his records until the meeting was adjourned. Dr. Yergan

nevertheless left the meeting.

Motion to accept the minority report of the Finance Committee and to censure the Executive Director specifically for his failure during 1947 to send any money whatever to Africa out of the funds collected during that year for African famine relief. Motion adopted.

Motion: that Judge Delany, Thomas R. Jones, and Charles Collins be nominated as trustees of the Council in relation to the Council's property at 23 West 26 Street in place of Dr. Yergan, that this be effective immediately, that such legal steps as may be necessary to effect this action be taken, and that in the failure of any one of the three persons nominated to serve, the other two shall have the same power to act. Motion adopted.

Motion: that the chairman appoint an interim finance committee of three person which will attempt to raise funds to pay salaries due, deal with other pressing obligations, and so enable the work of the Council to be carried on. Motion adopted. The Chairman appointed Mrs. Osborne, Mr. Wilkerson, and himself as members of the Committee.

REPORT OF THE POLICY COMMITTEE:

On behalf of Mrs. Osborne, temporary chairman of the Policy Committee, Dr. Hunton presented the Committee's report, which had been previously circulated to all members.

Motion: that the Statement of Policy circulated by the Committee be approved. Motion adopted.

Four separate motions were made approving the recommendations in the report on General Functioning of the Council as circulated by the Policy Committee relating to staff meetings, the executive board, meetings of the Council, and "other problems". All four motions were adopted.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS:

As provided for in the recommendation relating to the Executive Board previously adopted, the following six members were elected to serve, together with the officers of the Council, as members of the Board: Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Charles Collins, Herbert Aptheker, Dr. Gene Weltfish, Judge Delany, and John Hammond.

Motion: that in the event of the failure of any of the persons elected to act or accept place on the Executive Board, the Board members accepting membership be authorized to fill vacancies. Motion adopted.

Motion: that the present officers, namely, Mr. Robeson, Chairman, Max Yergan, Executive Director, and Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, Vice Chairman, be re-elected. Motion adopted. Mrs. Estelle R. Osborne was nominated and elected as Treasurer. Dr. Hunton was nominated and elected as Secretary.

PRESENCE OF A NON-MEMBER IN THE MEETING:

The presence of an attorney, Mr. Tyler, not a member of the Council, in the meeting was challenged. It was voted that the Chairman request him to withdraw from the meeting, which was done.

CENSURE OF DR. YERGAN:

It was disclosed that affidavits had been secured proving that Dr. Yergan was responsible for arranging for the presence of police on the premises of the Council at the February 2nd meeting, that this had been a cause of embarrassment and indignation to members of the Council, and that Dr. Yergan had said that he had no knowledge of the matter.

Motion: that a vote of censure of the Executive Director for this conduct be registered. Motion adopted.

CONSULTATION OF LEGAL COUNSEL:

Motion: that in view of various circumstances of the meeting which appeared to be disruptive manouvers, the Chairman be authorized to secure legal counsel and take whatever steps may be necessary. Motion adopted.

It being impossible to take up the matter of the 1948 budget in view of the absence of the Executive Director, and there being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 8:50 P.M.

23-21-25

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
23 West 26th St., New York 10, N.Y.

March 25, 1948
IMMEDIATE RELEASE

W.E.B. DuBois

[Council on African Affairs, March 25, 1948]

New York--Problems of policy, functioning and finances in the Council on African Affairs, first raised at a February 2 meeting of the organization, were acted upon at the second meeting held last Thursday, March 25, at the Council's office, 23 West 26th Street, following the hearing of reports from two previously-elected committees of investigation.

23-21-31

The meeting saw the censure of Max Yergan for certain acts committed in his capacity as executive director. A committee of three was also named to replace Yergan as trustee for the Council in a property partnership.

Paul Robeson, chairman, Wm. Jay Schieffelin, vice-chairman, and Yergan were all re-elected to office. In addition, Mrs. Estelle Riddle Osborne was elected as treasurer, and W.A. Hunton, educational director, was elected secretary.

The meeting also adopted several recommendations for improving the efficiency of the Council's work. An eleven-man executive board was established consisting of the five officers above named and six elected members: Herbert Aptheker, Charles Collins, Judge Hubert T. Delany, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, John Hammond, and Dr. Gene Weltfish.

The statement of policy adopted reaffirmed the objectives and proram for African freedom aimed at during the Council's decade of existence, and called special attention to the "decisive" role of the United States "in helping to make Africa the new base of imperialist concentration", stating that this "must be made known to the American public" and respresented "one of the most important tasks " of the Council at the present time.

"The present war-engendering anti-Soviet policy," the statement declared, must "be replaced by a policy of cooperation toward a common world goal of peace, security and democracy. This could be accomplished through a strengthened United Nations, it was said, and "by giving people everywhere food if they need it, tools and knowledge with which to work, and the right to govern themselves without outside interference."

The business of the meeting was marred, though not interrupted, by prolonged but vain effort of Yergan to secure acceptance of proxies to him dated several weeks ago and which failed to refer to the meeting of March 25; and also by Yergan's walking out of the meeting, accompanied by his supporters, when a vote of censure against the executive director appeared imminent.

The invalidating of all except two of Yergan's proxies did not affect the actual voting, since Robeson at no time during the meeting made use of the 16 proxies on his side. All decisions were based solely on the votes of the members present. There were 21 members of the Council in attendance at the meeting.

(EDITOR: See full statement of policy enclosed.)

[Council on African Affairs]

March 26, 1948

African Council

Mr. Alphaeus Honton

23.21.7

My dear Alphaeus:

I talked to you over the phone and wired you. I am quite willing to do anything I can for the Council of African Affairs but it must be on one condition, and that is that Mr. Yergen be replaced. If he continues as Director or with any position of power in the Council, it will be impossible for me to take part. If there is a reorganization and if you should become director or someone like you, I should be very glad to do anything I can.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:elh

Dear Hugh-
I mailed another copy air mail & Prairie View. Will send you summary of meeting.

C O P Y

257 Mc Donough Street
Brooklyn, New York
PResident 4-3292
March 27, 1948

Mr. Paul Robeson, Chairman
Council on African Affairs
New York, New York

Dear Paul,

I wish to inform you that on Friday, March 26, the day after the meeting of the Council, I received notice of discharge from Dr. Yergan and was locked out of my office some three hours later, during my absence from the building.

The full text of the notice, dated March 26, 1948, read; "It is no longer possible to retain you on the staff of the Council on African Affairs as Educational Director. Please be advised upon receipt of this letter of the termination of your services with this organization effective immediately."

No previous intimation of impending termination of my services had been given. Despite my insistence upon an explanation of both the notice and the lock-out, the Executive Director gave none, saying merely that it would be "taken up later." I was unable to reenter my office.

I hereby respectfully request the Executive Board of the Council on African Affairs to take this matter under consideration at the earliest opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Alphaeus Hunton

Copies to Dr. Schieffelin
Mrs. Osborne
Dr. Yergan
Herbert Aptheker
Charles Collins
Judge Delany
Dr. DuBois
John Hammond
Dr. Weltfish

23-15-2

W. A. Hunton
257 McDonough Street
Brooklyn 33, New York

April 1, 1948

Dear Friend:

I am writing at the request of Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council, to thank you for sending your proxy for the meeting of the Council last Thursday and for your continued confidence and support. You will be hearing from him personally , and will be kept informed of further developments. Sincerely, W.A.H.

The following information supplements the enclosed report of the meeting of the Council on African Affairs held March 25 and indicates what has happened during the week since that meeting occurred.

1. The question of proxies. Dr. Yergan and his supporters maintained that the meeting was a "continued meeting" and on that basis insisted upon the acceptance of a large number of proxies held by Dr. Yergan which, with two exceptions, were on mimeographed forms apparently sent out by him, dated about the time of the Feb. 2 meeting or shortly thereafter, long before the notice of the March 25 meeting went to the membership--the meeting notice, incidentally, having been phrased by Dr. Yergan, without consultation with other officers or committees of the Council, to correspond with the language used in the proxy forms.

23-21-100

Robeson, presiding, ruled that the February 2 meeting had been duly adjourned and that this was a new meeting called for the consideration of the reports of the Finance and Policy Committees; he and others maintained that a continued meeting is one that is recessed, not adjourned, and that there was no such understanding. Further, they declared that there was no evidence or assurance that persons who gave their proxies such a long time ago still wished them to be used.

By majority vote of those present it was decided that only proxies made out specifically for the March 25 meeting should be considered valid. Dr. Yergan and his adherents nevertheless protested. They were defeated on a motion to adjourn the meeting--again by a majority of those present.

Since the meeting it has been established that at least some of those whose proxies Dr. Yergan held did not intend for them to be used for the March 25 meeting. The 17 validated proxies and 21 members present constituted a clear quorum.

2. Report of the Finance Committee. The committee elected at the Feb. 2 meeting to investigate certain questions raised concerning the Executive Direector's handling of Council funds submitted a two-fold report: a majority report (Judge Delany and John Hammond) and a minority report (Atty. Thos. R. Jones).

The majority report was critical of several specific acts and financial procedures of theExecutive Director, and offered several recommendations for avoiding or correcting these conditions. The minority report gave a more detailed accoun and took a far more serious view of the questions at issue; it also held that the committee's investigation could not be considered finished since no complete audit of the Council's accounts had yet been made.

A motion was made to accept both reports with thanks. But Judge Delany insisted upon approval of the majority report alone. A motion to that effect was made and defeated by the majority of those present. It was at this point that Yergan, Delany, Hammond, Hope Stevens, Rayford Logan, Rev. Carpenter, Mrs. Broner, and Belford Lawson left the meeting. The others who remained continued with the business of the meeting.

3. Censure of Dr. Yergan. The minority Finance Comm. report was not voted upon, but on the basis of the facts revealed in it (e.g., the diversion of contributions for South African Famine Relief to meet general expenses of the Council; and the mishandling of funds secured as trustee for the Council's building investment) a vote of censure upon the executive director was moved and passed.

Another vote of censure was registered later in the meeting when it was disclosed, on the evidence of signed affidavits, Dr. Yergan was responsible for the presence of police at the Feb. 2 meeting of the Council. It was also ponted out that at that time, according to one newspaper, he had "warned members of the board that a vocal and noisy opposition maight seek to take over the council."

4. Developments since the March 25 meeting. On the day following the meeting Dr. Yergan handed Dr. Hunton notification of the termination of his services as Educational Director "effective immediately." Three hours later Dr. Hunton found himself locked out of hiss office. He has referred the matter to the Executive Board of the Council.

The Chairman has received letters of resignation from the Council from Judge Delany, John Hammond, and Dr. Schieffelin. On March 31 the Chairman visited Dr. Yergan and talked with him at length on the present situation in the Council and what could be done to carry forward the work.

W. A. Hunton
257 McDonough Street
Brooklyn 33, New York

April 1, 1948

Dear Friend:

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23-21-49

By majority vote of those present it was decided that only proxies made out specifically for the March 25 meeting should be considered valid. Dr. Yergan and his adherents nevertheless protested. They were defeated on a motion to adjourn the meeting--again by a majority of those present.

Since the meeting it has been established that at least some of those whose proxies Dr. Yergan held did not intend for them to be used for the March 25 meeting. The 17 validated proxies and 21 members present constituted a clear quorum.

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The Chairman has received letters of resignation from the Council from Judge Delany, John Hammond, and Dr. Schieffelin. On March 31 the Chairman visited Dr. Yergan and talked with him at length on the present situation in the Council and what could be done to carry forward the work.

A POSTSCRIPT OF NEWSPAPER EXCERPTS : YERGAN SAYS. . .

The People's Voice (April 17, 1948), of which Dr. Yergan is reputedly owner and publisher, in addition to a large front-page headline and a long story on page 2 with a three-column headline, "Yergan Supported in Council Fight", commented editorially: "We believe Max Yergan is doing a distinct service in exposing, defying and denouncing the communist dirty work he is facing in the Council on African Affairs...."

The New York Amsterdam News (February 7, 1948): "Yergan's statement (in response to Attorney General Tom Clark's listing of the Council as 'subversive') does represent a marked departure from the Council's past position, which, in effect has been to answer such attacks simply by stating its primary purpose of helping Africans without making any specific denial of the charge of being 'Communist'. Nor has the Council previously denied any political role, since it has consistently sought to bring pressure on our government and on Great Britain in the interest of Africa...."

PM (April 6, 1948): "Dr. Max Yergan, executive director of the Council on African Affairs, charged yesterday that Communist members of the Council were attempting to divert its educational efforts into support for Henry Wallace and the third party movement...

"In explaining his position yesterday, Yergan said: 'I will not support Wallace because I think his candidacy will do a disservice to the Negroes. It breaks up Negro unity.'...

"Yergan also revealed the 70-member board of the Council had split wide open on the Wallace issue. He identified the leaders of the anti-third party bloc as: Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Municipal Court Judge Hubert Delany, Dr. Alain Locke, John Hammond, Mrs. Mary M. Bethune, and Dr. Channing Tobias."

PM (April 8, 1948): "To the Editor: In Tuesday's issue of PM Dr. Max Yergan of the Council on African Affairs, is quoted as saying that I backed him in a fight to prevent the Council indorsing Henry A. Wallace for President. I would like to say that the issue of Wallace never came up at any meeting of the Council on African Affairs and as far as I know was in no way responsible for the regrettable split in the organization...."

N.Y. Herald Tribune (April 6, 1948): "A struggle between Communist and anti-Communist factions has split the Council on African Affairs...Dr. Max Yergan, executive director, asserted yesterday.

"Though three leading members have resigned, Dr. Yergan announced his intention of fighting to rescue the Council from Communist control. He charged that a Communist-led minority seized power by illegal and unfair tactics and sought to use the Council to attack United States foreign policy and support Henry A. Wallace's campaign for the presidency....John Hammond, New York"

N.Y. Herald Tribune (April 7, 1948): "'You can't fight the struggles of Africa by being non-partisan, or by joining the Red-baiters,' he (Paul Robeson) said.

"The Council, to be true to its organic pledge, must oppose all policies, domestic or international, which may threaten the success of the Council's program, said Mr. Robeson. Hence, he added, the Council is morally bound tom take a stand against the European Recovery Program.

"He said the countries which will receive aid under the E.R.P. have nothing to give the United States except the raw materials to be found in their African colonies. 'Collecting these raw materials will mean the further exploitation and abuse of Africans,' Mr. Robeson said...."

N.Y. Times (April 6, 1948): "Communist-influenced forces were accused yesterday of plotting to seize the organization and the property of the Council on African Affairs, Inc... The charge was made by Dr. Max Yergan... Dr. Yergan named Dr. Dorey Wilkerson, W. A. Hunton and Paul Robeson as the group opposing him... 'Today it is either me or the Communists,' he declared.

"Dr. Yergan, who spoke at a conference in his office, described this minority group within the Council as 'an unprincipled Communist-led effort to seize the organization, prestige and property.'...

"He defined the group's political purpose as an attempt to swing the Negro vote to the support of Henry A. Wallace. He asserted such a move would be a step backward for Negroes, who have just learned that their political interests in the South were the same as those of the white people of the South. 'If the South votes Democratic, Negroes belong in the party with them,' he added...

"Dr. Yergan promised there would be a showdown with the Communist-led forces. He set the next 'official meeting' of the Council this month."

TO COUNCIL MEMBERS: ANENT THE LAST PARAGRAPH, SEE ROBESON'S LETTER OF APRIL 15.

23-21-48

23-21-20 Gen Conf

April 1, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your telegram and for your very frank and much appreciated letter of March 26.

You will be amused to know that when I read your wire to the meeting, Mrs. Broner, whomeyou may recall as the very persistent Amen-heckler at the previous session, arose to ask, bristling with indignation, "What does he mean by saying,". . .if there are radical changes in the Council'?"

As you will see from the enclosed, we are still not out of the woods but have made some progress—notwithstanding Yergan's spiteful revenge upon me. Please understand that we were not disregarding your wishesin electing you to the Executive Board. We wanted to establish a good executive apparatus. Obviously, if Yergan remains in control there will be no such apparatus except himself. So the whole thing, for all of us, is conditional upon his being ousted from authority.

You may be receiving an inquiry about me from the United Nations. I have applied for a research post in the Trusteeship Division there and I took the liberty of naming you as a reference. I would much prefer to stay with the Council if I can — but I have to earn a living somehow, and I definitely don't want to return to teaching.

I trust your tour has been enjoyable. I shall look forward to seeing you when you return to the city.

Sincerely yours,

Alphaeus

Alphaeus Hunton

April 2, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This is to inform you that there will be a meeting of the Executive Board of the Council on African Affairs, as constituted at the Council Meeting on March 25, next Tuesday afternoon, April 6, 4 p.m., at the Council office, 23 West 26th Street, New York,. I hope you will be able to be present.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson
Chairman, Council on African Affairs

23 East 89th St

23-21-20

[Council on African Affairs]

African Council

22 East 89th Street
c/o McGee
New York, N.Y.
April 3, 1948

Dr. W. E B. DuBois
c/o Mr. J R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

23-21-5

Dr Dr .DuBois

Thanks for the confidence shown by your assigning me your proxy vote for the March 25th meeting of the African Council.

You have received the reports on what happened at the meeting and subsequent developments. It may be necessary shortly to call another special meeting of the Council, in which case I hope you can be present to help resolve the basic problems we face. If you cannot come, I hope you will again entrust me with your proxy.

I shall keep you informed of developments.

Cordially,

Paul Robeson.

PAUL ROBESON

April 5, 1948

Mr. Paul Robeson
23 East 89th Street, c/o McGee
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Robeson:

I have your letter of April 2 to Dr. DuBois, informing him of the meeting of the Executive Board of the Council on African Affairs on April 6. This is to inform you that the Doctor is not due to return to New York until about April 15. However, I shall bring your notice to his attention when he arrives.

I hope you were able to talk with the young man and lady from Palestine. Alpheus Hunton was to have contacted you about them. I know that a meeting with you would have given them encouragement. Please accept my thanks for whatever you did in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, APRIL 6, 1948]

From: Paul Robeson, Chairman of the
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
(on behalf of the Executive Board of the Council)

New York, April 6, 1948 — The Executive Board of the Council on African Affairs today reaffirmed the Councilsprimary interest in supporting the fight for the liberation of the African peoples, and condemned Dr. Max Yergan, Director, for seeking to distort this fact by resort to public red-baiting in an effort to cover up his own retreat from genuine struggle on behalf of African freedom and against imperialist oppression.

The full statement issued by the Executive Board follows:

"Yesterday's statement to the press by Dr. Max Yergan, Director of the Council on African Affairs, is so replete with errors and distortions that, in the interests of the Council's work for the peoples of Africa, we are impelled to make the following public declaration of the real issues which confront the organization.

"1. Chairman Paul Robeson and a majority of the members present at the March 25th meeting of the Council voted to condemn the imperialist foreign policy of the United States which is now supporting an intensified drive to exploit, and hence further oppress, the peoples of Africa. For reasons of his own, and quite in contrast to his former position, Dr. Yergan is now unwilling to challenge the imperialist policy of the U.S. State Department. He tries to hide his retreat by recourse to the thread-bare device of yelling "Communist".

"2. Dr. Yergan's claim that an effort is being made to have the Council on African Affairs endorse the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace is completely contrary to the facts. No such proposal whatever, either directly or indirectly, has been made at a Council meeting or by any officer of the Council.

"Moreover, Dr. Yergan's listing of several Council members as belonging to a so-called 'anti-Third Party bloc' was entirely unwarranted, and has already been denounced by certain of the members named.

"Further, we can but express amazement at the assertion attributed to Dr. Yergan by the New York Times, to wit — 'If the South votes Democratic, Negroes belong in the party with them.' But his views in this matter we leave to him.

"3. Another issue before the Council concerns certain serious mismanagement of financial affairs by the Director. The facts in this matter were fully established at the recent meeting of the Council; and in the light thereof, the membership voted to censure the Director sharply.

'4. Still another issue concerns the fact that, in the past, the Council has been run by the Director as a one-man enterprise. The recent meeting voted

83-21-79

(a) to vest control of the Council's property at 23 west 26th street in a committee of three trustees, (b) to create a functioning Executive Board of ~~#7##~~ eleven members, including officers, and (c) to institute several other reforms to the end of more democratic procedures. Dr. Yergan resists all of these changes.

"5. Dr. Yergan's statements concerning what happened at the March 25th meeting of the Council represent complete distortions. In this connection, the following facts should be noted:

(a). The members present, together with valid proxies, constituted a majority of the membership, and hence a quorum.

(b) Dr. Yergan attempted to use a number of proxies assigned to him for previous meetings of the Council, several of which were known to have been revoked and assigned to Mr. Robeson for the March 25th meeting. The members present voted to honor only proxies specifically authorized for use at the March 25th meeting.

(c) When it became clear that the members present would vote to censure the Director for proved mismanagement of financial affairs, Dr. Yergan and several of his supporters walked out of the meeting.

"6. The Executive Committee sharply condemns the Director for his summary discharge of Dr. W. A. Hunton, Educational Director, the day after the recent Council meeting. Such treatment of one of the Council's most valuable officials can be interpreted only in terms of narrow, factional persecution.

"7. The Executive Committee notes Dr. Yergan's statement to the press that he intends to call another meeting of the Council. Such a meeting can legally be called only with the approval of the Executive Committee.

"8. The Executive Committee deplores the disruptive tactics of the Director, and calls upon all members and friends to unite in furthering the real purposes of the organization — to strengthen the fight for the liberation of the peoples of Africa who are now threatened by intensified imperialist exploitation and oppression."

23-21-60

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

April 7, 1948

NOTICE

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

The adjourned session of the February 2, 1948 annual meeting of the Council on African Affairs will be held on April 21, 1948 at 4:30 p.m. at the office of the Council, 23 W. 26th Street, New York, New York. The agenda will consist of the unfinished business of the February 2, 1948 meeting.

Executive Director

MY:gj

Draft copy to be sent

New York, N. Y.

April 7th, 1948

Dr. Max Yergan
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

23-21-14

Sir:

I write in connection with your summary and extra-ordinary dismissal of Dr. W. A. Hunton as educational director of the Council on African Affairs.

You must know, as I certainly do, that to Dr. Hunton more than to any other individual is due whatever effective work the Council on African Affairs may have to its credit. As chairman of that Council and on behalf of its executive committee I hereby register my most vigorous objection to your high-handed and positively indecent act in attempting to sever, without notice or consultation of any kind, Dr. Hunton's official connection with the Council.

Very truly yours,

Paul Robeson
Chairman
Council on African Affairs

DRAFT COPY OF LETTER TO BE SENT YERGAN

22 East 89th Street (c/o McGee)
New York, New York
April 7, 1948

Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director
Council on African Affairs
25 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Sir:

At its meeting on April 6 the Executive Board of the Council on African Affairs considered the circumstances relating to the present offices and other business matters relating to the Council, and reached the following conclusions which the Board herewith conveys to you:

1. With the Council now considerably in arrears on its rent for the office space occupied, it appears desirable that the organization should economize, at least temporarily, on its rent by reducing the space occupied from five rooms and foyer (entire second floor) to the foyer and the two rooms adjacent thereto. This reduction in office space is especially justified in view of the fact that:

   a) Since the dismissal of Dr. Hunton's secretary in mid-February only two rooms, your own office and Dr. Hunton's (up to March 25 when you terminated his services), and the foyer have been occupied, the other rooms being used only for storing supplies and records of the Council;

   b) The present inactivity of the Council does not warrant the retention of the office space now rented.

2. For the same reasons just cited, and alsoto provide funds to meet outstanding obligations, such as unpaid rent and salaries, it appears desirable that steps should be taken at once to liquidate the Council's share of ownership of the building at 25 West 26th Street.

3. In this connection the Executive Board requests that you turn over to it all documents and records you may have relating to the property partnership so that they may be placed in the hands of those persons elected at the March 25 meeting to act as trustees for the Council in this matter.

4. The offices of the Council should be open during business hours to all officers and members of the Council. On the occasion of the Executive Board's meeting on April 6, of which the Executive Director had notice, all rooms of the Council were found locked and no one was in attendance in the foyer, so that it was necessary for the Board to meet in the Library downstairs.

5. The Board requests that you supply it with the audited record of the financial accounts of the Council for the year ended Jan. 31, 1948, and with the estimated budget for the current year.

The Executive Board would appreciate an early reply from you on the matters here referred to. It is recognized that final action in relation to item two will have to be taken by the membership of the Council as a whole, either at a meeting of the Council or by a mail poll of the membership, suitably and jointly arranged for in either case.

Very truly yours,

Paul Robeson
Chairman, Council on African Affairs

23-21-14

Affixed Counsel

April 8, 1948

Mr. Paul Robeson
22 East 89th Street
c/o McGee
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Robeson:

I have received your letter, with the enclosed material. Dr. Du Bois is still out of the city, but I thought that you would want him to see this immediately, so I am forwarding it.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23-21-44

FROM : THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
TO : ALL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

April 15, 1948

Dear Council Member:

In the interest of democratic procedures within the Council and to prevent the organization from being wrecked, we address this urgent appeal to you to notify the Executive Director of the Council at once that you are opposed to the holding of the meeting called for April 21 and want it postponed.

In calling that meeting the Executive Director, Dr. Yergan, for the third time since the annual meeting in February, has acted without consultation with the Chairman or with duly constituted committees of the Council, fixing the time and terms on each occasion to suit his own purposes and to provide for continued use of proxies previously assigned him.

We can only label this conduct as highly reprehensible and dictatorial. Especially is such censure in order in view of the fact that on April 7 the Chairman wrote Dr. Yergan, stating, "Pursuant to our conversation today, will you be sure to consult me before calling the next meeting. We agreed to call it together and it is certainly necessary that this be a joint call."

Dr. Yergan first called a meeting on March 12, at a time when the Chairman was on the West Coast and could not be present. The meeting was postponed following protests to Dr. Yergan from many of the Council members. Dr. Yergan challenges the the decisions duly made at the March 25 meeting, called by him. He now calls another meeting to deal with "the unfinished business of the February 2, 1948 meeting" as though no meeting whatever had been held on March 25 and with the apparent objective of undoing the decisions then reached.

23-21-77

Dr. Yergan may or may not have known that the Chairman has an engagement out of New York on April 21, the date set for the new meeting. But that is only one aspect of an entirely undemocratic and high-handed procedure.

The Executive Board, while maintaining the validity of the conduct and decisions of the March 25 meeting, welcomes the participation of the entire membership of the Council in reviewing the decisions of that meeting.

BUT TO BE FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS MUST BE MET:

1. Time of the new meeting should be agreed upon jointly by the Chairman and the Executive Director, and the notice of the meeting should be signed by both;

2. Only proxies made out specifically for the date set for the meeting should be considered valid;

3. In advance of the meeting, all members should be sent full information regarding the matters of policy, general functioning, and handling of finances, which questions were referred at the February 2 meeting to two working committees, whose reports were read and acted on at the March 25 meeting. (The reports on policy and general functioning, drafted by the active members of the Policy Committee, were mailed to the membership. They were not subscribed to by Dr. Yergan. The reports of the Finance Committee have not yet been sent to members of the Council.)

Furthermore, we are convinced that the new meeting, when called according to the above terms, must deal with another vitally important matter, namely, the recent conduct of the Executive Director, which has been of such a nature as to seriously harm the work and influence of the Council.

At the ~~March~~ 25 meeting, Dr. Yergan, together with all other officers, was re-elected. It was hoped that with the approval of a progressive and forthright statement of policy, the election of a strong Executive Board, and other steps taken at that meeting, the work of the Council could be carried forward successfully.

Since that meeting, however, it has become clear that it is Dr. Yergan himself, rather than his opponents, as alleged, who seeks at any cost to secure undisputed control of the Council. His unscrupulous methods and the political objectives he seeks were both revealed in the widely publicized -- and unauthorized -- statement to the press made by him on April 6 concerning the controversy within the Council.

In that press statement Dr. Yergan evaded the real issues of policy, functioning and finances of the Council, and instead stressed the familiar Communist bogey, at the same time falsely claiming that the Wallace campaign was an issue in the Council controversy, thus providing him an opportunity to assail Negro support of Wallace and to impute a similar stand, sharply repudiated in at least one instance, to several of his supporters in the Council.

In addition, the Executive Director, since the March 25 meeting, has summarily discharged the Educational Director, Dr. Hunton, without consultation or statement of cause. He has refused to meet with this Executive Board. And he has flouted the expressed wishes of the Chairman in giving notice of the April 21 meeting.

23-21-78

<u>To conclude, it is our opinion, because of all the foregoing reasons, that the meeting called for April 21 SHOULD NOT BE HELD; and that a new meeting of the Council should be arranged for on the three-point basis outlined above.</u>

The Executive Board would appreciate your immediate response to these proposals. Only a very short time remains to secure postponement of the meeting on April 21 until such later time as suitable arrangements can be made to have it properly held. We hope you will act promptly toward that end.

We are motivated in this by our compelling desire to have final authority in the Council rest where it belongs -- <u>in the hands of the membership as a whole</u>.

Respectfully submitted,
(signed)
Paul Robeson, Chairman
on behalf of the Executive Board

Address for reply:
Paul Robeson
c/o Hunton
257 Mc Donough Street
Brooklyn 33, New York

<u>Executive Board, Council on African Affairs</u>

Paul Robeson
Max Yergan
Wm. Jay Schieffelin (resigned)
Mrs. Estelle R. Osborne
W. A. Hunton
Herbert Aptheker
Hubert T. Delany (resigned)
W. E. B. Du Bois
Charles Collins
John Hammond, Jr. (resigned)
Dr. Gene Weltfish

OPEN LETTER TO FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS:

The Beeches, Enfield, Conn.
April 17th, 1948

My dear Fellow Members:

I feel the time has come for me to say something about the struggle going on in our Council centering around Max Yergan and Paul Robeson.

More than 10 years ago, in the drawingroom of our flat in London, Max Yergan explained to me his idea of building an organization which would inform Negroes in America (and other people everywhere) about the terrible conditions under which the African People live and work. I had been to Africa myself, had been appalled by these conditions, and agreed that it would be helpful to make them known. I therefore gave him a check for three hundred pounds to help found such an organization, thereby becoming, he said, the first contributing member. I was able to interest Paul Robeson in the idea, and he became an enthusiastic supporter of the work. The Library on Africa which we have collected over the years is now on the shelves of the Council; my African museum collection is there on public view; maps, pictures, and material I collected in Africa in 1946 are also at the Council, for reference use.

So I think, as one of the founders and contributors of the Council, I have the right to some small say in its affairs:

Max Yergan has not—until now—ever challenged the political opinions of Paul Robeson, Alphaeus Hunton, George Marshall, Doxey Wilkerson, Ferdinand Smith, and others in the Council. He, along with the general public, has always known what the political opinions of these men were and are. Knowing full well their opinions, Max Yergan welcomed these men to the Council and made consistent use of them in a great many important ways.

Whether or not some of my fellow members on the Council are Communists is not known to me, nor do I consider it any of my business. I find it surprising that it is now suddenly of such grave concern to Max Yergan, because as a matter of fact, it was in his home on Hamilton Terrace that I first met Earl Browder; this very

well-known Communist was the guest of honor there.

It seems to me this cry of Communism in the Council on African Affairs is a recognizable part of the frightening and very un-American pattern of the cry of Communism in our country: when we bring up the relevant question of a normal, detailed financial report from our Executive Director to the members of our Council, we are met with the irrelevant answer, Communism; when we bring up the normal, relevant questions of American expansion and American intervention abroad, including Africa, we are met with the irrelevant answer, Communism.

In the New York Herald Tribune of April 6th, 1948, Max Yergan is quoted as saying that "he was determined to restore the Council to its true function of enlisting American support for the improvement of conditions among the indigenous population of East, West and South Africa." The word RESTORE here is very important: If the Council has ever been used for any other purpose, Max Yergan himself has so used it, for he has kept the political, financial, and social direction of the Council's affairs exclusively in his own hands, and we have not been able to say as much as we would like about them. This fact is the reason for the present disagreement in our Council.

23-21-47

We Negores are by now accustomed, unfortunately, to name-calling, and are not distracted by it. We have learned to ignore it and to proceed to the solid foundation of facts and truth. In a confused and frightened world, facts and truth form a very solid and comfortable foundation, indeed, and I respectfully suggest that my fellow Council members, together with all those who are interested in the work of the Council, come and stand on this foundation with me.

Yours very sincerely,

Eslanda Robeson

Mrs. Paul Robeson.

[Fragment, 1948]

The following 7 members had revoked all proxies given prior to the meeting of April 21, and hence their votes could not be counted: Leonard Barnes, Earl B. Dickerson, Roscoe Dunjee, Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Rabbi F.M. Isserman, Dr. Alain Locke, and Rev. Wm. B. Spofford, Jr.

The following 6 members had resigned from the Council as of April 21: Judge Hubert T. Delany, Mrs. Mae Wright Downs, John Hammond, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., William Jay Schieffelin, and Channing H. Tobias.

That makes a total of 43 members accounted for. And out of the total membership of the Council on African Affairs that leaves only 28 votes that Dr. Yergan could possibly muster, assuming that we concede the validity of any and all proxies still retained by him on April 21, and assuming also that all remaining 28 members supported his policies, although I know that this is definitely not so.

The membership of the Council on April 21 was 65 persons, 63 of them resident in the United States. The Council's constitution (Article VI) states: "At any meeting of the Council a number of its members equal to a majority of the members of the Council resident in the United States of America shall constitute a quorum." Thus it is perfectly clear that the so-called meeting held on April 21 by Dr. Yergan, having less than 32 members represented, lacked a quorum and any action taken there was invalid.

In closing, I wish again to lay emphasis on what is really important— the urgency of getting on with the work of the Council. All those who are genuinely concerned with the Africans' present-day struggle against imperialism will see to it that our organization no longer delays or falters in its tasks.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson, Chairman
Council on African Affairs

[COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, APRIL 21, 1948]

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

File

Statement authorized at meeting of the Council on African Affairs at 23 West 26th Street, New York, April 21, 1948

New York, April 22-- Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director of the Council on African Affairs, fled from the meeting of the Council he had called yesterday afternoon, without even facing the assembled members. It was the expressed opinion of those present that this action represented "a cowardly evasion" of what threatened to be a decisive defeat for the policies Yergan has recently conveyed to the press.

Paul Robeson, chairman of the Council, and several other members reporting to the Council offices at 23 West 26th Street in New York for the meeting were told by Yergan's secretary that Dr. Yergan was not in and that the meeting would be held in the library downstairs.

23-21-23

After waiting in the library for some time, and the Executive Director having failed to appear, the assembled members proceeded with an informal meeting. They were interrupted when they happened to see Yergan hastening by the library and out of the building.

Robeson and two other members followed after him and stopped him on the side walk to demand an explanation. Dr. Yergan blandly told them that he had been waiting in his office, no one came, and so there was no meeting.

He had apparently been closeted in his office with two of his supporters and his legal counsel, Attorney Andrew Tyler, legal associate of Morris Ernst.. For one by one these individuals came downstairs, passed hurriedly by the library and out of the building, Yergan being the last to leave.

Yergan was reported in the New York Times of April 6 as declaring that there would be "a showdown" with his opponents in the Council at the next "official meeting". He called this meeting for April 21 without the prior knowledge or consent of Chairman Robeson, and refused to agree to a postponement although Robeson had an engagement in Philadelphiawithin two hours of the time the meeting was called for, and although he had previously requested that any call for a new meeting be sent out jointly by the two officers .

Besides the members present, Robeson held proxies for a large number of absentees, several of them Yergan's former supporters. Onesuch proxy was from Dr. R.T. Bokwe, a physician and representative of the Council in South Africa, who cabled Robeson: "Previously unaware of position. Now in full possession of facts and fully authorize you to use my proxy if necessary."

It was the concensus of the members present at the meeting that Yergan deliberately ducked the meeting rather than accept the democratic verdict of the majority of the Council members, who have been irked and alienated by Yergan's efforts to becloud the basic policy, finance, and organizational issues facing the Council by resorting to redbaiting and anti-Wallace propaganda.

Chairman Robeson urged and it was agreed by those present that decisive action should be taken as quickly as possible to end the present controversy and impasse, and to resume the organization's work on behalf of freedom for the people of Africa.

A LETTER from the CHAIRMAN to ALL MEMBERS of the COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

22 East 89th Street
c/o McGee
New York, New York
April 26, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You have received a report of how I and other members of the Council on African Affairs were dealt with by the Executive Director, Dr. Max Yergan, last Wednesday, April 21, when a meeting of the Council called by Dr. Yergan was to have been held.

I have since learned that Dr. Yergan not only avoided meeting with me and the members who were waiting with me for the meeting to take place in order to finalize decisions on the Council's policy and functioning, but he held a so-called meeting of his own behind locked doors with one or two of his supporters present, "elected" a new set of officers replacing all the present ones except himself, and "dropped" sixteen of those persons who share my views on the Council from membership in the organization. What other action was taken I do not know.

23-21-26

I am sure that you and most of the members of the Council will be disgusted, as I am, by this conduct and attempted coup on the part of the Executive Director, Dr. Yergan. I am sure that all of us are sick of the impasse which has developed in our organization. While the Executive Director tries one manouver after another in his attempt to thwart a democratic resolution of the problems facing the Council, the work of the organization--for three months now--has remained at a stand-still.

We intend to proceed with that work, and you will be hearing shortly from the Executive Board as to plans for doing so. There is important work waiting to be done on behalf of nine million Africans and other non-white people in South Africa, the overwhelming majority of the population, who are barred from participating in the national election taking place there next month; on behalf of Gold Coast Africans, a number of whom have lately been killed and their leaders jailed for demanding their rights; on behalf of the people of Liberia and other sections of Africa where American monopoly interests seek new areas of exploitation and profits. We hope to have your approval of projected programs for dealing with these matters.

In the meantime, let me point out that whatever action was taken at the rump meeting held by Dr. Yergan on April 21 was absolutely illegal, invalid, and of no consequence.

The following 30 members of the Council had either assigned their proxies to me for the April 21 meeting or were present in person, supporting my stand, and were locked out of Dr. Yergen's "meeting" (proxies of those marked with two asterisks had previously been assigned to Dr. Yergan but were transferred to me; among these was the proxy, it will be noted, of the only African member of the Council resident in Africa, Dr. R. T. Bokwe, who cabled me: "Previously unaware of position. Now in full possession of the facts and fully authorize you to use my proxy if necessary."):

Herbert Aptheker	Dean Dixon	W. A. Hunton	Eslanda G. Robeson
Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass	Dr. W.E.B. DuBois	Thos. R. Jones	Ferdinand C. Smith
Leonard Bernstein	Rabbi Max Felshin	**John Latouche	Max Steinberg
**Dr. R. T. Bokwe	Mrs. Edith Field	**Dr. Julian Lewis	Mrs. Mary C. Terrell
Dr. Henry A. Callis	Kumar Goshal	Vito Marcantonio	Dr. Gene Weltfish
Charles Collins	William Gould	George Marshall	Doxey A. Wilkerson
Irving Potash	Lyndon Henry	Thos. Richardson	Paul Robeson
	Rev. B.C.Robeson	Mrs. Estelle Osborne	

[Council on Afr. Affairs] [c. MAY, 1948]

Afr-Am Council

DRAFT OF NIGHT LETTER TO GO TO PROSPECTIVE SPONSORS

Immediate danger that Congress will adjourn without enacting Anti-Poll Tax, FEPC, and Anti-Lynching bills, also without taking other action against rising terrorism and Jim Crow in military and civilian life.

Imperative that Congress act to halt repressive action which behind cloak of war hysteria is increasing nationally against minorities, labor, free elections, and against all who speak for equality, peace and democracy.

23-21-12

Leaders in both major parties have made pledges on Negro rights and civil liberties at this session of Congress. Approaching primaries and elections afford extraordinary opportunity to smash threatened filibuster and secure fulfillment of pledges.

Quick and effective demonstration of people's Negro people's demands for such Congressional action is essential. Will you join in sponsoring and helping organize mass united, non-partisan delegation of Negroes and other progressives on national scale to Washington on./(date) to contact Congressmen, Senators, President, and major party leaders on above issues? Time is decisive. [redacted]

Earnestly desire your suggestions as well as endorsement of this plan. Arrangements for delegation now under way and details will be forwarded. Please wire reply collect by May 10 to Paul Robeson (address).

C O P Y

FOR INFORMATION OF COUNCIL MEMBERS O N L Y.

New York, New York
May 15, 1948

Mr. Paul Robeson, Chairman
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

We, the undersigned members of the Council on African Affairs, hereby file charges of mal-feasance, mis-feasance and non-feasance against Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director of the Council.

In view of the serious nature of these charges, together with the urgent necessity of moving forward with the program of the Council, we request that our charges be considered at an early meeting of the Executive Board, with the view of taking appropriate action. We also request that you notify Dr. Yergan of these charges, requesting him to attend the proposed meeting of the Executive Board for the purpose of presenting whatever explanations or reply he deems appropriate.

The bases of our charges against the Executive Director are as follows:

1. DR. YERGAN, ACTING IN THE CAPACITY OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, HAS FRUSTRATED THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE COUNCIL, AND HAS BROU BROUGHT DISCREDIT TO THE ORGANIZATION IN THE EYES OF THE PUBLIC.

   A. The Council's long-standing purpose of supporting the struggles of the African peoples for freedom and against colonial exploitation has more than once called for sharp criticism of certain policies of the United States Government which were clearly inimical to the welfare of the African peoples. In the past the Executive Director, Dr. Max Yergan, has appeared to be in full accord with this policy of the Council, and has served as its effective spokesman in this regard. During the recent period, however, Dr. Yergan has not only failed to give voice to the Council's concern over the serious threat to the African peoples which inheres in current American foreign policy, but he has actively fought against proposals for such action, seeking to conceal his own political retreat during this period by directing the irresponsible charge of "communism" at those Council members who insist upon the defense of the African peoples against the intensified exploitation and oppression entailed for them under the so-called European Recovery Program ("Marshall Plan").

   B. At a press conference held on the Council's premises on April 5, 1948, the Executive Director, Dr. Yergan, asserted in a statement widely published in the press that the controversy going on in the Council was based upon differences between alleged pro-Wallace and anti-Wallace groups within the mem membership over the question whether the Council should give its support to the Third Party movement. This allegation was completely without foundation, since the issue of Council support for Mr. Wallace's candidacy has never been raised in any Council meeting or proposed by any official of the organization--or, so far as we know, by any member of the Council. This false statement to the press, like the uncalled-for communist-baiting which accompanied it, served but to obscure the fundamental issues of policy and program between the Executive Director and his critics, and to publicize the Council in a highly unfavorable light.

   C. The Executive Director, Dr. Yergan, arranged for a police guard to occupy the premises of the Council during its annual meeting on February 2, 1948, thereby creating the false impression that the external coercion of law enforcement officials is necessary to maintain orderly conduct among Council members. Responsibility for this action, which was accompanied by publicity harmful to the Council, has been denied by Dr. Yergan; but the fact of his responsibility is attested by sworn affidavits presented to the meeting of March 25, 1948.

   D. The effective frustration of the Council's aims and purposes is strikingly evident in the complete absence of any constructive program activity whatever during the past four or five months, although the initiation and conduct of such activity is the primary function the Executive Director is elected-- and paid -- to perform.

83-01-73

II. DR. YERGAN, ACTING IN THE CAPACITY OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, HAS CO-MINGLED COUNCIL FUNDS IN SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNTS WITH HIS PERSONAL FUNDS, AND HAS COMMITTED OTHER SERIOUS ACTS OF MIS-FEASANCE AND NON-FEASANCE IN HIS ADMINISTRATION OF THE FINANCIAL AFFAIRS OF THE COUNCIL.

A. The Executive Director, Dr. Yergan, acting without authorization by the Council or any official body of the Council, mortgaged the organization's property in order to obtain a loan of $5,500 ($5,427 net), and then co-mingled the proceeds from this loan with personal funds in his private bank account. These acts, the facts of which Dr. Yergan admits, were recently described by the majority report of the Council's Finance Committee as having "violated established business practices which prohibit the intermingling of personal funds and organizational funds." On the basis of these same findings the minority report of the Finance Committee characterized the Executive Director as "guilty of breach of trust and misapplication of funds."

B. The financial records of the Council examined by the Finance Committee reveal that the Executive Director, Dr. Yergan, failed during 1947 to send any funds, whatever, to Africa out of contributions totalling $1,882.03 which were received by the Council during that year in response to urgent appeals for funds to be used specifically for African famine relief. On the basis of this finding, the special meeting of the Council on March 25, 1948, voted to censure the Executive Director, pointing out that his non-feasance, if generally known, would seriously undermine public confidence in the integrity of the organization.

23-21-74

C. The financial records of the Council examined by the Finance Committee reveal that during the whole period of the campaign for African famine relief (beginning in December, 1945, and extending through 1947), the Executive Director, Dr. Yergan, actually sent to Africa less than 25 per cent of the $8,918.56 collected, despite published pledges that contributions to the Council's African relief fund would be forwarded to Africa. Moreover, the Executive Director has never made public a complete accounting of the income an amd disbursements incident to the public campaign for African famine relief.

D. The Executive Director, Dr. Yergan, has thus far failed to provide an audited statement of the Council's financial transactions during 1947, although such a statement was specifically requested at the membership meetings of February 2 and March 25, and subsequently by the Executive Board.

III. DR. YERGAN, ACTING IN THE CAPACITY OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, HAS REPEATEDLY FAILED TO CARRY OUT DECISIONS REACHED AT FORMAL MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL, OR HAS DELAYED UNDULY IN IMPLEMENTING SUCH DECISIONS: HE HAS REPEATEDLY FAILED TO UTILIZE OPPORTUNITIES TO RALLY PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE COUNCIL'S PROGRAM; AND HE HAS CONDUCTED THE BUSINESS OF THE COUNCIL IN A ONE-MAN-RULE MANNER, WHOLLY LACKING IN THAT <u>COLLECTIVE</u> PLANNING AND FUNCTIONING SO ESSENTIAL FOR THE EFFECTIVE OPERATION OF SUCH AN ORGANIZATION AS THE COUNCIL.

A. The repeated failure, or undue delay, of Dr. Yergan, Executive Director, in implementing decisions of the Council is evident in the following illustrations:

1. The May, 1944, meeting discussed and authorized enlargement of the membership. Such discussion and authorization were repeated at the meetig in April, 1945. The authorized enlargement of the membership was not carried out until two years later, in 1947.

2. The January, 1946, meeting (and previous meetings) authorized the establishment of branches of the Council in various cities. This decision has never been implemented.

3. The January, 1947, meeting authorized the establishment of a permanent African Relief Committee. This has not been done.

4. The meeting on January 9, 1946, voted to hold the next meeting on May 2, 1946; but the meeting was not held until January 9, 1947. At that time it was voted to hold the next meeting on May 5, 1947; but the meeting date was finally set for February 2, 1948.

B. The repeated failure of Dr. Yergan, Executive Director, to utilize fruitful opportunities to rally public support for the Council's program is evident in the following illustrations, during 1947.

1. Little or nothing was done directly by the Executive Director to rally public support for the cause of Rev. Michael Scott, of South Africa, during his presence here.

2. No public meeting or other action was arranged by the Council for Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, who came here from French Togoland to plead the Ewe Cause before the Trusteeship Council. (He was honored, however, at a meeting in Harlem -- under auspices of another organization.)

3. Except for one conference of Council leaders with Mr. Sayre, U. S. delegate to the U. N., no organizational action program was developed by the Council in relation to the General Assembly meeting in 1947, despite the fact that issues highly relevant to the Council's program were on the agenda of that meeting.

4. Dr. Yergan neglected and failed to bring to the attention of the Council an urgent appeal from South Africa for American aid to the African trade union movement, received by the Council in the early fall of 1947.

C. The non-collective, one-man-rule manner in which Dr. Yergan, Executive Director, has continuously conducted the work of the Council is evident in the following illustrations:

1. The Executive Board authorized by the Council's Constitution has never been brought into being as a functioning body, at least not during the past five years. Decisions of policy and program, during the interim between Council meetings, have been made by the Executive Director.

2. Persons invited to membership on the Council have not been involved in any of its activities. One member, Thos. R. Jones, wrote the Executive Director, in August, 1947, as follows:

> "Several months ago, the Council on African Affairs invited me to become a member of its Council. It was my understanding at that time that the purpose in increasing the membership on the Council was to extend the influence and reach of the Council to wider circles of the American people. I am concerned, therefore, that my acceptance of membership has not been implemented in any way. As you know, I have not been called to any meeting, consulted, nor requested to perform any function to meet the growing oppression of the African people. ."

3. Meetings of the full-time staff have been called very irregularly, sometimes at intervals of months.

4. A series of measures adopted at the meeting of March 25, 1948,--designed to effect regular staff meetings, a functioning Executive Board, more frequent Council meetings, and more democratic operation of the Council generally--has been completely disregarded by the Executive Director.

IV. DR. YERGAN, ACTING IN THE CAPACITY OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, HAS RECENTLY RESORTED TO CRUDE, DISRUPTIVE, HIGH-HANDED, THOROUGHLY ILLEGAL METHODS WITH OBVIOUS INTENT TO THWART THE DEMOCRATICALLY EXPRESSED WILL OF THE MEMBERSHIP AND TO ENTRENCH HIMSELF AS THE EFFECTIVE "RULER" OF THE COUNCIL.

A. When it became clear that the meeting of March 25, 1948 was about to adopt a formal vote of censure of the Executive Director because of his serious irregularities in the handling of Council finances, Dr. Yergan, together with several of his supporters, walked out of the meeting, in an obvious attempt to disrupt its proceedings.

B. On March 26, 1948, the Executive Director, Dr. Yergan, summarily discharged Dr. W. A. Hunton, Educational Director and a duly elected member of the Council--without notice and without charges--in obvious retaliation for Dr. Hunton's openly expressed criticisms of the Executive Director within Council circles. Within two hours after this summary discharge, during Dr. Hunton's absence from the building, the lock on the door to his office was changed, and he has not been allowed to recover his personal property. Moreover, letters to the Executive Director from the Council's Chairman and Executive Board, challenging these actions, have not been acknowledged by Dr. Yergan,

C. Although the Executive Director, Dr. Yergan, was notified of Executive Board meetings held on April 6 and April 23, he failed to attend these meetings ; and the meeting of April 6 could not be held in the Council office, as scheduled, because the door was locked.

D. The Executive Director, Dr. Yergan, called a Council meeting for April 21, without advising Mr. Paul Robeson, Chairman, despite the fact that Dr. Yergan had agreed that the time of the meeting would be fixed in consultation with the Chairman. The date and time set for the meeting were such as to permit the Chairman to be present a maximum of thirty minutes, prior to catching a train for an out-of-town engagement.

E. When Mr. Robeson, Chairman, together with nine other members, arrived at Dr. Yergan's office shortly before 4:30 p.m. on April 21 (the time and place announced for the meeting), they found the door locked. Dr. Yergan's Secretary, in the reception hall outside, told them Dr. Yergan was not around, and that the meeting was to be held in the library downstairs.

These ten members, after waiting some minutes for Dr. Yergan, assembled for informal discussion in the library. Within ten or fifteen minutes, they observed Dr. Yergan's attorney and two of his supporters in the Council leave the building, followed almost immediately Dr. Yergan, himself. When the Chairman and two Council members went out to the street to demand an explanation from the Executive Secretary, he declared that no Council members came at the appointed time and hence there was no meeting.

23-21-76

F. Several days after this abortive April 21 meeting, the Executive Director, Dr. Yergan, wired Chairman Paul Robeson to the effect that at an alleged meeting of the Council at 4:30 p.m. on April 21, new officers were "elected" to fill the posts of Chairman, Vice Chairman and Treasurer, and that twenty-three members of the Council (critics of Dr. Yergan's policies and official behavior) were "dropped" from membership. Presumably, this high-handed action was taken by Dr. Yergan and two other Council members, meeting behind locked doors, while the Chairman and nine other members (carrying proxies for an <u>additional</u> twenty members) were physically barred from participation. It has been established that, considering recorded revocations and reallocation of proxies assigned to Dr. Yergan for previous meetings of the Council, it was mathematically impossible for the Executive Director's rump meeting of April 21 to have a legal quorum.

These are the bases for our charges of mal-feasance, mis-feasance and non-feasance, against Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director of the Council on African Affairs, and in the light of which we request appropriate action at an early meeting of the Executive Board. For your convenience in transmitting these charges to Dr. Yergan, we enclose a carbon copy to this letter.

We request also that the members of the Council be advised of our action in filing these charges.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) John Latouche

(signed) Mary Church Terrell

(signed) Henry Arthur Callis

(signatures on the original copy addressed to the Chairman)

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
23 West 26th Street
New York City

May 19, 1948

TO MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Dear Colleague:

23-21-11

You have received copies of formal charges filed by three members of the Council against Dr. Max Yergan, Executive Director.

Several members of the Executive Board have written and called me suggesting that, because of the seriousness of these charges and the urgency of the issue they pose, the Executive Board should not delay until its regular meeting next month to consider this matter, but should hold a special meeting for this purpose during the coming week.

Accordingly, we are calling a special Board meeting for Wednesday, May 26, at the Council's office at 4:00 P.M. Dr. Yergan has been asked to be present.

I am sure I need not impress you with the importance of your making whatever arrangements are necessary to attend next Wednesday's meeting of the Executive Board. } PLEASE!

Sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson, Chairman

To: Mr. Paul Robeson
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

May 26, 1948

23-21-10

Unfortunately, I am unable to be present at the meeting of the Council today. However, this memorandum is to confirm my support of the charges made in the letter sent to Council members only on and dated May 15, 1948, and signed by John Latouche, Mary Church Terrell, and Henry Arthur Callis, and addressed to the Chairman, Mr. Paul Robeson.

This memorandum is, also, to convey my vote to Mr. Robeson for this meeting.

W. E. B. DuBois

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

23 West 26th St.

New York, N.Y.

Dear Council Member:

At the direction of the Executive Board of the Council on African Affairs I am forwarding to you copies of:

1) Resolution of the Executive Board, adopted May 26, 1948, on the case of Dr. Max Yergan, arising from the statement of charges brought against him by three members of the Council, a copy of which statement of charges you have previously received;

2) Statement adopted by the Executive Board, May 26, 1948, on carrying forward the work of the Council.

The Executive Board considered the decisions contained in its resolution fully warranted on the basis of the evidence supporting the charges brought against Dr. Yergan.

The membership of the Council as a whole will be called upon to make the final decision in the matter of Dr. Yergan's relation to the Council on African Affairs. Pending that decision the Executive Board considered it essential to the welfare of the organization that Dr. Yergan be immediately suspended from his position as Executive Director, and his occupancy of the Council's premises and his control of the Council's records and property be immediately terminated, inasmuch as he has completely ignored the decisions duly made at the membership meeting of the Council on African Affairs held March 25, 1948, with respect to election of officers, policy, and functioning of the organization; and, in addition, attempted to nullify these decisions by means of apparent trickery and fraud at the rump meeting held by him on May 21, at which only a minority of the members of the Council were permitted representation.

The Executive Board hopes that its action on May 26 may mark the beginning of the Council's effective functioning once more, and that the Board and officers will have the full support and cooperation of all members of the Council in seeking to carry forward the organization's work.

Very truly yours,

W. A. Hunton

W. A. Hunton, Secretary
for the Chairman and the Executive Board

WAH/mw

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
23 West 26th Street
New York City

May 26, 1948

Resolution of the Executive Board

on the Case of Dr. Max Yergan

WHEREAS, on May 15, 1948, three members of the Council on African Affairs filed with the Chairman of the Council, Paul Robeson, a formal statement of charges against the Executive Director of the Council, Max Yergan, with the request that a copy of the same be forwarded to Dr. Yergan and be made known to the membership, and further, that said charges be considered at an early meeting of the Executive Board, with the view of taking appropriate action"; and

WHEREAS, on May 19, 1948, a copy of this statement of charges was forwarded to Max Yergan by Chairman Paul Robeson, with an accompanying letter requesting Dr. Yergan to appear at a meeting of the Executive Board to be held at the office of the Executive Board to be held at the office of the Council on Wednesday, May 26, at 4:00 P. M. (three members of the Executive Board having requested the Chairman to call a special meeting of the Board during the week of May 24, rather than waiting for the regular meeting in June, in view of the urgency of the matter to be considered); and

23-21-83

WHEREAS, the aforementioned statement of charges was duly considered by the Executive Board at its meeting on May 26, 1948, a quorum being present, and the meeting being held elsewhere in the building (Dr. Yergan having refused to open his office for the meeting); and

WHEREAS, the Executive Director, Max Yergan, failed to appear at the meeting on May 26, 1948, and also failed to send to the Executive Board any answer to the charges or explanation of his absence;

THEREFORE, by unanimous vote of the Executive Board at its meeting on May 26, 1948,

Be It Resolved:

1. That all of the charges against the Executive Director, Max Yergan, contained in the statement filed with the chairman, Paul Robeson, on May 15, 1948, by three members of the Council are sustained by the evidence; and therefore:

2. That as of May 26, 1948, Max Yergan be suspended, without salary, from the office of Executive Director of the Council on African Affairs, and also from membership on the Executive Board of the Council;

3. That Dr. Yergan forthwith relinquish to Dr. W. A. Hunton, Secretary of the Council, all financial and other records of the Council on African Affairs, together with all property of the Council; and further, that Dr. Yergan cease to occupy the premises of the Council as of May 27, 1948, and

4. That the Executive Board recommend to the membership of the Council on African Affairs that the services of Max Yergan as Executive Director be formally terminated, and that this recommendation be acted upon at the next regular meeting of the membership of the Council on African Affairs.

CERTIFIED BY:

_____
Chairman

_____
Secretary

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Statement adopted by the Executive Board at its Meeting on May 26, 1948, concerning Carrying Forward the Work of the Council

Current happenings of great importance in Africa demand that the Council's total failure to address itself to these events for almost four months be immediately ended. There is no other organization in the United States focusing public attention upon the wanton imperialistic exploitation currently practiced in Africa. There is no other organization working to make Americans conscious of why and how they must ally themselves with the African people in order to win the common goals of democracy, security, and peace.

These tasks are the direct responsibility of the Council on African Affairs, and they must be fulfilled -- without further delay.

The Executive Board of the Council on African Affairs therefore proposes that:

1. the publication of NEW AFRICA, issuance of news releases, and other functions under the direction of the Educational Director, Dr. W.A. Hunton, shall be resumed at once;

2. appropriate action shall be taken to deal with current African developments, including the taking of immediate steps to protest and give wide publicity to the grossly undemocratic for-whites-only elections held in the Union of South Africa on May 26th;

3. information shall be disseminated through pamphlets, public meetings, and other media, concerning the role of the United States itself in Africa today, through the expanding operations of American corporations there and through the important consequences for Africa of the Marshall-Truman program for Western Europe;

4. members and friends of the Council shall be asked to make contributions toward carrying forward these and similar activities. Funds are needed NOW to get the work going. Checks should be addressed to the Treasurer, Mrs. Estelle M. Osborne, and made payable to the Council on African Affairs.

(signed) Paul Robeson, Chairman

W. A. Hunton, Secretary

May 26, 1948

23-21-12

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, INC.

23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.
June 11, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The regular monthly meeting of the Executive Board of the Council will be held Monday, June 14, 1948, at 4:00 p.m. in the Library of the Council.

Agenda: Developments since meeting of May 26th
Immediate program of work
Fund raising

The Chairman, Paul Robeson, sincerely hopes that it will be possible for you to attend this meeting.

Very truly yours,

Alphaeus Hunton

W. A. Hunton, Secretary

Please telephone MU 6-6860 Monday whether you will be present.

23-21-9

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

PAUL ROBESON
Chairman

ESTELLE M. OSBORNE
Treasurer

W. A. HUNTON
Secretary

HERBERT APTHEKER
CHARLES COLLINS
W. E. B. DU BOIS
GENE WELTFISH
Members
Executive Board

23-37-31

June 29, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In view of the distortions which Dr. Max Yergan continues to spread in the newspapers about the internal problems of the Council on African Affairs, it is the opinion of the Chairman and Secretary that the Executive Board should immediately release to the press the full statement of charges on the basis of which Dr. Yergan was suspended from the post of Director last month.

Please let me know at once whether you agree to our taking this action.

OK
DWS.BD

Cordially,

W. A. Hunton

W. A. Hunton, Secretary

P.S. - Perhaps you read in the papers about Dr. Yergan's latest stunt, having three persons arrested for alleged assault after they refused to let him break down the door to the Council office. Yesterday Magistrate John E. Prendergast, in Lower Manhattan Court, threw the charges out of court as unfounded.

W.A.H.

June 30, 1948

Dr. W. A. Hunton
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Hunton:

I agree to your taking the action mentioned in your letter to me of June 29.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:s

COURT FREES 3 MEN ACCUSED BY YERGAN

African Council

Magistrate John E. Prendergast ruled yesterday in Lower Manhattan Court that "a prima facie case has not been made out" against three men charged with simple assault by Dr. Max Yergan, executive director of the Council on African Affairs.

The men are Dr. Doxey Wilkerson, 43 years old, who told the court he was director of faculty and curriculum at the Jefferson School of Social Science; Harold Cammer, 39, counsel for the left-wing group in the African Affairs Council, and Thomas Lloyd, 59, of 890 Bryant Avenue, who said he had been hired as a guard by the group opposing Dr. Yergan.

The incident resulting in the arrests took place June 19 in the building housing the council at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, Dr. Yergan said. Differences between Dr. Yergan and the others had arisen as a result of a breach between the left-wing and right-wing factions in the council.

In dismissing the case, Magistrate Prendergast commended both plaintiff and defendants for "straightforward" testimony, adding: "Both sides appear to be men of some station in life and in the community." The three men then announced through their counsel that they would not file countercharges of assault against Dr. Yergan.

23C-37-26

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

PAUL ROBESON
Chairman

ESTELLE M. OSBORNE
Treasurer

W. A. HUNTON
Secretary

HERBERT APTHEKER
CHARLES COLLINS
W. E. B. DU BOIS
GENE WELTFISH
Members
Executive Board

July 26, 1948

Dear Council Member:

During recent weeks you have received copies of the Council's analysis of the threatening political situation in South Africa since the Malan-Nationalist victory there, and of the statement presented by the Council's secretary to the Platform Committee of the Progressive Party during its Convention in Philadelphia. Several hundred copies of both these statements were mailed to the press and to members, subscribers, and associates of the Council in the United States, Europe, Africa, and elsewhere abroad.

We are now anxious to proceed with other phases of the Council's program, so as to enlist the active support of the Negro people and labor and progressive forces in this country on the side of the Africans' struggle against their oppressors.

To this end, our Chairman, Paul Robeson, has requested that arrangements be made for a special enlarged Executive Board meeting to be held this Friday, July 30th, at 4 P.M. at the Council's library, 23 West 26th Street. You are invited to attend this meeting, which will consider the following points:

1. Plans for a public meeting to be held soon in Harlem,

2. Plans for a new campaign of promoting direct aid to the people of Africa,

3. Fund-raising for the Council's work.

We would like you not only to attend the meeting on Friday and join in discussing these matters, but also to lend a hand in carrying through the plans agreed upon. It is only in this way that we can begin to develop a strong collective and democratic <u>active</u> leadership at the helm of the Council's program.

Please, therefore, make arrangements to be present with us on Friday.

Sincerely yours,

Alphaeus

W. A. Hunton
Secretary

Phone - Mu 6-6860
or write - 257 McDonough St., Brooklyn, N.Y.

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COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

August 30, 1948

PAUL ROBESON
Chairman

ESTELLE M. OSBORNE
Treasurer

W. A. HUNTON
Secretary

HERBERT APTHEKER
CHARLES COLLINS
W. E. B. DU BOIS
GENE WELTFISH
Members
Executive Board

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I do not think I need to stress the urgency of keeping the Council functioning at the present time. You are aware of this, I believe, from the contents of the series of releases you have been receiving from the Council dealing with the new economic squeeze being applied to the African people and their resources, the role of American business and foreign policy in this regard, the question of the disposition of the former Italian colonies, the sharpening racial tensions in South Africa and the growing spirit of revolt throughout the continent.

The Council should play a prominent part--what other agency will?--in providing information, shaping public opinion, and influencing government policy in relation to these matters. But without funds it cannot do so; indeed, it cannot function at all.

I am addressing this urgent appeal to you to lend a hand, as liberally as possible, in helping the Council weather the financial crisis which it now faces.

23-21-10

It has been a matter of more than concern for me that the Council's Secretary, Dr. Hunton, has not only been without salary for several months, but has been compelled to attend to the business and correspondence of the Council and issue its releases, each of which represents a mailing of about 500, without secretarial or clerical assistance of any kind.

In addition to the operational expenses of the Council, there is a financial obligation which has been incurred as a result of the continuing efforts of Dr. Yergan to regain control of the office and property of the Council even though he has long since ceased to have any concern for the work of the Organization and has attempted in every possible way to disrupt it. The enforcement of the decisions duly made by the membership in removing him as trustee for the Council in relation to property held in partnership, and by the Executive Board in suspending him from the office of Executive Director, has entailed legal expenses and the payment of guards to prevent his re-entry by force into the Council's office.

I assure you that despite these difficulties there is not the slightest doubt in my mind that the Council can and must continue with its work. I shall personally do my share toward seeing that funds are forthcoming for this work, and as Chairman I intend to fulfill all other responsibilities toward seeing that the Council does its job well. I ask you to join me in this endeavor.

Kindly make checks payable personally to Estelle M. Osborne. A return envelope is enclosed for your convenience. Contributions will be promptly acknowledged.

Faithfully yours,

Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson

Copy [COUNCIL on AFR. AFFAIRS]

42-6c-30

September 20, 1948

Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn, President
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Spingarn:

We urge the National Board of the N.A.A.C.P. to reconsider and rescind its decision to discharge Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, effective at the end of this year.

The fundamental issue in this case is clearly this: Is the N.A.A.C.P. to be wedded, even though by indirect means, to the imperialist bi-partisan foreign policy of our Government? On this question the published statement of Dr. DuBois sets forth a position warranting the full support of all members and friends of this great institution, which cannot continue to serve the interests of the Negro people if it tails along with the current imperialist foreign policy of the Truman administration.

A related issue in this case, also vital to the effectiveness of the N.A.A.C.P., is this: Shall the basic policy of the organization be determined democratically by the membership? On this question, also, it is clear that the position of Dr. DuBois deserves endorsement by all supporters of the N.A.A.C.P.

These judgments reflectthe concensus of opinion as expressed at the semi-annual meeting of the Council on African Affairs, held September 17, 1948. In conveying them to you, we do not consider ourselves as interfering in the strictly intra-organizational matters of the N,A.A.C.P. That organization, like Dr. DuBois, one of its founde s and most distinguished leaders, belongs to the whole Negro people.

It is because of our deep need of and concern for an independent and progressive N.A.A.C.P. that we urge the National Board to reconsider its ill-advised action in severing the tenure of Dr. DuBois.

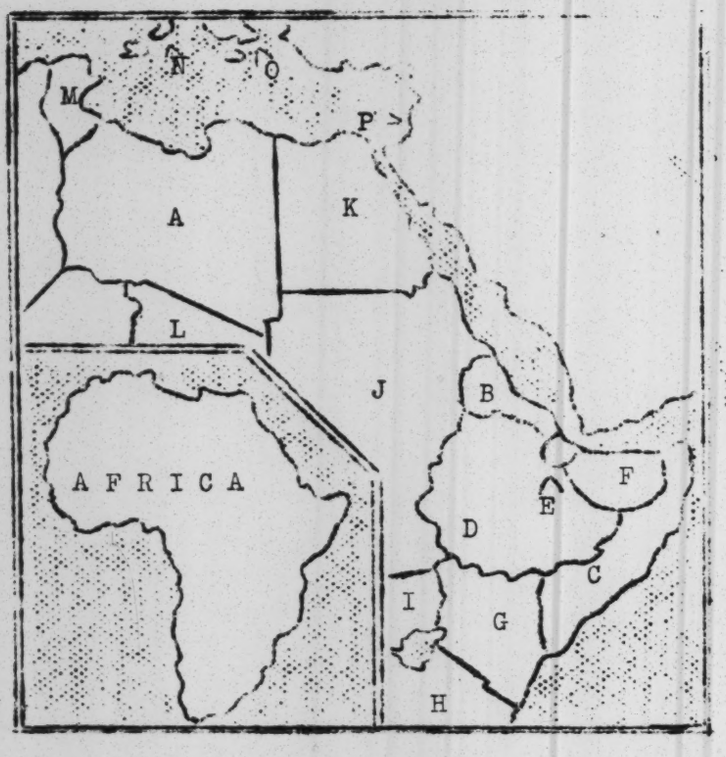
Sincerely yours,
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

By:.....
W. A. Huntom, Secretary

(COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
SEPT. 28, 1948)

Action Appeal SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.
Telephone: MUrray Hill 3-7622



SUPPORT THIS PETITION
DEMAND A JUST U.N. DECISION
ON THE FORMER ITALIAN COLONIES

Send letters endorsing this petition and the proposal here made to:
1. U.S. Mission to the United Nations
c/o Secretary-General's Office to be forwarded to Paris
2 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.
2. The State Department
Washington 25, D.C.
Please inform us of your action.

.....

Key to Map

A-Libya	I-Uganda (Br.)
B-Eritrea	J-Ang-Eg. Sudan
C-Ital. Somaliland	K-Egypt
D-Ethiopia	L-Fr.Eq. Africa
E-Fr. Somaliland	M-Tunisia
F-Br. Somaliland	N-Italy
G-Kenya (British)	O-Greece
H-Tanganyika (Br.)	P-Palestine

23-21-84

PETITION TO THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS concerning THE DISPOSITION OF LIBYA, ERITREA, AND ITALIAN SOMALILAND

As American citizens concerned with the speedy achievement of self-determination and freedom for all African peoples and with the early solution of the question of the former Italian colonies in Africa in such a manner as to accomplish that objective of freedom and at the same time promote international harmony and peace, WE PETITION THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, NOW MEETING IN PARIS, TO:

1. AVOID ANY FURTHER DELAY IN THE SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM

For three years, since 1945, the problem has been discussed and rediscussed by the representatives of the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. Now that no joint decision has been reached and the matter has been referred to the United Nations, the three western powers are reported desirous of waiting still another year before trying to reach a decision covering all three territories.

Why? Because they want to retain the present status quo in the area, which means continued British military administration along with the maintenance of such air bases as the U.S. may ask for--in short, continued Anglo-American domination of the Mediterranean, including Greece and Turkey, our Marshall Plan step-children, and of the oil-rich and strife-torn Middle East.

Further delay on the Italian colonies decision, solely for the purpose of military advantage to the western powers, is assuredly not designed to bridge

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the widening gulf between those powers and the Soviet Union. It will have the contrary effect.

Moreover, it will mean further delay in setting the native peoples of these areas upon the path of economic, social and political advancement. The present British Military Administration, by its own admission, is not concerned with any long-range development programs for the people and areas under consideration. The B.M.A., in fact, has been marked by frequent violent disorders in all three territories because of the effort to suppress popular nationalist expression.

There is every reason, therefore, to press for a satisfactory decision on the former Italian colonies at the current session of the U.N. General Assembly.

2. SECURE A PRO-UNITED NATIONS AND NOT A PRO-BRITISH SOLUTION

Following the discussion on the Italian African colonies at the London Conference of Foreign Ministers in 1945, then Secretary of State Byrnes reported that the U.S. had proposed a "truly international administration directly responsible to the United Nations with a view to the attainment of the greatest degree of independence of the inhabitants of the two of the colonies at the end of ten years and independence for the people of a third colony (Somaliland) at as early a date as possible... It was our view that the object of a trusteeship should be to promote the self-government of the people of a colony and not to enrich a trustee or to increase its economic or its military power."

23-21-45

At the present time the Soviet Union supports this proposal, amending it so that there will be a time limit on the trusteeship for Somaliland as well as for Libya and Eritrea. But the United States, unfortunately, has shifted its stand.

The United States government no longer favors the plan of international administration of the former Italian colonies under U.N. trusteeship--presumably because it would enable the Soviet Union to have some voice in the matter of objectives and methods of administration. The U.S. government no longer wants any time limit on the duration of the trusteeships, having come around to the point of view of the British who always prefer to promise self-government to Africans in the indefinite future.

The U.S. government now supports the British claim for a trusteeship rule over Cyrenaica, eastern section of Libya, and for adding a slice of Italian Somaliland to British Somaliland and granting other economic concessions which would bring Italian Somaliland, even though under Italian trusteeship administration, actually under British influence.

Mr. Byrnes in 1945 said that a trusteeship should not be for the purpose of increasing the economic or military power of the trustee. But the question of strategic bases is obviously the primary if not sole consideration of both the British and American proposals concerning the Italian colonies.

According to the U.N. Charter trusteeships over strategic bases come under the jurisdiction of the Security Council, where all of the major powers have an

equal voice. This is the appropriate way to deal with these strategic areas if what we are aiming at is truly international accord and peace.

3. RETURN ERITREA TO ETHIOPIA, BUT TO AN ETHIOPIA FREE OF BRITISH, AMERICAN, OR OTHER FOREIGN DOMINATION

Ethiopia is the only nation that has any claim, other than the claim of imperialist conquest, to any of the territiries in dispute, although one would never gues this from the tenor of the general discussions of the problem.

The Ethiopian Government declares that "the wishes of the inhabitants based on 3,000 years of cultural and political union with Ethiopia, the political and economic welfare and advancement of the Eritreans and the interests of stability, peace and security in East Africa call for the return of Eritrea to Ethiopia." There are no known resources of value in Eritrea, and the soil is poor. But the territory is essential to Ethiopia for her economic development and for her protection from foreign aggression. It is the gateway for Ethiopian trade with the outside world. And it is the place from which foreign invaders have thrice since 1882 launched their attacks upon Ethiopia. Is it any wonder that Emperor Haile Selassie insists upon the union of Eritrea with his country?

The current proposal, at least of the Americans and French, is to give some part of Eritrea back to Ethiopia, permitting a corridor to the Red Sea, and a port (Assab) of dubious value, but with the disposition of the remainder of the territory, which includes the much superior port of Massawa, still in doubt. There has already been too much indiscriminate carving up of African territories by the European powers. Why not ALL of Eritrea, if not also Somaliland, for Ethiopia? They belong to her.

But it must be an independent and sovereign Ethiopia, not a British and/or American dominated Ethiopia, which rules in East Africa. British troops must get out of the Ogaden Province of Ethiopia--immediately. The country must be developed economically, not merely exploited for oil or other raw material exports. The recent advancements toward democratic government must be carried forward and the large number of foreign advisers and officials dispensed with.

WE URGE, IN CONCLUSION, THAT THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS IN DEALING WITH THE QUESTION OF THE FORMER AFRICAN ITALIAN COLONIES REMEMBER THAT AFRICA BELONGS TO THE AFRICANS, AND THAT THE PARAMOUNT CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE THE NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLES OF LIBYA, ERITREA, AND SOMALILAND, OF THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE, AND OF THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA IN GENERAL.

Issued by the Council on African Affairs, September 28, 1948.

1948

Merle Fainsod

PETITION TO THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS
concerning
THE DISPOSITION OF LIBYA, ERITREA, AND ITALIAN SOMALILAND

As American citizens concerned with the speedy acievement of self-determination and freedom for all African peoples and with the early solution of the question of the former Italian colonies in East Africa in such a manner as to accomplish that objective of freedom and at the same time promote international harmony and peace, WE PETITION THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, NOW MEETING IN PARIS, TO:

1. AVOID ANY FURTHER DELAY IN THE SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM

For three years, since 1945, the problem has been discussed and rediscussed by the representatives of the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. Now that no joint decision has been reached and the matter has been referred to the United Nations, the three western powers are reported desirous of waiting still another year before trying to reach a decision covering all three territories.

35-2-321

Why? Because they want to retain the present status quo in the area, which means continued British military administration along with the maintenance of such air bases as the U.S. may ask for--in short, continued Anglo-American domination of the Mediterranean, including Greece and Turkey, our Marshall Plan step-children, and of the oil-rich and strife-torn Middle East.

Further delay on the Italian colonies decision, solely for the purpose of military advatage to the western powers, is assuredly not designed to less en the widening gapy of understanding between those powers and the Soviet Union. It will have the contrary effect.

Moreover, it will mean further delay in setting the native peoples of these areas upon the path of economic, social and political advancement. The present British military administration is self-admittedly not concerned with any long-range development programs for the people and areas under consideration. The B.M.A., in fact, has been marked by frequent violent disorders in all three territories because of the effort to suppress popular nationalist expression.

There is every reason, therefore, to press for a satisfactory decision on the former Italian colonies at the current session of the U.N. General Assembly.

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At the present time the Soviet Union supports this identitsal proposal. But the United States, unfortunately, has shifted its stand.

The United States government no longer favors the plans of international administration of the former Italian colonies under U.N. trusteeship--presumably because it would enable the Soviet Union to have some voice in the matter of objectives and methods of administration. The U.S. government no longer wants any time limit on the duration of the trusteeships, having come around to the point of view of the British who always prefer to promise self-government to Africans in the indefinite future.

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35-2-382

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W. E. B. DU-Bois

[COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, c DEC 1948]

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

PROPOSED OPERATIONAL EXPENSE BUDGET

based on perspective of immediate launching of membership-organization drive and holding of 6 meetings in selected cities within period December 15 - January 31

DECEMBER, 1948

Salary, Council Secretary @ $65 a week.....	$260.00	
Salary, Organization Director @ $65 a week.....	260.00	
Salary, Full-time secretary @ $50 a week.....	200.00	
Salary, ½-time secretary @ $25 a week.....	100.00	
Telephone & Telegraph.....	30.00	
Postage	80.00	
Stationery supplies.....	40.00	
Printing (membership brochure, leaflets, cards)..	200.00	
Mimeographing - New Africa, etc.....	100.00	
Travel (organization director, speakers).....	300.00	
		Total $1570.00

23-21-13

JANUARY, 1949 and subsequent months

Add: Rent.....	$130.00	
Deduct: Travel.....	200.00	
Printing.....	150.00	
Postage.....	30.00	
Other items in December budget remain same.		
		Total $1320.00

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin
Vol.7,No.2 Nov.1948

Dedicated to new relations with Africa— in the interest of African freedom and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

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U.S.A. - NEW BOSS IN AFRICA

Africa, the last continent where the crumbling system of colonial imperialism still prevails, has today become a key area in international political and economic affairs. It is getting the concentrated attention not only of the European powers that occupy it, but also of America's bankers, industrialists, diplomats and military heads.

Africa is no longer Europe's exclusive back-yard. The United States, through the Marshall Plan, has acquired top priority to the strategic raw materials it wants from there. Further, as a result of the military and politicals aspects of the Marshall Plan, the United States has entered into alliance with Britain and France in building military bases there in order to hold Africa — against Russia, so it is said, but in reality against any challenge, especially the challenge of the rising tide of African nationalism, to their continued control and exploitation of the African continent and its 150 million people.

It is no longer sufficient to talk simply about the European powers and European settlers in relation to Africa. These rulers are compelled more and more to do what Washington and Wall Street want done there. And in various areas of the continent, from Libya and Tunisia in the north down to the Belgian Congo and southern Africa, American monopolists and brass hats are moving in to take over an increasing amount of direct control.

Liberia, America's Front Door into Africa

Liberia is the front door into Africa for these American big business and military interests. If economic and political independence are inseparable parts of one whole, then the 100th anniversary of independence which the Negro West African Republic celebrated last year was somewhat premature, to say the least.

Foreign bankers, J.P. Morgan among them, held a heavy mortgage on Liberia from 1871 down to 1926 when the Firestone Corporation took over and converted the country into an American rubber-colony. Firestone's lease (covering one million acres of land at a rental of 6¢ an acre for that actually used) runs until the year 2025.

But Firestone's sun over Liberia started into eclipse last year when the Liberia Company, organized and headed by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., was established. (Besides heading the State Department, Stettinius has also been a director of such corporations as U.S. Steel, General Motors, General Electric, and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.) The Liberia Company's rights cover all the resources of the country except rubber and iron ore (the latter is controlled by another American concession established in 1943) and hold for 80 years - until 2027.

Over and above the Liberia Company's claims, however, there yet remain those of the U.S. government. There is nothing in the 1943 U.S.-Liberia agreement for the construction of the port at Monrovia to prevent U.S. control over the port and "the general vicinity thereof" as a military, naval, and air base from continuing forever. As one Liberian newspaper expresses it, this amounts to "the ceding of a portion of Liberian territory to a foreign power, without any expressed act of cession or any treaty on our part to that end."

What Is the Liberia Company?

In the present period imperialism finds it neccessary to wear various disguises. Very often we find this wolf masquerading in the sheep's clothing of philanthropy. Stettinius' Liberia Company is an example. Channing H. Tobias and Claude A. Barnett, the two Negro American members of the company's board of directors, recently circulated a letter describing this business venture as though it were a purely humanitarian undertaking. The letter made no mention of the Company's primary purpose of getting the maximum quantity of raw materials of all sorts out of Liberia and did not even hint at the profit motive behind the whole enterprise.

Top representatives of leading electrical, automobile, steel, insurance and other corporations in the United States-plus Admiral William F. Halsey and former ambassador to Japan, Joseph C. Grew- comprise the main membership of directorate of Stettinius' Liberia Company. Added to these, for obvious reasons, is a minority of four Liberian officials (designated by the president of Liberia) and the two previously mentioned Negro Americans (designated by --?).

Fortunately for Stettinius and his business associates, their need for an enlarged and modern port at Monrovia for handling an expanded volume of exports from Liberia coincided nicely with U.S. strategic military plans for establishing a military and naval base at the same spot. It will be remembered that prior to his becoming Secretary of State, Stettinius was Lend-Lease Administrator during the period 1941-43 when arrangements were underway for improving and modernizing the port at Monrovia at a cost of some $17,000,000 allocated to the U.S. Navy from U.S. Lend-Lease funds.

In addition, the U.S. Army spend $5,000,000 developing the modern air base at Roberts Field, which will now be used as the terminus of Liberia Company's international air service. And U.S. economic and geological missions were sent in 1944 at government expense to make extensive surveys of the resources of Liberia, providing useful information for Stettinius & Co. Thus was the stage set for the establishment of the Liberia Company.

Without alluding to any of this background, Messrs. Tobias and Barnett in their letter urged readers to petition the American government to allocate Marshall Plan money "to the little black Republic" in order to "greatly expedite efforts to get progress in Liberia into high gear". In other words, they are asking that still more tax-payers' money should be spent to facilitate the operations and guarantee the profits of the Liberia Company.

Messrs. Tobias and Barnett are not the only ones who want to put Marshall Plan money to work in Africa. One Mr. J. S. Wilner, writing in the Boston Herald of June 8, 1948, proposes "that our Congress earmark 5 per cent of all future appropriations of the Marshall Plan for the development of Africa". Why? So that Africa, he says, can become "the guinea pig ground for a world experiment of exploitation . . . The native population . . . can be counted on to supply all the unskilled labor necessary. With the use of modern equipment and machinery and all this low-cost labor at hand, production could reach staggering totals".

The same sort of scheme has been espoused by Sir Oswald Mosley and his brother-fascists in England and among the uppercrust of white settlers in Africa (see New Africa, December 1947). Strange company for gentlemen like Channing H. Tobias and Claude A. Barnett.

Philanthropy or Exploitation?

Very briefly stated, here are a few salient facts about how the Liberia Company plans to operate, as indicated in its 62-page Basic Memorandum released earlier this year:

* The Liberian government is guaranteed 25 per cent of the profits. BUT this compensation, it is specifically stated, takes the place of any special governmental taxes or charges on the company's operations. Moreover, out of this income the Liberian government is expected to pay off big loans which may be secured from the World Bank or U.S. Export-Import Bank to pay for railroads, power plants and other capital ventures which the Liberia Company itself cannot or does not wish to finance - but which will of course add to its profits.

* As in the case of Firestone, and Sinclair Oil in Ethiopia (another country which may be taken over by Stettinius & Company), the Liberia Company is pledged to promote educational and health services of the local population. BUT this is contingent upon the Company's profits. No immediate steps toward fulfilling the pledge have been announced. No new schools or hospitals, so badly needed especially in the bush country, are even promised. It is not anywhere the habit of Big Business deliberately and voluntarily to raise the living standards of the people to whom it must pay wages.

* For a period of 80 years, according to the Liberia Company's agreement, the Liberian government is called upon to "contribute every government facility and the necessary safeguards and privileges lawful and appropriate to the execution of this agreement". A pretty big order. Might not the "safeguards" expected include such things as strike-breaking?

* The Liberian government's ultimate possession and control of the public works constructed under the Stettinius Company's direction (even though at the expense of the government itself) is made vaguely contingent upon the government's ability "to assume the financial and managerial responsibilities thereof". This sounds like the familiar dodge of offering to hire - but never being able to find - "qualified" Negroes for certain jobs.

* If a dispute should arise between the Company and the Liberian government over this or some other matter and it is impossible for arbitrators appointed by both sides to settle things or decide on a third arbitrator, the agreement provides that this third and final arbitrator shall be appointed by - can you guess?- the president of Columbia University.

There is much more to be said about the Liberia Company plans, and about how the U.S. State Department has handed over the management of the Monrovia port to this Company and five other American corporations, but space limitations will not permit us to go on.

We may sum it all up by saying that the Stettinius scheme, coupled with the U.S. government's appropriation of the port of Monrovia for military purposes, exemplifies the manner in which Washington and Wall Street are working together hand in glove for the achievement of their mutual objective of becoming the new big boss in Africa, the last continent which the imperialist plunderers can do with as they please--but not for long.

It is high time that the American people awakened to the nature of America's present dealings with Africa. Let Americans join with the peoples of Africa in demanding that the Iron Curtain of secrecy surrounding these dealings be torn down. Let Americans demand that their government reveal the full facts about "Operation Liberia".

BRITAIN EXPECTS EVERY AFRICAN TO DO HIS DUTY

As was expected, the African Conference which took place in London September 29 - October 9 turned out to be concerned with considerations somewhat removed from the altruistic designs which had been widely advertised. The British imperialists who are engaged in reducing the living standards of their own people in order to pursue objectives laid down by their American overlords, are certainly in no mood to trifle with schemes promoting the welfare of their colonial subjects. All they are really concerned with is just what use they can make of Africa and its human and material resources to bolster up their disintegrating empire.

From the opening of the conference when Mr. Herbert Morrison, in a speech heavily charged with cant, declared that the word "exploitation" must be wiped out, it was clear that hypocrisy was to be the guiding principle whenever the welfare of the African peoples was discussed.

The conference received an early shock when the Oni of Ife, one of the foremost Nigerian delegates, taking seriously the professed desire of the Government to help the African peoples, voiced some of their most urgent demands.

In reply to Mr. Morrison he declared: "We wish to touch on two things of most urgent need to us Africans. There is the matter of prices. We cannot conceal our feelings. We want to be frank here. We should like the Government to see to it that our people in West Africa receive fair prices for their produce. And there is the matter of the 10-year development schemes. We feel we should not be doing our duty if we did not express some feeling of dissatisfaction at the undue delay from which these schemes are suffering."

In speaking thus the Oni, by no means renowned as an opponent of imperialism, showed that he was not unmindful of the growing discontent of his people, with the exploitation which Mr. Morrison wants to wipe out--but only, be it noted, as a word.

Mr. Creech Jones, Secretary of State for Colonies, took the occasion of his speech to express defiance of requests to supply information to the United Nations regarding the progress of Britain's colonial subjects toward self-government and independence. He made oblique references to criticisms of colonialism on the part of "certain powers", and showered abuse on the spirit of nationalism arising in Africa. This he declared to be "destructive and violent, indifferent to social and economic aspirations."

Secret Sessions Hear Government's War Plans for Africa

In view of the reticence of the Colonial Office to give information to the United Nations, it was not altogether surprising that of the seventeen sessions (including regional meetings) only three were open to the press. The most important of these secret sessions was undoubtedly the one addressed by Field Marshall Viscount Montgomery, recently appointed chairman of the Western Union Defense Organization. Lord Montgomery was frank--indeed, brutally frank-- with the delegates about the Government's war plans.

The British imperialists, it is understood, are resigned to the whole of the European continent going Communist in the not very distant future. Such a development is regarded as constituting a threat to the very existence of the empire. In the war that they are preparing, the imperialists regard Britainas too vulnerable to serve as the main base of operations against the European continent.

The strategic position of Africa in relation to Europe, its wide expanses, together with its huge reserves of manpower and material resources, render that continent eminently suitable as the main war base.

However, a great deal of work will have to be done to enable Africa to fulfill the role assigned to it. From the standpoint of military strategy, themost glaring weakness of Africa is that of lack of communications. Not only is the continent deficient in roads and railways, with the various territories isolated from one another; but the railways within the individual territories run generally in an east-west direction, which is of little use for the movement of troops from the south to the prospective battlefront in the north.

The building of north-south roads and railways will, no doubt, be undertaken in the near future. Indeed, it can be said that with the All-Africa Highway which is to run from the Cape to Algiers, the construction of a strategical system of communications has already begun.

Importance of African Man-Power

The recruitment of large numbers of Africans will be necessary for the building of bases, camps, airfields and communications; for the development of mineral resources and growing of crops; and for the huge armed force which is contemplated. An army of 200,000 men, it is said, is already being developed in Tanganyika, a territory which Britain holds under United Nations trusteeship.

It cannot be overlooked that a large African army can be employed within the continent as well as outside it. And that is precisely the intention of the

imperialsts. Such an army is to serve the British Empire in the way that theIndian Army once did.

All the Government spokesmen participating in this series of pep talks were obviously worried by the situation in South East Asia, and they referred to that region again and again. Mr. Morrison pointed out that a glance at Asia was sufficient to show the types of trouble that could break loose in Africa if the right answers could not be found and adopted much quicker than had ever been thought possible.

One can only say how right he is. But would he admit that the right answers lie in the grant of freedom to the African peoples to settle their problems in their own way?

Delegates Warned: Beware the Red Bogey

The spectre of Communism haunted the conference, and the delegates were earnestly exhorted to make their contribution to the fight against what was declared to be a great evil. Some of them to their credit were quite unmoved by this appeal but one unspeakable wretch, eager for the plaudits of his masters, eager to lick the boots that trample on the freedom of his people, declared that he and his people werebehind the Government in anystruggle against evil, be it poverty, ill-health, or Communism.

Would this lackey admit that the poverty and ill-health from which his people suffer are mainly the result of imperialist exploitation? Could this creature deny that most attempts of the African peoples to protest against their miserable conditions of life are denounced as Communist-inspired and are there-upon answered with police batons and gun-fire--as happened in the Gold Coast this year?

In his final speech Mr. Creech Jones sought to assuage the troubled minds of some of the delegates. Contradicting his earlier denunciation of national liberation movements, he now declared that not all mass movements of colonial peoples could be condemed as rebellious,-- this from the man who not long ago admitted the jailing of 7,000 trade unionists in Malaya! In the unctuous manner of an uncle telling bed-time stories, he warned the delegates to beware the big, bad wolves, Communists, who were ever ready to seize control of the people's movements in order to use them for wrongful purposes.

The supreme fact emerging from the conference is that the British imperialists, in seeking to enlist the aid of their African subjects for the maintenance of their tottering empire, are asking slaves to help strengthen the weakening links of the chains with which they are shackled.

--Desmond Buckle, London

NOTES ON THE PARIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY MEETING

Once again, the U.N. General Assembly at its current meeting in Paris is deba ting what it should or not do concerning the welfare, rights, and ultimate

independence of African and other colonial peoples. The questions at issue are in the main the same that were taken up at the first Assembly meeting in 1946 and again discussed at last year's meeting. The colony-holding powers, particularly Great Britain, have become bolder in their open defiance of the authority and aims of the U.N. in colonial matters; their arguments have the repetitious monotony of a worn-out phonograph record.

The outstanding fact about these debates is that the imperialist powers, through the dominating influence of the United States, have succeeded in defeating virtually every constructive proposal toward assisting the progress of colonial peoples. Nevertheless, they are finding their reactionary position increasingly embarrassing and uncomfortable.

Criticism of their "what-we-have-we-hold" attitude has come not merely from the Soviet and Eastern European delegates, as is often alleged. General Romulo of the Philippines, who is far from being pro-Soviet, has called the attention of the Assembly to the fact that "reaction has begun to set in", and that instead of achieving expansion of the trusteeship system to include colonies in general, "there is now a contrary tendency to annex former mandates or to convert them into colonies."

And Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, speaking for India, which is certainly not in the "Soviet bloc", has deplored the attempt of the imperialist powers "to whittle down" the colonial and trusteeship provisions of the U.N. Charter, thus endangering world peace. "We would urge the colonial powers," she said, "to realize that 200,000,000 people inhabiting the non-self-governing territories read into the provisions of the Charter relating to such territories far more than colonial powers are inclined to do."

Colonial Issues before the General Assembly

As the Council on African Affairs warned in its widely supported petition to the U.S. delegation to the U.N. on the question of the former Italian colonies in Africa, the British and American governments do not want this matter brought up at the present Assembly meeting. They prefer to sit tight and hold on to the bases which they have established in Libya and the control which Britain maintains over Eritrea and Italian Somaliland (British troops have finally been withdrawn from Ogaden Province of Ethiopia, it is reported). And so there has been a conspicuous silence on this vital issue at Paris. The demand must be continued for a just and equitable solution of this problem now.

Among the principal colonial issues which have had an airing at the Paris meeting are, very briefly:

* Administrative union of trusteeship territories with adjacent territories. This was the subject of a petition sent by an African in Tanganyika a year ago to Mr. Gromyko for U.N. consideration. A disguised form of annexation, this move has been attacked by most of the non-colonial powers. The colonial powers maintain that the matter is completely outside the jurisdiction of U.N. Here is a key test of the extent to which states administering trusteeship territories are in fact responsible to the United Nations.

* Information on political progress in the colonies. The Soviet Union was defeated on its proposal that all member states having colonies submit such information to the U.N. annually, in addition to the information now furnished on educa-

tional, health, and economic matters, and that the U.N. send annual inspection missions to check on local self-government. A compromise Indian resolution which merely asked for information on important constitutional changes was approved in the face of the British representative's assertion that his government would not respect the request. The U.S. voted with the Soviet Union for this Indian resolution, one of the rare instances in which this country parted company with its imperialist colleagues.

*South West Africa. For the third successive year the South African Government has been called upon to obey the Charter and bring the mandate territory of South West Africa within the trusteeship system, and to end its discrimination against Indians and all other non-white peoples in South Africa. As Mrs. Pandit stressed in opening the debate on South West Africa, the coming into power of Dr. Malan's Nationalist Party, with its openly-avowed fascist doctrine of White (Christian) Supremacy, makes further delay in complying with these demands extremely dangerous.

Concerning Certain Personalities

Probably the most disgusting and depressing incident of the Paris colonial debates to date was the performance of Mr. Grantley H. Adams of Barbados extolling and defending British trusteeship administration, even in such matters as racial discrimination in wages and salaries paid, and denouncing all Britain's critics - the Soviet Union in particular. At last year's General Assembly meeting the French had a lackey from the Cameroons present to speak similarly for them. Will it be America's turn next year to try this same hollow propaganda stunt?

Rivalling Mr. Adams for the prize as the most obnoxious delegate was Mr. Eric Louw, leader of South Africa's delegation. This gentleman told the Union Parliament last January: "We manage our own affairs according to our own interests, and we are not worried about what other people think." So he probably was not bluffing when he threatened to take South Africa out of the U.N. if that organization persisted in making demands on his country. Mr. Louw, during one of his bitter tirades, had to be reprimanded by the committee chairman for making personal remarks about Mrs. Pandit of India.

One can imagine the shock experienced by Dr. Max Yergan's former associates in South Africa, who know who and what Mr. Louw is, when they read in a white South African newspaper of Yergan's intention of going to Paris in order to talk with that man, as well as Mr. Creech Jones and other European colonial officials, about getting "the fullest cooperation" on racial problems.

Yergan's statement, the implications of which are quite obvious, was quoted as follows in a Reuters dispatch in The Friend, Bloemfontein, October 14, 1948: "My purpose in conferring with Mr. Eric Louw is to seek the fullest cooperation in dealing with the South African race relations problem. I know the interest and goodwill of many sections of the African people are available for helping to solve these problems. I do not believe that the African needs can be met within the framework of Communist ideology and methods. I am convinced that the approach must be within the terms of ever-expanding democracy and those institutions which characterize democratic states."

ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE

"UNITY is the only thing that can save the African people." That is the

theme of a conference to be held next month in South Africa by representatives of the African National Congress, the All-African Convention, and other major African organizations in the country for the purpose of securing a single, united mass movement "inspired by common principles and a common program of action for the achievement of the liberation of the African people.". . .

THE HERERO PEOPLE of South West Africa cannot get permission from the South African Government to tell the United Nations of their wish to have their country placed under trusteeship. Prime Minister Malan recently refused to receive a deputation from them and also rejected their request to allow them to send representatives to place their case before the United Nations. . . .

MALAN, without waiting for the U.N. to act again on South West Africa, is proceeding with steps to incorporate that territory as a fifth province of the Union of South Africa. The Prime Minister visited the territory last month to perfect arrangements for this annexation move. White South West Africans, elected by whites only in the territory, will get six seats in the Union's main governing body, the House of Assembly, and will have two or four seats in the Senate, one of the senators being appointed for his "special knowledge" of African interests. . .

THE MORAL DEPRAVITY which stems from South Africa's racial oppression is illustrated by bloody combats between Africans organized and staged by the police in a special arena on the outskirts of Pretoria on Sunday afternoons for the "entertainment" of white people, including children. Liberal whites have demanded that the barbaric practice be stopped. . . .

THE GENEROUS CONTRIBUTIONS made by the white people of South Africa and Kenya to the United Nations Appeal for Children may be commendable. But we cannot put aside the thought of the black children in those same two countries. Who hears and answers their appeal for help?

(Recommended reading: "Stop South Africa's Crimes—What's behind Smuts' Annexation Demand for South West Africa?" (10¢) and "Seeing Is Believing—Here is the Truth about South Africa" (25¢), both pamphlets published by and obtainable from the Council on African Affairs.)

EDITOR'S NOTE

The Council on African Affairs is happy to be able to resume the publication of New Africa with this issue after an unfortunate lapse of nine months. (Volume 7, No. 1 was published January, 1948. Subscribers will continue to receive the publication for a period of months equivalent to the unexpired term subscribed for.)

The resumption of the regular functions of the Council is only now made possible by the separation of Dr. Max Yergan from the organization.

The appearance of New Africa in mimeographed form is, we trust, only temporary. However, we are more concerned about your reaction to the quality of the contents.

The times demand that the Council expand its work, reaching a much wider section of the American public than it has in the past. We are planning accordingly. You can do your part by sending in subscriptions ($1 a year) for several of your friends, or by arranging for a group subscription at special rates.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS • 23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

[COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS DEC. 1, 1948]

23-21-12

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

FINANCIAL STATEMENT
Dec. 1, 1948

RECEIPTS, Oct. 1 -- Nov. 30, 1948

Bank balance (Oct. 1,1948).....	$122.64	$122.64
General contributions:		
one.....	250.00	
one.....	200.00	
one.....	100.00	
12 @ $10.-49.00.....	245.00	
12 @ $1.-5.00.....	43.25	
Total.....		838.25
Contributions returned with payment for "Seeing".....		29.50
Sale of "Seeing" and other literature.....		75.64
Subscriptions, New Africa.....		24.00
Sale of furniture.....		75.00
Refund from P.O. on postcards.....		4.58
		Total $1169.61

DISBURSEMENTS, Oct. 1 -- Nov. 30, 1948

Yergan accounts:		
Printing.....	$124.52	
Telephone.....	144.90	
Telephone deposit.....	60.00	
Towel service.....	5.16	
Western Union.....	1.48	
Total.....		$336.06
Current expenses:		
Salary, stenographer (half-time)...	225.00	
Salary, Hunton (on account).....	100.00	
Printing.....	159.38	
Postage.....	138.65	
Stationery, supplies.....	57.13	
Mimeo repairs, supplies.....	22.14	
Miscellaneous.....	9.56	
Rejected check and postal orders...	11.01	
Refund on furniture sale.....	5.00	
Refund of New Africa subscription..	1.00	
Total.....		728.87
		Total $1064.93

BALANCE ON HAND, Dec. 1, 1948..... $104.68

IMMEDIATE OBLIGATIONS -- past due

Salary, Hunton, balance due for Oct.1-Nov.30 @ $60 wk...	$410.00
N.Y. Telephone Co.,installation and service(Oct.9-Nov.1).	36.71
Advance Printing Co., 2 monthly installments on total balance of $727.46 (Y account)--agreement made to pay off balance due in monthly installments.....	140.00
Fred B. Kaim, typewriter service (Y account).....	20.29
Gensup Stationery (Y account).....	34.55
British Inf. Service, documents (Y account).....	7.30
	Total $648.85

(Recommended that funds be secured for paying off these obligations at once.)

OTHER OBLIGATIONS

Salary, Hunton, Jan.15--Sept.30,1948 @ $220.00 a month --$1870.00, less $500.00.....	$1370.00
Advance Printing Co., balance after payment of $140.....	587.40
Harold Cammer, legal services.....	1000.00
Michael B. Atkins, legal services.....	75.00
Employer's tax deduction	?
	Total $2032.40 plus

(Recommended that these obligations be paid off, so far as possible, by appropriation of $200.00 monthly from income, beginning Jan., 1949.)

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

December 2, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York City

Dear Executive Board Member:

I hope you can attend a meeting of the Executive Board to be held Tuesday, December 7, 4:00 P.M. at the offices of the Council.

Other New York members of the Council are being invited to participate in this meeting since the matters of policy and program to be considered are of such importance and the widest possible expression of views on them is desirable.

Kindly note page 2 of the enclosed financial statement. The practicability and means of carrying out the proposal there made will be discussed at our meeting on Tuesday.

Very truly yours,

Alphaeus Hunton

W. A. HUNTON, Secretary

WAH:mpm

23-21-11

[Council on African Affairs]

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575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

23-31-5

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Ruth Young

December 25, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Arrangements have been effected for you to move any time after Monday into the "penthouse" office I understand you liked so well; also to cover costs of moving and to employ your secretary. Dr. Hunton will get in touch with you Monday afternoon to work out details.

I hope you are having an enjoyable Christmas period.

Unable to reach you by phone, I thought it best to drop you this note prior to leaving town.

It is encouraging to know that you will be associated more closely with the Council on African Affairs. This makes much clearer our perspective for the development of a truly vital program in the period immediately ahead.

Cordially yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

Doxey A. Wilkerson

[date ?]

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Friday

Dear Hugh,

The mimeo material was mailed Wednesday, the letter last night, by air special to Du Bois at Los Angeles c/o Dr. Sommerville. If you think they missed him there please forward these to him quick. Hope to have reply before Thurs. meeting. Ask him to telegraph me home address.

Thanks a million.

Alphaeus

DR. W. A. HUNTON
257 McDONOUGH ST.
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs
Monthly Bulletin
Vol. 7, No. 3 Dec. 1948

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—in the interest of African freedom and the promotion of international democracy, security, and peace.

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

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A U.S. LOAN FOR SOUTH AFRICA?

Wil the Union of South Africa, notorious for its practice of the most vicious system of state-approved racial discrimination and oppression found anywhere in the world, be added to the roster of reactionary governments such as Greece, Turkey and Koumintang China, which the American government endeavors to bolster up with loans and more loans?

What might be called the Marshall-Plan-stomach-ache has hit South Africa. The causes of this malady are everywhere the same: an over-abundance of American imports and a shortage of U.S. dollars to pay for them. The symptom of the disease is sharp economic inflation. And the prescribed relief--which is merely temporary and only aggravates the patient's condition--is a loan of more U.S. dollars. That South Africa should be the first country in that continent to be afflicted with the Marshall-Plan-stomach-ache comes as no surprise, since it is Africa's most industrialized country and the largest importer of U.S. commodities.

South African imports from the United States in 1947 amounted to $428,000,000, more than a 600 per cent increase over the figure of $68,000,000 imports in 1939. On the other hand, South African exports to this country in 1947 amounted to only $112,000,000, although this represented a rise of about 400 per cent from 1939 ($27,000,000). South Africa has in the past relied upon the export of gold bullion to offset this unbalanced trade account. However, since long before the war the price of gold--and also, be it noted, the wage paid the African mine workers--has remained stationary while prices of other commodities have sky-rocketed. Further, recent strikes and the near-exhaustion of some of the old mines have brought a downward trend in South Africa's gold production, the backbone of her whole economy.

Trying to Find a Remedy

Hence the difficulties which Malan's government now faces. The purchase of $10,000,000 from the International Monetary Fund is conceded to be merely a stop-gap measure. And the import controls put into effect by the South African government on November 5 in an effort to stop the drain on the country's dollar and gold resources have proved only 25 per cent effective.

American manufacturers and exporters naturally don't like the import quotas and they have told their State Department so in no uncertain terms. The quotas have also come under attack from American companies engaged in manufacture in South Africa, particularly the automobile assembly plants of Ford, General Motors, Hudson, and Chrysler. These companies are hurt by the cut in dollar quotas and the blocking of needed materials from this country.

Wall Street to the Rescue

What to do? The Wall Street Journal (Dec. 8, 1948) comes up with the answer—the expected answer:

> "It is suggested that the import quotas may be avoided if the United States grants a loan in the very near future. But one loan won't be enough because it is calculated that it will be at least five years before South African gold fields and base mineral and industrial production can earn enough dollars to bridge the estimated gap in the country's trade balance. This would mean loans from America over the next five years totalling $1.5 billion."

It is quite possible that the question of a U.S. loan to South Africa was discussed when John D. Rockefeller 3d visited President Truman earlier this month to report on his recent trip to Africa. (Mr. Rockefeller speaks of Africa as "the reserve continent of the world"--held in reserve by whom and for whom?) While in South Africa, Mr. Rockefeller had an interview with Mr. N.C. Havenga, Minister of Finance. Mr. Havenga's newspaper, Die Vaderland Bulletin did not disclose the nature of the interview, but admitted that "in view of the prominent position Mr. Rockefeller occupies in the political and financial scene, it is probable that he will investigate the question of investment in this country".

An American loan to South Africa would not only be for the purpose of maintaining profitable United States investments and trade in that country. It would also prevent collapse of the whole plan of Britain and the United States to make South Africa and neighboring Rhodesia the central supply base for the continent-wide belt of military bases now being established. Moreover, American access to strategic raw materials in all parts of the continent (a subject which was dealt with in the last issue of New Africa) would be endangered by an economic depression in South Africa. Therefore, a stable South Africa is essential to the realization of the larger imperialist schemes in that continent.

American Survey Experts Busy in Africa

The current activity of Americans making various types of surveys in various sections of Africa is deserving of far more notice than it has received in the American press. Among such teams of experts is that of the University of California Expedition. It was noted in a British, not an American, publication that this expedition, in passing through Northern Rhodesia, carried along five trucks of equipment and included several photographic experts and a group of U.S. Navy medical research officers. This expedition has been in Africa for over a year visiting Egypt, the Sudan, Kenya, and the Belgian Congo and other countries.

The European powers are dependent upon this country for machines and equipment with which to put into effect their schemes for the intensified exploitation of Africa. And now further assistance is to be given by this country by providing the service of technical experts to develop the transportation system of Africa

necessary not only for handling the expected increased exports of raw materials, but also for knitting together the military bases and ports in one common strategic design. Thanks to Marshall Plan funds, it is expected that fifty American geologists and geodetic surveyors will be assigned to work on a three-year project of uncovering more mineral deposits in Africa and building a new thousand-mile railway line for Great Britain from Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia, and Mikindani, Tanganyika, to Mombasa, Kenya.

"The engagement of Americans for these colonial jobs is causing much heartburning and bitterness in Britain," Desmond Buckle, the Council's correspondent, reports from London. "The Colonial Office, under fire for ignoring the product of British universities who normally expect to take up these colonial posts,--after all, it is their empire,--has replied in a manner which leaves its critics unconvinced and unsilenced. The high salaries to be given the Americans, the Colonial Office says, cannot be paid to Britons engaged in such work without causing discontent in the colonial service as a whole."

An Opportunity for America to REALLY Help Africa

From the point of view of American monopoly and military minds, it is certainly necessary to stabilize South Africa's economy by loans or any other means. A great deal is at stake for them. But from the point of view of the freedom-hungry people of Africa and their democratic allies, the question at issue is whether the United States will use its economic power to further the aims of Anglo-American imperialism, incidentally strengthening the power of the most reactionary segment of the population within South Africa itself.

It is not enough simply to deny a U.S. loan to South Africa. There is a precedent already established for the stand which progressive Americans should take. Two years ago, when the South African government refused to confer with the government of India in order to abolish the discriminatory injustices to which the quarter million Indians resident in South Africa are subjected, India imposed economic sanctions against South Africa. If, now, the South African government refuses to abolish the whole system of segregation and oppression whereby the ruling class of that country and investors of other countries are able to exploit the non-European majority for their own profit, why should not the United States follow the example of India and likewise impose economic sanctions--specifically, by refusing to purchase another ounce of gold from South Africa?

The adoption of such a course would be a boon rather than a penalty for South Africa. For until that country does away with its present system of African "reserves", pass laws, and all the other mechanisms whereby it maintains a vast reservoir of "cheap labor", the country's ills will never be resolved.

No aid to the Chiang Kai Shek regime in China, no aid to the Franco regime in Spain, AND NO AID TO THE MALAN REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA!

RISING FASCISM FAILS TO STOP ELECTION OF COMMUNIST M.P. IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa's Nationalist leaders and their fascist and semi-fascist movements, from which they graduated to governmental power this year, never tire of railing against the British (although there are British supporters of the Nationalist Party, the majority are of Dutch extraction), against the Jews, against the Indians, against the Africans, and, of course, against the Communists.

Even before the Nationalists came into power, the leaders of the South Afri-

can Communist Party underwent a sedition trial not altogether dissimilar from that now pending against leaders of the American Communist Party. The trial arose out of the charge that these leaders had incited the African mine workers to revolt against government authority in their historic strike in 1946. The trial dragged on for two years; finally, in October of this year, the government admitted it could not make out a case and withdrew the charges.

Following this, a special branch of the South African police was detailed to investigate Communist activity in the country. A report was compiled containing dossiers, it is said, on 700 Communists and 1500 "Near-Communists" throughout the Union. It is expected that the government will next launch a public commission of inquiry with the appointment of an Un-South African Activities Committee.

In recent weeks police have begun a systematic inspection of African "reserve" areas, questioning leaders of the various peoples' organizations. The police do not ask whether the Africans are Communists or favor Communism; they ask whether they are members of the African Voters' Association or other similar organizations or whether they have attended meetings of these groups. The final question is: "Do you agree with the government?" If a clarification of this question is requested, the police ask: "Well, are you opposed to the government?"

Another more serious threat to Africans living in the rural areas may be seen in the current mobilization of "rifle commandos" among white men between the ages of 17 and 60 in the farm districts. These commandos, besides hunting down Africans who defy the white man's law, will be useful in guaranteeing an adequate supply of African peons on the white farms.

Proclamation Number 1890

Besides tightening the pass system and other controls upon Africans in the cities, the Nationalist government has dug up a draft proclamation promulgated in 1927, known as No. 1890. The proclamation bears the innocent title "Financial Protection of Natives". It provides that "No person shall solicit, collect, receive or cause to be solicited collected or received from any native any premium, donation or deposit (other than a deposit on the sale of goods) whether in cash or kind, unless (a) he does so in the course of business in respect of which he is registered or licensed in terms of law; (b) he is acting on behalf of any State Aided School or religious body approved by the Minister for the grant of privileges dependent upon Government recognition; (c) he has obtained permission to do so in writing from any Native Commissioner in respect of his area or from the Secretary for Native Affairs. Any person whose application for permission has been refused may apply to the Minister whose decision shall be final."

The office of the Minister of Native Affairs has made it clear that it intends to adhere literally to the wording of the Proclamation. With this instrument, without passing any further legislation, it is possible for the government to exercise absolute censorship over <u>every</u> [illegible] of African organization--even sport clubs and religious bodies, not to mention trade unions--thus completely crippling the development of mass organization and action among the Bantu. How Africans react to this is illustrated by the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions which declared the African people's "uncompromising opposition and intention to resist the enactment of the Proclamation", and called upon all non-European people "to rally behind their national liberatory movements in the struggle against Apartheid (complete segregation) and for freedom".

Election of Communist M.P.

This back-ground of mounting fascism must be taken into account in order to understand the full significance of the election last month of a Communist, Mr. Sam Kahn, to the South African Parliament as a representative of Africans in the Cape Province. This is the first time in the history of the South African Union that a Communist has been elected to this assembly.

Mr. Kahn, the Communist candidate received 3,780 votes, the Liberal candidate received 754 votes, and the Nationalist Party candidate only 194 votes. Although Prime Minister Malan announced at the first session of Parliament that his government would move for the abolition of Native Representatives (who must be white) in that body, the Nationalist Party, nevertheless, had the effrontery to try to win these seats (3 in the Assembly, 2 in the Senate) in order to increase their voting majority. Every one of the Nationalist candidates was ignominiously defeated.

"There is only one reasonable way," says the South African Guardian, "to interpret the victory of Communist candidate Sam Kahn in the native representative elections, and that is that the African people want full democratic rights and equality ... Ground down by the oppression of the United Party and Nationalist governments in the past, rebellious against Apartheid, sickened by the cant of liberals whose only aim often is to make white supremacy palatable to the non-Europeans, the Africans have turned to the Communist policy as the only one which offers the prospect of racial harmony and progress in this country. The size of Mr. Kahn's majority is some measure of the intensity of the Africans' longing for freedom and determination to fight for it."

Whatever interpretation one places on this election, one thing is certain, and that is that the fascist upsurge of the Malan regime in South Africa has failed to cow the African masses into abject submission, but has instead spurred them on to a more determined and organized campaign to win freedom.

* * * \

The Nationalist Government in South Africa agrees with Sir Oswald Mosley. It has announced that Germans now in Europe who were formerly resident in South West Africa, a German colony up to 1919, will be given priority over other immigrants to that territory.

African Manpower in the Service of Britain: "I am a great believer in the value of the African as a contributor to the prosperity and security of the British Empire. He is a cheerful, loyal and good-tempered soul, with a great sense of humour. When he is decently fed he will work hard. Provided that we can protect him from the virus of Communism--and the best way of doing that is to give him peace of mind and a full stomach--he has the manipulative dexterity and mental agility to enable him to become a useful operator in the agricultural and engineering field. In that way he will emerge as a wage-earning artisan who is a good customer for consumer goods." --Sir Miles Thomas, addressing the Engineering Industries Association in London recently on the great opportunities of economic development in Africa.

And As for African Women: "To my mind the training of African women and girls in homecraft and domestic duties is the fundamental thing in African civilization." --Major-General Sir John Kennedy, Governor of Southern Rhodesia.

"Self-Government" (Maybe) but NCT Independence: "Let us face the facts. If the constitutional development which was evolved for the Dominions of British stock is precisely followed throughout the Colonial Empire, there will be many more Burmas. Education will inevitably produce its crop of agitators, and inevitably they will be exploited by international Communism... Once self-government is granted, independence will be demanded; and independence will mean a quick relapse into economic, political and moral ruin, and the undoing of the patient work of British administrators.

"There are a number of Colonies which for reasons of defence we could not possibly allow to secede from the Commonwealth at any stage of their constitutional evolution... Hitherto the ultimate destiny of a Colonial territory has been put in the form of 'self-government within the Commonwealth', with the emphasis on 'self-government'. In future there must be at least as much emphasis on 'within the Commonwealth'."--Mr. Ivor Thomas, former British Under-Secretary for Colonies, in a recent address to the Royal Empire Society, London.

South West Africa: While the U.S. Delegation at the Paris U.N. General Assembly meeting last month was urging, as in the past, a moderate compromise resolution on South West Africa, Dr. Malan, South Africa's Prime Minister, was telling the Transvaal Nationalist Party Congress, "Come what will, we will never under any circumstances agree that South-West Africa falls under the Trusteeship Council. Rather than do this, I say we walk out of the United Nations."

Former Italian Colonies: Perhaps you think--as the Council on African Affairs has declared--that United States policy with respect to the future of Libya, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland should be determined by the interests and wishes of the native inhabitants of those territories. How far this is from being the case is revealed by the New York Times (November 26, 1948): "Considerations of military strategy that were discussed and decided on at a meeting of high military officers in Washington about two weeks ago have determined the attitude that the United States delegation here has adopted on the question of the Italian colonies, diplomatic circles said today."

Deploring the fact that the United States has now decided to back British rather than Italian claims in North and East Africa because of a policy of mili-

tary expediency "dictated by the Pentagon", former U.S. Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles points out (New York Herald Tribune, November 30, 1948) that "a democratic Italy [by which he means an anti-Communist government--Editor] would be quite as ready to grant the United States the use of strategic bases in Libya and Eritrea as would Great Britain".

* * * * * *

Are you a subscriber to New Africa? Why not start the New Year right by sending in your dollar for a year's subscription? Why not, also, enter subscriptions for your friends who have concern for the future of Africa?

* * * * * *

The officers of the Council on African Affairs wish to extend heartiest greetings of the season and best wishes for the New Year to all members, subscribers, and friends of the organization.

The year 1949 will be one of great importance in the work of our Council. We have a big job ahead of us, for example, when the U.N. General Assembly reconvenes at Flushing Meadows on April 1 to consider the question of the former Italian colonies and other vital African issues.

We hope to have your maximum support in carrying forward the Council's work for African freedom in the New Year.

Paul Robeson, Chairman

Political Democracy In the British Colonial Empire

by **HENRY H. COLLINS, Jr.**

Reprinted by permission from *Soviet Russia Today*
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Supplement to
NEW AFRICA
Vol. 7, No. 3 – December, 1948

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
23 West 26th Street New York 10, N. Y.

Political Democracy In the British Colonial Empire

by **HENRY H. COLLINS, JR.**

THE ADMINISTRATION of Britain's East African Trust Territory of Tanganyika has been the target of recent Soviet attacks in the Trusteeship Council of the UN; and a Council report adopted in August, 1948 noted in criticism that no electoral system existed in the territory, or was contemplated, and that the present tribal structure was an "obstacle" to the advancement of the natives. The vigor of the Soviet attack and the increasing worldwide interest in political conditions in dependent areas make timely a statistical survey of colonial democracy. This article will attempt such for the British possessions where representative government is further advanced than it is in the colonies of any other colonial power, save, possibly, France.

The Soviet Union and India in 1947 had offered a resolution in the General Assembly of the UN to have the colonial powers submit for each of their colonies yearly political data in addition to the reports on health and education they are required to submit by the Charter. But due to United Kingdom objections the resolution was finally watered down till it merely noted that the voluntary submission of such information was in conformity with the spirit of the Charter and should be encouraged. The vote in the Assembly on November 3, 1947, was 44 to 2 in favor of this proposal. Yet Belgium and Britain voted against even this version. Not unexpected, therefore, was the Colonial Office announcement on August 28, 1948, that Britain would not transmit to the United Nations data on political or constitutional matters in her colonial empire. (NB. The U.S. does.) Such data, nevertheless, are available from various official British sources which have furnished the basis for this study.

The paragraphs that follow, however, deal only with *political* democracy. Space does not permit a discussion of economic democracy and industrial development, nor of health, education or literacy. No one disputes the fact that these are of vital importance and that a literate and educated electorate will greatly aid an effective political democracy. But they are not necessarily a prerequisite to it. If political democracy is to wait on education, it may wait a long time, as it often has in the past.

HENRY H. COLLINS, JR., is compiling material for a book on Europe's Postwar Elections and for a Handbook of World Elections. He is author of "America's Own Refugees," Princeton University Press, 1941; and "Postwar Constitutions" (1947) and "Contemporary Constitutions" (1948) (microfilms), Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C. He is Executive Director of the American Russian Institute, New York City.

England is the Mother of Parliaments, and Britain is still the greatest colonial power on earth. The British have always claimed to be leading the "silent, sullen peoples" of Kipling's poem "(Ah, slowly) towards the light" of self-government. This discussion will inquire, therefore, into the successes achieved in nearing this goal.

The rate of progress has not always been rapid. After 300 years of the British Raj, India was finally given dominion status in 1947; and Burma, this January, was given her independence after a century of English rule. But when in a protectorate such as Northern Rhodesia, the English, after fifty-nine years of supporting the White Man's Burden, have brought political democracy, i.e. the vote, to less than half of one per cent of the people, some observers have been tempted to ask whether the rate of enlightenment might not be somewhat accelerated. Otherwise at the present rate, they say, it would be 2097 A.D. before Northern Rhodesia would reach the 1946 level of Mississippi.

On the other hand, in some possessions, such as Jamaica, substantial advances in political democracy have recently been made. This colony since 1944 has had no property, literacy or educational barriers to the franchise. And public participation in elections is five times what it is in the Southern U.S. In parts of the Empire, moreover, conditions are sometimes better than in adjacent dominions. The British Government, for instance, exercises a restraining influence on the Union of South Africa, perhaps the world's most race-prejudiced state. Depressed as is the position of native Africans in the British Crown's High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Swaziland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, it is generally regarded as far better than it would be were these areas surrendered to South Africa.

However, now that India is free and England has a Labor Government there is a tendency to feel that the political backwardness of the British colonies has largely disappeared. Today many seem to believe that England's

"new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child"

of 1900 have been largely converted into agronomists, civil servants and voters. But the facts hardly support such a viewpoint.

The Colonial Empire (which is quite distinct from the Dominions) still consists of a variegated array of some 46 dependencies, protectorates, protected states, crown colonies, and trust territories. Sometimes it seems as if these were best known to philatelists. They stretch from South Georgia in the breath of the Antarctic to Brunei near the Line, and

GROUP I.—FULLY ELECTED LOWER HOUSE[4]

Possession	Population**	Year Acquired	Woman Suffrage	Property or Tax Requirement	Date Last Election	Total Eligible	% Pop. Voting in Contested Districts
Malta[1]	288,903	1814	Yes	No	10-25/27-47	138,441	*
Jamaica	1,314,000	1655	Yes	No	12-14-44	663,069	30
Bahamas	80,639	1619	No	Yes	July, 1942	12,611	18[2]
Barbados	192,841	1605	Yes	Yes	11-18-46	20,073	8
Bermuda	35,560	1609	Yes	Yes	6-2-48	4,106	9.5
Southern Rhodesia[1]	1,784,530	1889	Yes	Yes	9-15-48	47,840[3]	2
Total 6 possessions	3,696,473—5% of total pop. of Colonial Empire					886,140 Aver. 24.2% of pop. eligible to vote	

* Unavailable.
** All official, 1946 or later.
[1] Responsible government.
[2] Per cent population eligible.
[3] Only 258 of which are Africans.
[4] Include also Pitcairn Is., pop. 126, which has an elected Council.

GROUP II.—LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL WITH SOME ELECTED MEMBERS

Possession	Population**	Year Acquired	Members Elected Number	Members Elected Per cent	Woman Suffrage	Property, Tax or Income Requirement	Date Last Election	Total Eligible	Per cent Pop. Voting in Contested Districts[11]
Tonga	43,190	1900	14 of 22	64	No	Yes	1945	10,000	19
British Guiana	375,819	1814	14 of 25	56	Yes	Yes	11-24-47	59,193	11
Mauritius	437,916	1810	19 of 35	55	Yes	No	8-9/10-48	71,726	15
Trinidad & Tobago	558,605	1797	9 of 19	47	Yes	No	7-1-46	259,512	25
British Honduras	59,149	1638	6 of 13	46	Yes	Yes	6-11-48	1,772	3[2]
Northern Rhodesia	1,654,325	1889	10 of 22[8]	45	Yes	Yes	9-29-44	6,527	.4
Leeward Islands	108,500	1625	8[3] of 18	44	Yes	Yes	7-29-46	7,920[9]	7.3[2]
Windward Islands[4]	250,418	1722-1803	22 of 50	44	Yes	Yes	1946-47	17,309	4.9
Kenya	4,187,355	1895	17 of 42	40	Yes	No	*	*	*
Singapore	769,216	1824	6 of 19	32	Yes	No	3-20-48	100,000	2.3
Seychelles Islands	35,327	1810	3 of 12	25	*	*	*	* *	*
Fiji Islands	259,638	1874	6 of 32	19	No	Yes	9-20-47	9,331	2.8
Gold Coast	4,095,276	1821	5 of 30[1]	17	Yes	Yes	6-4-46	31,398	.093
Sudan[5]	6,590,996	1899	10 of 65[6]	15	No	Yes	11-14-48	*	*
Sierra Leone[7]	2,000,000	1788	3 of 21	14	No	Yes	1-25-45	5,833	.29
Gambia	241,135	1618	1 of 11	9	*	*	11-4-47	10,000	1.3
Nigeria	23,000,000	1886	4 of 49	8	No	Yes	2-14-47	5,825	.025[10]

Total 17 possessions 44,666,865—61% of total population of Colonial Empire— Average 1.8% of pop. eligible to vote

* Unavailable.
** All official, 1946 or later, except Gambria, 1944.
1 13 others elected indirectly.
2 Per cent population eligible.
3 All elected indirectly.
4 Four separate colonies and administrations: Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent.
5 Legally a condominium with Egypt.
6 Other 55 elected indirectly.
7 Constitution being revised.
8 A new constitution going into effect December, 1948 or January, 1949 will increase the elected members to 14 of 23, or 61 per cent.
9 For Island Councils of the Constituent Presidencies.
10 Per cent population eligible on an all-Nigerian basis. On basis of population involved in areas holding elections, 2.8.
11 Not all eligibles vote; e.g., in Gambia's single constituency though 10,000 were eligible only 3,201 voted.
12 At present, under 1947 constitution; about 10,000 eligible and 3,802 votes cast in 1946.

from Bermuda around the world and back again to the Bahamas. In size they range from the Pacific's tiny Pitcairn Island with a population of 126 to Nigeria in West Africa with 23,000,000 people, more populous than half the states of Europe. Some 70,000,000 people live in what still is in fact largely a political vacuum.

Despite the recent loss of Burma, Transjordan and Palestine, and the granting of apparent dominion status to Ceylon, Britain shows no sign of loosening her hold on the rest of her colonial world. Indeed, she is to some extent consolidating it further. For example, Sarawak was taken over from the White Rajah, Sir Charles Vyner Brooke, in 1946, as was North Borneo from the British North Borneo Company. These two formerly "protected states" have now been absorbed into the more intimate community of the Empire; and not without considerable popular objection, at least in the case of Sarawak. In addition, imperial troops still occupy, temporarily at least, the 879,112 square miles of Italy's former colonies of Cyrenaica, Tripoli, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, and Britain may become a trustee for part of them when settlement is finally made.

One good way of judging political democracy is to note how many people, proportionately, vote. That is, *what per cent of the total population* is eligible to vote, and what per cent does vote. Not, *what per cent of eligibles vote,* because that does not take into consideration disfranchisement on account of race, sex, poverty, tax delinquency, illiteracy, lack of education or registration difficulties. The simplest general guide to political democracy is the straight, across-the-board formula: *how many people per hundred vote?* Is it two as in Mississippi; or is it 52 as in the United Kingdom? The British House of Commons thought such figures of importance as far back as 1938 when it ordered the printing by His Majesty's Stationery Office of "British Colonies, Protectorates, etc. (Local Legislatures)," a pamphlet that has been of much service in the preparation of this article (which, however, utilizes figures for the latest available year subsequent to 1938).

In the relatively more advanced British Colonies the per cent of the population *eligible to vote* varies from 11 per cent in Barbados to 50 per cent in the case of Jamaica. The per cent of the total population *actually voting* goes up to 25 per cent in Trinidad (Jamaica 30 per cent) and down to 2 per cent in Southern Rhodesia. But in *half the British possessions* no one votes at all.

This mixed pattern is a reflection of the path the average colony traditionally has had to follow in proceeding along the road to dominion status or independence. First it is ruled by a military governor or high commissioner, as in British Somaliland or the Bechuanaland Protectorate today. There no representative government exists at all. The governor rules alone, checked only by the Crown. Eight dependencies totaling some 3,270,000 people are still such political embryos.

In the next stage the Governor appoints an *advisory* council to help him legislate. Later a *legislative* council is created nominated by the Governor and consisting of Government officials. The next development is the introduction of some unofficial, i.e. non-government, members into the Council. These are local citizens of standing, perhaps a banker, a major planter or industrialist, or a prominent merchant. Tanganyika, taken from the Germans in 1918, and the Nyasaland Protectorate, taken from the natives in 1889, are still in this stage. But there is no representative government. The people do not elect anyone to these councils. Fourteen dependencies with a population of more than 20,700,000 still have only *nominated* Councils.

A point is next reached when elections are provided for some of the unofficial members. An example is Nigeria on the West Coast of Africa, where under the new 1947 Constitution the Council consists of twenty official and twenty-five unofficial *nominated* members, and four unofficial *elected* members. (A special case on a somewhat higher level is the Gold Coast. Here a majority of Council members are elected, but the elections are *indirect,* sometimes by two or three stages. Hence, the people themselves have little control over the legislators.)

In a further step upward, the unofficial members, nominated and elected together, will form a *majority* of the Council. For example, in Trinidad in the West Indies the Legislative Council since 1946 has had four official and six unofficial nominated members and nine unofficial elected members. But the *elected* members are still in a *minority.* Thus, though Trinidad has one of the broadest franchises in the Empire, the voters only vote for 47 per cent of the Council.

An additional step occurs when the Council is granted a *majority of elected* members, as in British Guiana. In the final stages the *entire* Lower House (i.e. Legislative Council) is elected, first by a narrow franchise as in Southern

Rhodesia, finally by a broad franchise as in Jamaica.

This is the stairway up which the people in the British Colonies climb toward self-government. As the accompanying table shows, most still have some distance to go. Since 1945, the Labor Government has authorized new constitutions for many colonies. These have broadened the basis for representative government. But the tendency has been to stress the importance of increasing the proportion of unofficial members on the legislative council more than to emphasize increasing the number of elected members and the widening of the franchise. Some students feel that this means shifting of control from the Crown to dominant local economic interests rather than to the people as a whole.

Nevertheless, by and large, the Crown, that is the Governors appointed from London, still rules the Empire. Sometimes, as in much of West Africa, it does so indirectly through local hereditary chiefs and emirs. Progress has been made in some of these possessions in introducing more natives into legislative and provincial councils. They are usually chieftains nominated by the Governor, or indirectly elected by lower councils of chieftains. This is called Indirect Rule. It has the advantage for Britain of veiling such economic exploitation as may exist by having the native chieftains held responsible for it. For the natives it has the presumed advantage of tending to preserve native social and cultural patterns. But it does not bring much political democracy to the bulk of the people. Indeed frequently perhaps, as the UN report cited above says, tribal structures may be an "obstacle" to native advancement.

British colonies can be roughly divided into the three groups of the adjacent tables, where they are listed from the top down in order of apparent decreasing democracy. This shows in brief that more than half the Empire by population has a restricted franchise for a part only of the legislature; and that more than one-third of the Empire by population has no popular representation at all.

Group I represents those possessions that have made the greatest progress toward self-government.

In Group II are included the bulk of the British Colonies in *population*. Elected members of the Legislative Council range from 4 out of 49 in Nigeria to 14 out of 25 in British Guiana. Overall eligibility to vote for elected members varies from .025 per cent of the people in Nigeria to 16 per cent in Mauritius and 46 per cent in Trinidad. The suffrage requirements of all these possessions except Trinidad still contain various restrictive clauses. Not too untypical perhaps are those of British Honduras where a voter must be a British subject 21 or over and, in addition:

(a) have an income of $300 a year; or
(b) own land with an equity of $500; or
(c) rent property for at least $96 a year; *and*

when registering, be able to write his or her name and the date.

In both Southern and Northern Rhodesia practically no native Africans are permitted to vote, yet they constitute more than 95 per cent of the population. In Kenya, the former British East Africa, as *Towards Self-Government in the British Colonies,* official publication of the British Information Services, says: "the problem is complicated by the existence of a white settler community. . . . Here self-government must strike a balance between the white settler, the Indian settler, and the different African communities." This "balance" apparently has been struck by giving the 32,000 whites, who compose less than 1 per cent of the population, 76 per cent of the seats on the Legislative Council.

It will also be noted in Group II that:

a. The largest colony, Nigeria, has the smallest per cent of elected members (8) and the lowest popular participation (.025 per cent) in elections.

b. Of the fourteen colonies for which last election figures are available, which have a combined population of 33,853,187, only 1.8 per cent were eligible to vote, or 596,346. This is fewer voters than contested the 1946 election for two Illinois Congressmen.

c. In eleven of the fifteen colonies for which data are available, property, tax or income requirements for the franchise still exist. On the other hand ten of the fifteen do permit women to vote.

d. In two of the colonies, British Honduras and the Leeward Islands, that Britain has held longest, i.e. for more than 300 years, less than half the Council members are as yet elected, and for these on the average only 6 per cent of the population may vote, even indirectly.

e. The Sudan, next to Nigeria the most populous possession in Group II, is the latest to acquire the vote. It has the highest minimum age requirement, 25, of any part of the Empire and one of the highest property qualifications. Officials expressed regret at the small turnout for the first election held on November 14, 1948.

In Group III, which accounts for the greatest *number* of possessions and 34 per cent of the population, we may notice British Somaliland which adjoins Kenya on the Northeast. Annexed as a protectorate in 1884, no steps toward self-government have been taken in the sixty-four years since. The Military Governor is the sole executive and legislative authority, as he has been from the beginning.

GROUP III.
NO POPULARLY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES

a. *Nominated Legislative Council*[1]

	Population*	Year Acquired
Malaya	5,250,000	1874 to 1909
Sarawak	490,585	1888
Uganda	4,011,795	1890
Gibraltar	19,232	1704
Nyasaland	2,230,500	1889
Tanganyika[2]	5,722,343	1918
Zanzibar	250,000	1890
Aden	710,516	1839
Hong Kong	1,600,000	1841
Falkland Islands	2,599	1833
N. Borneo	312,374	1881
Brunei	48,634	1888
British Solomon Isls.	94,965	1893
St. Helena	5,270	1659

b. *Rule by Governor or High Commissioner Alone*

British Somaliland	740,000	1884
Cyprus	462,318	1878
Gilbert & Ellice Isls.	33,416	1877
Basutoland	660,650	1868
Bechuanaland Prot.	284,129	1885
Swaziland	186,880	1902
British Cameroons[2]	925,800	1916
British Togoland[2]	391,473	1914
New Hebrides[3]	48,914	1902

Total—23 possessions. 24,482,393 population, 34% of total Colonial Empire.

Grand Total—46 possessions. 72,845,731, total population of Colonial Empire. Average 2.4 per cent of total population eligible to vote.

* All official, 1946 or later, except British Cameroons, 1944; British Togoland and Sarawak, 1940; Basutoland, 1936; and Gilbert & Ellice Isls., 1931.
1 First 3 with unofficial majority; last 5 with Executive or Advisory Council only.
2 Trust territory.
3 Condominium with France.

Of the forty-three colonies of all groups for which data are available, with a combined population of 62,032,053, only 2.4 per cent are eligible to vote, or 1,482,486 This is fewer voters than debated the 1946 election for Senator from Massachusetts. Yet Massachusetts had a 1940 population of less than 4,400,000.

Hence, in spite of some commendable attainments in recent years, political democracy in the Empire still has a long distance to go. Many students are inclined to believe that the process of attaining full representative government can be greatly speeded up. Some think that a target of perhaps twenty years is not unreasonable as a period in which practically universal adult suffrage for fully-elected legislative councils could be arrived at in virtually all the Colonies. But to reach such a goal the present rate of democratic development will have to be considerably accelerated.

(statistics corrected by author to December 12, 1948)

23-25-17

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

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QA200

1948 FEB 23 PM 11 59

BDA Q.NHB378 NL PD=NASHVILLE TENN 23

DR W E B DUBOISE=

20 WEST 40 ST CARE NAACT NYK=

WE ARE THINKING OF YOU TODAY BECAUSE IT IS YOUR BIRTHDAY AND WE THINK OF YOU EVERYDAY BECAUSE OF THE GREAT UNSELFISH CONTRIBUTION WHICH YOU HAVE MADE TOWARD THE ADVANCEMENT OF YOUR PEOPLE=

MR AND MRS B F COX., Fisk U.,

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

OTELIA CROMWELL
1815 THIRTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 9, D.C.

March 8, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smyth, for Dr. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Smyth:

Thank you for your note and the copy of Dr. DuBois' letter to Dr. McQuistion of the General Education Board.

About three weeks ago I learned that Dr. Patterson had been designated as general editor of the Encyclopaedia of the Negro, Inc., that is, the matter was mentioned quite casually in general conversation among a group of my friends.

As I had received no notice of any change in the status of the Board of Editors of the Encyclopaedia of the Negro, I concluded that by some misadventure notice of impending changes had failed to reach me. I never dreamed that the General Education Board or any other group could annihilate an incorporated group and proceed to reorganize on its own authority. What has happened--if the news is correct--seems a most amazing procedure.

I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Otelia Cromwell

March 17, 1948

Mrs. Otelia Cromwell
1215 13th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Cromwell:

Thank you for your letter to Dr. DuBois. I have forwarded it to him on the West Coast, where he is still lecturing.

For your information, I am encl sing a copy of some material which you will find is self explanatory. With thanks for your interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Enclosure:

January 12, 1948

22-33-29

Mrs. Mabel Byrd Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
Saint Louis, Missouri

My dear Mabel:

I find that my engagements are March 5, 7, and 9, on the Pacific Coast. The 9th being at Stanford University; and then the 14th in Los Angeles. Also, Drake University has asked me to speak and I have offered them March 2. This will leave for you February 25 to March [redacted].

Father La Farge of New York has written to Washington University.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[M. Curtis?]

4459 Enright Ave
St Louis 8 Mo
Jan. 14, 1948
[Curtis]

22-33-22

Dear Dr. DuBois.

February 25 is settled for Maine College. There assembly is at 11 a.m. on Wednesdays.

On Friday Feb. 27. the Booklovers will present you!

Washington U. has not yet given me their answer but it looks very favorable. They need you.

St Louis U. - I have had no opportunity to contact the right person yet. but I will do my best.

We are all so very very

glad you are coming.-

I will let you know how things are progressing.

Will you send me your subject or subjects so that the committee can do a bit of publicity.

Elaine wants to make sure of you for the 25th. Yours as ever

Mabel

Wednesdays is their only assembly day so your lecture must be held on the 25th as you planned.

[Mabel Byrd Curtis]

Lecture

January 28, 1948

Mrs. Mabel Byrd Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

22-33

Dear Mrs. Curtis:

For your information Dr. DuBois asked me to pass along to you the following information.

He has no engagement in Iowa.

He does not have to be in California until March 5.

He plans to arrive in St. Louis February 24.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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AA294 A.LC 1046 NL PD=STLOUIS MO 4

DR W E B DUBOIS=

20 WEST 40 ST N A A C P NYK=

WILL YOU SEND IMMEDIATELY SUBJECTS OF LECTURE=

MABLE CURTIS..

Negro + United Nations slob Subjects wire

Color + Democracy slob

Colonial Imperialism

(1-22)

arrived Feb. 5, 1948 night letter

597

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WESTERN UNION

1206

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

CHECK
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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

SNEP [redacted], New York, February 5, 1948

NIGHT LETTER

23-35-117

Mrs. Mabel Byrd Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Subjects are:

THE NEGRO AND THE UNITED NATIONS Stop

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY Stop

COLONIAL IMPERIALISM Stop

W. E. B. DuBois

23-38-113

lecture

4459 Enright Ave
St Louis 8 Missouri
2/17/48

Dear Dr. DuBois.

I have been deferring this final letter before your arrival on account of Washington U.

As your schedule here now stands, you will speak at Stowe Wed. 2/25/ at 11 a.m. on "The Negro & the United Nations."

On Friday at 8 p.m. at Lane Tabernacle you will speak for the Booklovers on "Color & Democracy"

Washington U. tells me that

they would like to have you Monday March 1st but are having some difficulty with their student assembly schedule. However I believe they are in earnest & before this week is out they may let me know exactly where & when.

St. Louis U. professors were very anxious to have you speak there but couldn't find any necessary funds!

I would be glad to have a cut if you have one available. I hope the dailies will carry news items etc.

28-38-114

Will you let me know your time of arrival?

You understand of course that the Curtis household is hanging out its welcome banner for you!

As to entertainment the Boule is planning something and if you think you can stand it the Curtis would like to have a reception for you on Sunday evening February 29th

Do hurry & come. We are all so anxious to see you. and in the meantime

28-38-115

I understand that you are having a birthday! Good luck and many many more of them.

With high hopes for the success of your St Louis visit

I am as ever

Mabel (Byrd Curtis)

23-38-116

38C-49-50

February 17, 1948

Mrs. Mabel Byrd Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Curtis:

Dr. DuBois has asked me to inform you that he will arrive in St. Louis on February 24, by plane. TWA, flight No. 491, which leaves Newark, New Jersey, Airport, at 9:00 A.M., and arrives in St. Louis (must be Lambert Field, but you can check) at 3:35 P.M. In case of inclement weather and he has to change to train accommodations, you will be so informed in due time.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

COPY

Lecture competition

April 13, 1948

Mrs. Mabel Byrd Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Curtis:

We are in need of some information concerning the SCHROEDER FOUNDATION, located at 8 East Glendale Road, Webster Grove 19, Missouri. H. L. Schroeder is the president. Would you please be good enough to see what you can find out about this organization, whether it is a valid foundation, just what it does, its attitude concerning Negroes, what its principal work is and so on, and let us hear from you at your convenience. Dr. DuBois would like to have this report whenever you can send it.

Please accept our thanks for your courtesy.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

4459 Enright Ave
St Louis 8 Mo.
7/7/48

Dr. Hugh Smythe
20 West 40th St
New York 18 N.Y.

Dear Dr. Smythe.

23C-45

Sometime ago you wrote me for information in regard to the Schroeder Foundation.

After making several inquiries the only information that I have been able to find and verify is as follows:

1) Mr. Schroeder's ambition is to gather together as many books

as possible with the avowed purpose of leaving them to some school when he has sufficient at hand.

2) The books are a motley array - there seems to be no tendency to collect any particular subject, authors, or indeed any criteria at all in his collection. He does have some autographed books of noted English & American authors, one or two books by Tehrn. — there are placed side by side with pamphlets by local men whose writings can in no way be classed as literature.

3) He sets great store by autographs

seemingly more interested in autographs than in the subject matter of the books themselves.

4) It is the consensus of opinion among those who know him that the word "foundation" as he uses it is a misnomer. There is neither organization, incorporation or money behind it. It merely seems to be a guardian idea.

I do hope that this information will be be some help to you. If there is any further help I can give you, please let me know. Yours truly

Mabel B. Curtis

230-45

23-13-410

Mabel Byrd Curtis St. Louis Missouri

July 7, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois.

What with the house being robbed three times since you left, the relatives visiting, the Children finishing grade school, and a visit to Fisk-Spring Festival - Susie coming and going again - and several other important & unimportant events taking place - "Life still can be beautiful."

We are all very very

23-13-41

pleased that you came to St Louis and the Curtis are especially so. Don't you think you should come this way annually.?

I had intended writing before this. but with manyfold upsets to my emotional life. I just couldn't get pen and paper together.

The flowers I found at Tuk. I that them wonderful. and I did have such a good time with Miss Higgs. We - all of us talked of you and of course

28-43-2

ive were unanimous in our
love for you.
I tried so hard to get to Chicago -
to hear you speak. - Failing that
have you a copy of your speech
and I think you promised one
of your birthday speech. My
photo of you is still missing!
Where is it? I like the one in
the recent Boule. - Please send.

We are going on Saturday to
Tuskegee. - and thence to N.Y.
The boys you know. Can't you
take care of the weather for us?
Will you be at the Boule' arou

23-13-43

My subsequently: I do hope so.
I do hope you are well and that
every thing is going well for you.
It would be good to hear
from you when you have
time. I wrote Dr. Smythe re
Schroeder Foundation.
With every good wish. Same
as ever

Mabel (Byrne Curtis)

4459 Enright (8)

July 14, 1948

Mrs. Mabel B. Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Curtis: I want to thank you for your letter of July 7, which has just reached me. The material you sent concerning the Schroeder Foundation substantiated the belief of Dr. DuBois. It was indeed gracious of you to take time to do this for him and he sends you his sincere thanks for your efforts.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Corr. C

December 23, 1948

23-B-44

Mrs. Mabel Byrd Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis, Misscuri

My dear Mabel:

I know you will pardon my long delay in answering your kind letter, but I have been fairly busy as you may imagine. The first installment of my moving from the NAACP offices is going on today. I shall probably be in my new office next week.

I have there refrained from making any fight to remain in this position; as things are now it would be impossible for me to work with any freedom or satisfaction. I have therefore advised those who have written me that what they should work for is a reorganization of the NAACP and an increase of democracy, so that the actions of the executives could be curbed and made more consistent with the present critical development of the world.

This, of course, is going to take time and I have not the years or the strength to give to it. It must be done by younger people. If the mass of those who are willing to let things stand as they are in the NAACP, then they and their children must suffer for this neglect.

As it is, I have been mentioned for a small endowment by persons in the West, so that it seems probable when the whole thing is worked out that I can have freedom and leisure to work for the rest of my life. It is not quite settled yet but it appears on the verge of settlement.

I thank you very much for your interest and send my best regards to you, your husband and the two children. I shall hope to see you sometime in the future.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mayfield B Curtis

4459 Enright Ave.
St Louis 8 Missouri

22-40-91

Dear Dr. DuBois,

We were "Johnnie Come Lately" —
in being made aware of the
persecution of you — whom
we — the Curtis household have
and admire as the Negro who
has blazed trails, held up
standards of achievement, given
hope and encouragement to
"The Talented Tenth", and who
by his steadfastness made
personal intellectual integrity
an ideal toward which we

22-40-92

have tried to attain and which
we are endeavoring to inculcate
in our children.

We are deeply sorry and
grieved, not for you for
we know out of this you
will emerge a grander
figure of world citizenship.
but for those pitiable members
of the NAACP Board and
staff. Our pity is contemptuous.
Is there anything that we
can do: The Committee has
our card pairing with those
who stand right to conquer.

22-40-93

As yet we have heard nothing
directly, but we stand ready
and willing to do anything
in our power.

There is no need to say more.
You know over the long years
how greatly we have admired
you and heeded your words.

So it is yours to command —
all of us — Jinnie Thomas & Robert
and Me — Mabel.

We stand by.

With deep devotion
The Curtis's

23-25-39

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(138)

1948 FEB 23 PM 3 40

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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)N175 PD=PATERSON NJER 23 322P

DR W E B DU BOIS, CARE DR E R ALEXANDER=

:234 WEST 139 ST:

=GREETINGS ON YOUR 80TH BIRTHDAY, AND BEST WISHES FOR HEALTH AND HAPPINESS=

:MAURICE AND FANNIE CURTIS (DR AND MRS A M CURTIS)

445 Van Houton St
PATERSON, N.J.

This

-80-

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

731 Chapel Street
Norfolk, Virginia
Sept. 24, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 W. 40th Street
New York City

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I want you to know that I am with you wholeheartedly in your position with regard to Mr. Walter White. No one but a person suffering from an inflated ego and an acute case of selfishness would step in front of you for an international assignment on the colonial question involving Negros.

I am amazed at Mr. White's ~~selfish~~ interest in his personal advancement. Not a single Negro in America has done as much as you have to focus the attention of the White world on the oppression and exploitation of Negros in Africa and other parts of the world. You are the most noted and most widely recognized Negro statesman in the world on the color problem in the world.

Any Negro of good sense and talented judgment of his own worth would have had

22-48-95

sense enough to realize that you more than any other Negro anywhere - the world deserve the post for consultant on Negro problems in colonial affairs.

22-40-96

I am a reporter for the Journal and Guide. We discussed this matter as we do many others in the news room at the Guide. What we said, of course, was our personal opinion but by you - the news room who listened the discussion said White is too self centered & that you should have had the post or assignment should be engineered for himself.

No Negro has done as much for the Negro as you have but Mr. White probably would not agree to this. You are my spiritual father - the man who with other helped to keep me from giving up in utter despair when I was in my teens.

I am afraid most Negros don't realize the value of a man who ~~did the~~ does the work you did as founder and editor of The Crisis. The Crisis under your editorship saved ~~thousands~~ hundreds of thousands of young Negros from spiritual death. Their hope and

3 Dr. Du Bois

aspirations were kept alive because you wrote and said the things they wanted some one to write and say. Do my sir case I don't know what would have hoppe to me spiritually and morally but for you and The Crisis and Upton Lectures late you. I'll never forget your editorial many years on John R. Mott - what you discussed Mott's admonition "Don't be bitter"

Walter White is a shoe shine boy in comparison to you. Of course he has done a good job as Nacp secretary but he was never and never will be the scholar or statesman that you are or that my late friend James Weldon Johnson was.

Most sincerely yours,

Thomas L. Dabney

P.S. You might not remember I once taught school in Buckingham County, Va and started the fight in Virginia in 1931 for higher salaries of Negro teachers.

22-04-22

File Negro Problems

27 Greenwich Ave.,
N. Y. C., 14, N. Y.,
Jan. 21, 1948.

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
c/o Chicago Defender,
Chicago, Illinois,
Dear Sir:

It gives me a sense of great respect and gratification to learn that you have taken a favorable stand on the presidential candidacy of Henry A. Wallace.

As a rank and file Negro worker, who has followed your career and literature with keen hopeful interest all my life, I am moved to write to you to convey certain impressions.

The tenders of the Tuskegee Machine are still employing it as a hot-air compressor to keep the balloon of imperialistic "white supremacy" puffed up high, to enable all Negroes to behold it in all its phoney splendor.

"A people are given nothing." -(Aptheker)

I have the conviction that hard-working, progressive-minded Negro women and men and their fellow workers of all groups are beginning to grasp the broad understanding that not only must there be a mass struggle for any social and political gains they may decide to attain, (as a special section of American economy,) but the same struggle must be maintained without letup to keep whatever gains achieved in the historic past.

For Negroes, the approach to be considered concerning the correct method of contribution to this struggle is of historic importance and necessity.

In my humble opinion, the Negro struggle for first-class citizenship and a greater share in the American economy is based on four dominant factors, as follows:

1. As an important section of the working class we are oppressed economically.
2. As a distinct racial group we are oppressed socially and physically.
3. As a growing part of the trade-union movement we are subjected to discrimination and white chauvinism as union members. (There are encouraging exceptions to this statement, but in the broad, general sense, this is a fact.)
4. In the political field, which has a direct bearing on every other factor, class lines are sharpening:
   (a) On the one hand, the growing Negro business elements,

the Jim Crow concessionaires, find themselves in the dubious position of going along with Witch-hunts, Loyalty Oaths, the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law and a conditioned Marshall Plan, all of which are essentially reactionary and progress-binding. Negro women and men must not be bewildered and confused by this double-dealing policy of our so-called "civic" leaders, who talk out of one side of their mouths for the benefit of their Wall Street sponsors, and out of the other side of their mouths for the benefit of the Negro voters.

(b) On the other hand, we have Negro workers, in the vast majority and with a strong vote, who are honest and sincere about their desire to cast that vote in the right direction.

22-40-20

This election year presents a vital, timely opportunity to the country's largest minority group, business people and workers alike. This time we have someplace to go, and of course, with the two major political parties setting forth a policy of reaction, depression and war, and Henry A. Wallace who has made clear his stand for peace and progress, the choice should be without question. I am firmly convinced that Negro voters should rally to the whole-hearted support of Henry A. Wallace, with the firm determination to prove to ourselves and to the world that we aim to carry on a courageous, militant struggle for a better way of life for all peoples.

In conclusion, I wish to state that I am in hopes you will use every device at your command in support of Henry A. Wallace, with the unshakeable confidence and knowledge that you have many, many people behind you.

I will attempt to the best of my ability to do the same.

If it is not too much of an imposition, I would be honored to hear from you.

With sincere respect, I remain,

Arthur Lewis Dailey

Arthur Lewis Dailey

Letter of Appreciation

January 26, 1948

Mr. Arthur Lewis Dailey
27 Greenwich Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Dailey:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois, sent to the CHICAGO DEFENDER, has finally reached this office. The Doctor wishes you to know that he appreciates hearing from you and the fine words you said about what he is doing.

With thanks for your interest, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Reg for articles

DAILY WORKER

50 east 13th st., New York 3, N.Y. Algonquin 4-7954

January 14, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City

22-30-02

Dear Doctor DuBois:

The Worker hopes that its annual Lincoln Douglass edition this year will be a weapon in the present stage of the Negro people's struggle -- the stage of seeking expression through a third party and a tough coalition committed to the abolition of the jimcrow system. Accordingly, we have programmed subjects such as "What Wallace Means to the Negro People", "How Third Parties Have Benefitted Negroes", "How Democratic and Republican Administrations Have Ignored the Negroes Petitions for Justice", and others in a similar vein.

Such a presentation of issues would be incomplete, however, without any indication of the final goal toward which, in our estimation, the Negro people will inevitably more consciously strive. This is the goal of Socialism. We should like, therefore, a contribution to our issue on the subject -- say -- "SOCIALISM MEANS DEATH TO JIM-CROW", and we feel that your pen could give a clarity and an authority to the exposition of such a subject which would not be forthcoming from any other spokesman of the Negro people.

Accordingly, would it be possible for you to give us 1000 words on this subject not later than January 27th, which is the deadline for copy on this edition. I would appreciate hearing from you regarding this.

Sincerely yours,

John Pittman
For the Editorial Board

th
ang/cio-ny

"THE TRUTH IN THE NEWS"

DAILY WORKER

50 east 13th st., New York 3, N.Y. Algonquin 4-7954

April 7, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Before sailing for Palestine, I want to tell you how much I appreciate your signing the statement to Secretary Marshall protesting the refusal to grant me a passport. As you know, the decision was reversed several days ago, making it unnecessary to send the statement. I believe this was a real victory for freedom of the press.

The fact that the statement was being circulated became known to the State Department and it may have played a part in winning a reversal. Thanks very much.

Sincerely yours,
A. B. Magil
A. B. Magil

ang/cio-ny

22-30-01

"THE TRUTH IN THE NEWS"

Walter White Ducks Query on Sellout

Daily Worker 9-14-48 (nyc)

32-46-6

By John Hudson Jones

Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, yesterday dodged charges by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois that he was selling out the fight for Negro rights by being a U.S. consultant at the Paris meeting of the United Nations. White, as well as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Warren Austin of the U.S. delegation were interviewed as they sailed for France on the SS America.

White gave the standard "no comment" to DuBois' sizzling charges leveled at an NAACP Board meeting Sept. 7. At that time DuBois charged the board's okay of White's consultantship "ties us in with the reactionary, warmongering colonial imperialism of the present administration."

DuBois pointed out to the board that the United States "has refused to bring the curtailment of our civil right to the attention of the General Assembly." He was referring to action of Mrs. Roosevelt and Johnathan Daniels in blocking the NAACP petition on Negro oppression from the main report of the UN Human Rights Committee which recently met in

(Continued on Page 11)

Walter White

(Continued from Page 2)

Geneva. At that time the Soviet union fought that it be included.

"What will you do about getting the NAACP petition before the UN in view of these facts?" this reporter asked White.

32-46-6

NO PROPOSALS

"Everything in my power," declared White, but refused to give any definite proposals for accomplishing this.

"What would be your attitude and role if another nation sought to put it before the UN?"

White's answer was "The U.S. and Russia are both playing power politics, and we Negroes are caught in the middle." Although the question was repeated White avoided answering it.

DuBois had charged that since the NAACP Board had formulated no definite position on foreign policy and was participating in the U.S. delegation on foreign affairs it accepted the Truman administration's policy of aiding imperialism against India, Israel, Ethiopia and other peoples.

White declared he personally was for a UN conducted plebiscite in the former Italian colonies, to decide their future, as opposed to returning the colonies, Eritrea, Libya, and the Somaliland, to an Italian trusteeship.

The best that this reporter could get from Mrs. Roosevelt on the NAACP petition, was that "naturally we're for human rights because we feel that understanding and acceptance of these basic rights is the one way to uproot the causes of war."

AUSTIN PRAISES ERP

In a general press conference Austin, declared the "free nations of the world are stronger . . . thanks to the European Recovery Program."

Twisting the anti-Soviet hysteria for a new angle, Austin said:

"We must acknowledge the contribution the Soviet Union has made toward promoting the unity of the non-Communist world by its aggressive tactics, its arbitrary stands and by its isolationist approach to international affairs." He wouldn't elaborate in answer to reporters' questions that this was a strange way of putting such a proposition.

Sailing also on the America was James B. Carey, secretary of the CIO, and a rabid defender of the Truman administration, the Marshall Plan, and other projects of the bi-partisan foreign policy.

White declared that after the UN meeting he would travel in Germany to investigate the conditions of Negro American troops in the army of occupation, and visit other countries and cities.

A meeting of the NAACP Board to hear the charges of Dr. DuBois was scheduled for yesterday at 4 p.m.

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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SA40 NL PD=LOSANGELES CALIF 3

DR W E B DUBOIS=

IN CARE CHICAGO DEFENDER PUBLISHING CO CHGO=

MY VERY DEAR SIR PLEASE OBTAIN FOR ME UNDER YOUR SIGNATURE THE RIGHT TO HAVE PRINTED A HUNDRED THOUSAND COPIES OF YOUR COLUMN JANUARY 3 1948 FOR DISTRIBUTION BY ME IN LOS ANGELES AND VICINITY WIRE PERMIT MY EXPENSE AT ONCE AND OBLIGE VERY TRULY YOURS=

ALONZO A DAMAS 1209 SOUTH CENTRAL.

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23-39-66

JNE v COLLECT

January 9, 1948

COLLECT TELEGRAM

Mr. Alonzo A. Bamas
1209 South Central Avenue
Los Angeles, California

Re TELEGRAM JANUARY 4, PERMISSION TO PRINT COLUMN GRANTED

W.E.B. DuBois

Reply Jan 15 1948
Answered

4218 E. N. Market Street

St. Louis, Missouri

~~December 5, 1947~~ February 16, 1948

Prof. W. E. B Dubois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Prof. Dubois,

I am working on a dissertation at St. Louis University for My Master's Degree in Sociology.

My work is to be compiled into a Who's Who's among colored sociologists. If the project is a succes it will be published. I feel that such a publication will be interesting as well as an asset to all sociologist and especially our people.

Kindly help me to make this publication and cause it to be a success by filling out the enclosed questionaire and adding to the list other sociologists of whom you have knowledge.

I am writing you and a few other key persons this letter, hoping that you will aid me.

~~January 15, 1948 will be the dead line for me to make a report on my~~ results.

I shall be most grateful for any consideration given me.

Sincerely yours

Ruth B. Daugherty

Ruth B. Daugherty

22-39

Please excuse use of letter a second time, but I am badly in need of your reply

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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NEWYORK NY NOV 22 1948

DR W E B DUBOIS

409 EDGECOMB AVE NYK

NOW THAT THE ELECTIONS ARE OVER A GROUP OF US WHO ARE CONCERNED WITH THE INCREASING INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS ARE EAGER TO DISCUSS WAYS IN WHICH WE AS CITIZENS AND AS WORKERS IN THE ARTS SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS CAN HELP CREATE IN THIS COUNTRY AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE FORCES RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE TENSIONS SO THAT WE MAY MOVE TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE PRESENT WORLD CRISIS WILL YOU JOIN A SMALL GROUP OF US AT THE EAST LOUNGE BARBIZON PLAZA 101 WEST 58 STREET AT 815 PM MONDAY NOVEMBER 29TH RSVP

JO DAVIDSON HARLOW SHAPLEY OLIN DOWNES
49 WEST 44 STREET NEW YORK CITY

900P

Dear Mrs Dubois

Sorry but I have lectures at the New School Monday nights. You have my sympathy and cooperation

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

November 26, 1948

23-48-17

Mr. Jo Davidson
49 West 44th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Davidson:

Sorry but I have lectures at the New School, Monday nights. You have my sympathy and cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

December 23, 1948

23-27-24

Mrs. Shelby Davidson
1333 R Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Davidson:

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year and all that--to you and the family. I am spending Christmas with the family in Baltimore but have got to come to Washinton. Could you put me pup for the night of the 26th? I shall be glad if you can.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Ltr for INFO

22-39-74

18½ South Clinton Street
Iowa City, Iowa
February 11, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Director of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
Room 1410 - Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

As partial requirement for a Master of Arts Degree in speech at the State University of Iowa, I am trying to evaluate the speech techniques of Booker T. Washington for a thesis. I have sought your opinion in many of your writings here in our library, but have not found exactly the details that would fit into my tentative outline.

I should be very grateful if you would write me a line or two, culling from your first-hand knowledge of Mr. Washington, an opinion of his effectiveness as a speaker. I should be pleased if you could mention some definite audience reaction to his speeches before separate or mixed audiences. You probably have in your possession a letter from Mr. Washington referring to some planned speaking occasion. If you quote some lines from it, the University and I would consider it a valuable contribution to the department and to my own effort.

I deplore the necessity for involving you in what is after all of personal benefit to me. I shall be very happy if you feel disposed to make any contribution at all.

Sincerely yours,

A. Lucille Davis

Miss A. Lucille Davis

February 25, 1948

Miss A. Lucille Davis
18½ South Clinton Street
Iowa City, Iowa

22-39

Dear Miss Davis:

Your letter of February 11, has come during the absence of Dr. Du Bois from his desk. He is on an extended lecture tour to the West Coast and will not return to New York until April. I am telling you this so that you will not be delayed in carrying on your work.

I want you to know that Dr. Du Bois would be glad to cooperate with you in your request, but the responsibilities of his work are so demanding upon his time that he finds it almost impossible to help as many causes as he would like.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

The University of Chicago
CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS
The Department of Education

May 18, 1948

22-37-22

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I appreciate very deeply your kind invitation to deliver one of the lectures in your course on "The Negro in American History," at The New School. I should like very much to be able to come, but I should be unable to do so unless The New School paid my traveling expenses. Unfortunately, the University of Chicago does not provide expenses for such trips. If it proves possible for me to come I should prefer a date during the autumn.

May I take this opportunity to say that I have been very happy, and proud to hear of the many honors which have been paid to you during the past year. I look forward to seeing you upon the occasion of your address during the closing ceremonies of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Sincerely yours,

Allison Davis

Allison Davis
Professor of Education

AD:ig

22-32-23

August 4, 1948

Dr. Allison Davis
The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Davis:

I am writing again with regard to the possibility of a lecture by you at the New School during the Fall term of the school year 1948-1949. The lectures take place on Mondays, from 8:30-10:10 P.M. If you see any possibility of your being in New York during the school year, I want very much to have you deliver a lecture.

You will be free to take any subject within the general framework of the course, The Negro in American History. Of course, if you have any specific time when you are going to be here, I should like to be able to put you down for a certain date, but if not, we would be glad to await you at any time.

I understand that you are now a full professor, and if that is true, may I congratulate the University of Chicago.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:S

23-25-65

THE COUNCIL
OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
CITY HALL

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.
COUNCILMAN, BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN
200 WEST 135 STREET
NEW YORK 30, N.Y.

February 14, 1948

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139 Street
New York 30, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I appreciate deeply the invitation extended to me to attend the dinner in honor of the 80th. birthday of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. I am sorry that it will not be possible for me to be present.

Dr. DuBois is one of the most distinguished scholars that America has produced, irrespective of race, creed or color. The complexities of the changing times have only served to sharpen his leadership and to enhance his contributions to the Negro people and to progressive thought.

I am one of his thousands of admirers who consider it a privilege to congratulate him on his birthday and to wish for him many more.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin J. Davis

BJD/bs

Benjamin J. Davis
Councilman, New York City

THE COUNCIL
OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
CITY HALL

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.
COUNCILMAN, BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN
200 WEST 135 STREET
NEW YORK 30, N.Y.

December 4, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

23-39-50

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed find a copy of my column of November 28th. dealing with the question of Dr. Ralph Bunche and Israel. I thought you might be interested in seeing it after I noted newspaper excerpts from your remarks on the same subject at a symposium with Walter White and others. If possible, I would like to have you send me a copy of your speech.

Meantime, may I congratulate you on the continued courage and clarity which you show on so many vital issues, despite the mean attacks which come from men of little and selfish vision.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin J. Davis

BJD/bs

Benjamin J. Davis
Councilman

December 8, 1948

23-30-57

Hon. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.
200 West 135th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of December 4, and for the clipping enclosed.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

lecture

Ohio Senate
Columbus

HARRY E. DAVIS
TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT
202 ENGINEERS BLDG.
CLEVELAND

COMMITTEES:
BANKS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS
PUBLIC HEALTH
PUBLIC UTILITIES
PUBLIC WORKS AND STATE BUILDINGS

January 5th, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-1/8-30

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The St. James Forum wants to know what your arrangements are for lecturing during the coming year. They have tentatively set aside the date, Sunday April 4th, 1948, for your appearance before the Forum. If this is agreeable to you and you can come at that time will you please advise.

It has been suggested that the basis of your talk be the work you have been doing in presenting the claims of minorities to the United Nations. I personally think a good lecture on this topic, given in your usual style, would be of unusual interest. Please let me hear from you promptly with reference to terms.

Sincerely yours,

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm

January 8, 1948

Senator Harry E. Davis
Twenty-Fifth District
202 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Davis:

Thank you for your letter of January 5. It is possible that I won't be able to come to Cleveland for a lecture this year. I am going to the Pacific Coast in February and March and will not be back in my office until sometime late in March. I probably could not leave again in April. I might in May, but I believe your Forum closes before that time. Let me know what the last available date is.

I trust t is will find you in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

lecture

Ohio Senate
Columbus

HARRY E. DAVIS
TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT
202 ENGINEERS BLDG.
CLEVELAND

COMMITTEES:
BANKS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS
PUBLIC HEALTH
PUBLIC UTILITIES
PUBLIC WORKS AND STATE BUILDINGS

April 23, 1948

23-3-99

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I find in all probability that I will be out of the city on Sunday, May 9th, when you speak here at the Forum. However, I have arranged for my brother, Russell, to take care of you during your stay. He resides at 1088 Parkside Drive, a short distance from my home. Please let me know the time of your arrival so I can advise him.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Harry E. Davis

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm

I arrive Saturday at ____ Standard time flight 131
United Airlines. I return Thursday by plane
leave 12:25 noon Standard

May 4, 1948

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Mr. Davis:

In reply to your letter of April 23, I am sending the following information concerning Dr. DuBois.

He arrives in Cleveland, via United Airlines, at 2:35 P.M. Standard Time (3:35 Daylight Saving Time), Saturday, May 8. The flight is No. 131.

The Doctor returns Monday, May 10, via United Airlines, Flight No. 502, leaving Cleveland at 12:25 P.M. Standard Time (1:25 Daylight Saving Time).

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

23C-38-40

Is Hias- IRO = Feb 1948 Int. Refugee Organization
1,500,000 Refugees in displaced persons
600,000 in camps

10 & 6
Parkade
Drive

August 23, 1948

22-04-30

President John W. Davis
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

My dear President Davis:

You have done me a great disservice by starting me thinking again, and thereby interferring with the novel which I am writing and with certain vows I have made at the temple of Rest and Peace.

I had about come to the place where I was going to give up further thought about the sociological program. It seemed to me that I could do nothing more without interferying. At the same time it has been very difficult for me to understand why so few others could not see, as we do, the tremendous and epoch-making possibilities of this plan. I laid it down vaugly in 1897, in a speech made at the University of Pennsylvania. I tried to carry it out in the first thirteen years of work at Atlanta University, and then I came to the NAACP with the expressed and distinct idea of continuing my research there.

For 25 years I did nothing because I could get no funds, and was busy with the CRISIS and other matters. Then returning to Atlanta, I planned it again and ran up against a certain guy named Clement, who succeeded in ruining it. I did think, however, that I had saved the remnants and put it at our largest Negro institution with the best sociologist of our day in charge. As you have said, very little has come of this scheme.

First of all, I think you are one of the few who understand what I have in mind. Here is, for the science of sociology, an extraordinary opportunity for a laboratory experiment: fifteen million human beings with an intriguing history, in a situation of world importance just now, who are in such position that they can be studied as a group, more or less isolated from their surroundings, with the aid of trained students of sociology to make the study continuously. If we could even now begin it systematically, within 50 years, certainly within a 100, we would have the most magnificent picture of the development of a group of human beings that the scientific world has

ever seen. It might put the science of sociology on its feet.

What can we do? What I had in mind was, in the first place, to get in each state of the Union where there were any large number of colored people, and, in the great cities of the North where Negroes have congregated, an organization, either a college or a voluntary group, to make it their business to study continuously, broadly, and as carefully as possible the situation of the Negroes in their territory. They were to use offical data, federal, state, county, and city; but , also, gradually to collect their own data, so as eventually to cover the whole life of the Negro. To do this, there was needed local scientific, scholarship and that would be furnished in the Negro institutions by the professors of sociology.

But, of course, such scholars working alone, might go off at various tangents, and not have the advantage of the latest and most effective technique. For that reason they should be brought into correspondance and touch with each other, so as more and more to work as one coordinated group.

For this reason I wanted to get a sponsoring institution which would furnish funds enough for clerical work, and also be a center where the best sociological thought of the United States and of Europe could be brought to bear for advice and criticism. This was the reason that I called the various conferences at Atlanta University, and hoped that this plan could be continued at Howard.

Manifestly, at Howard neither the president nor Dr. Frazier quite grasp the importance and scope of this study, so that the cooperating institutions are getting uneasy and losing interest, which is quite understandable. What I now propose is to remove the sponsorship, either wholly or in part, from Howard and place it at least temporarily in New York. The advantage of New York is that here one can get in touch with all the great thinkers and workers of the world. Here would be a place where conferences could easily be held and eagerly attended.

The question is, however, what would be the sponsoring body? Naturally, I want it to be, certainly at first, a body with which I am connected, so that in the few remaining years of my work I can give it some attention and guidance. Also, I have with me Dr. Hugh Smythe, A Ph.D. in Anthropology, from Northwestern University, who knows something of my plans and had hoped to help at Howard, he probably would have but funds were not available. He is employed now as my research assistant, but is not getting the salary which he ought to have and naturally is seeking wider scope. There are others who might help.

The point then is, to what institution could this be hitched? 1

think at present of two: first, there is my Department of Special Research in the NAACP. It is possible (although I am not at all certain) that the directors of the NAACP, could be induced to let me take up that project as part of my department, provided of course, that it did not entail any considerable increase of expenditure on their part. The NAACP is a great organization and has become a social institution among both colored and white prople. It must, however, have broader bases and objectives than it has now; it must become more than an organization of protest and agitation. It must have a constructive program. My plan might meet opposition, and perhaps I could not swing it. I shall be glad to have your opinion.

The second institution which I have in mind is the New School; this is an institution for social research. It has on its faculty, a large number of the best scholars of Europe, and I think it would be interested in this project. The only drawback is that it is predominately a white institution and would get credit for much, if not the larger part, of what we might be able to accomplish. Outside these organizations it might, of course, be possible to interest one of the Funds. The General Education Board would have backed it, if Clement had asked for it. But he preferred the Study of Negro Business.

I am writing you just as I happen to be thinking with nothing very clear or definite in my mind. Will you read this over at your leisure and let me have your reactions.

It was very nice to meet you at Wilberforce, and more especially, (if you will kindly say this to her!) to meet Mrs. Davis, and, also, your daughter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

INSTITUTE, WEST VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

27 August 1948

JOHN W. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

22-36-5

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your most interesting letter of August 23 will receive my attention just as soon as I return next week from northern Michigan.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
National Association for the
Advance of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Return

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

INSTITUTE, W. VA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

18 September 1948

JOHN W. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

42-6c-33

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Memoranda concerning the United Nations and N A A C P, and motion passed by the N A A C P Board of Directors at the regular meeting, September 13, 1948 represent another challenging situation. It is my hope that same may be resolved amicably.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

22-36-6

September 24, 1948

President John W. Davis
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

My dear President Davis:

Thank you for your two last letters. Of course, the situation here calls for some change in my proposition concerning the Land Grant Colleges. Manifestly the NAACP will not do for a center. I am, however, thinking of some other possibilities about which I will write you.

Another fact is of pressing importance, 1950 will mark the new century and all offices and measurement for the next decade will depend upon that census. Our program of social studies should be geared to this fact, which makes it all the more important that we have this great effort to study the American Negro systematically.

I wonder if it would be possible to get an appropriation from any foundation? If we could have ten or fifteen thousand dollars a year for five years, we could put this thing on its feet independently.

Returning to the situation here, I do not think that any compromise is likely. The organization of the NAACP is fundamentally wrong.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

JOHN W. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
INSTITUTE, W. VA.

December 21, 1948

22-34

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The human soul is precious. This is the fundamental fact of Christmas. For 2000 years this Christian ethic has given meaning to our songs of peace and goodwill. This is God's season of self-giving and the command to us is clear to lift higher our voices in the crisis of mankind.

A sense of human relations, encompassing the dignity of every man, is becoming more manifest. It emphasizes the humane tradition and the spiritual conception of man and the universe. The volume of this appeal must reach the men and women who travel the high road and the low road of destiny. All must know that material things alone will not bring happiness. The chief ingredient of a workable formula for a happy world is human understanding.

Mrs. Davis and I send you and those dear to you the greetings of this significant season. Our joy is more complete in our deeper concern for men everywhere and in your happiness.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

Your life & work have blessed mankind.
Davis

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Reply for Info

JOSEPH STANCLIFFE DAVIS
691 MIRADA AVENUE
STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIFORNIA

March 19, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

22-39-77

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I was in your audience at Palo Alto, California, on March 8. Though I was among those who were embarrassed and angry over the imposition that the California Labor School put over on us, I appreciated your excellent address very much.

Yet it seemed to me, in answering the question from the floor about the Marshall Plan, you were under a serious misapprehension, unless my reading of extensive literature on the subject is in error. I have just now run across the following sentences in the leading article in the London Economist of February 21, 1948 (p. 290):

> "....On the whole, debates, official and otherwise, have been remarkably free of any desire to 'put strings on American aid' and most Americans go out of their way to disclaim any intention of intervening in other countries' political and social affairs." But they cling all the more tenaciously to the demand that Europe shall show signs of a vigorous will to recovery and that it shall pursue that recovery not as a queue but as a team."

This is quite in line with my own impressions. I hope that your contrary view, as I understood it, will prove mistaken.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

J. S. Davis

J. S. Davis

JSD:k

March 25, 1948

Mr. Joseph Stancliffe Davis
691 Mirada Avenue
Stanford University, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

Your letter of March 19, to Dr. DuBois, has just reached this office. The Doctor is still away lecturing in the West, but I shall be sure to bring your letter to his attention upon his return late next month.

In regard to your impressions on the Marshall Plan, perhaps recent developments on the part of the United States Government, frankly telling Italy that she will receive no aid should her government go communist in the April elections, and our own Congressional amendments to the ERP bill to the effect that only countries who have no communist affiliation will receive its benefits, will have changed your viewpoint from that which you formerly held based on your reading the article in the London Economist of February 21, 1948. Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

May 20, 1948

Mr. and Mrs. Russell Davis
1088 Parkside Drive
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Mr. and Mrs. Davis:

I meant, of course, to write you before this and thank you for your hospitality. I have a sort of feeling that perhaps I did. So if you get two letters, you will know that this is simply the result of old age.

I enjoyed my stay in Cleveland very much and especially appreciated the thoughtfulness of Clare.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Dayton Council on World Affairs]

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New York, New York

February 9, 1948

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Straight Telegram

Mrs. Jessie Hathcock
407 West 5th Street
Dayton, Ohio

CAN SPEAK FEBRUARY 26,28,29 OR MARCH 2.

CHARGE $150. WIRE ANSWER.

W. E. B. DuBOIS

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JU515 JxVTB271 NL PD=DAYTON OHIO 16

HUGH SMYTE=

20 WEST 40 ST NYK=

UNABLE TO REACH DR DUBOIS BY PHONE KINDLY WIRE HIM FOLLOWING INFORMATION MARCH 2ND SATISFACTORY DATE FOR DAYTON FORUM ENGAGEMENT DESIRE ADDRESS BASED ON REPORT OF PRESIDENTS CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE KINDLY ADVISE ME WHETHER YOU HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CONTACT HIM WIRE ME REPLY COLLECT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE URGENT TO START PUBLICITY AT ONCE=

JESSE HATHCOCK 407 WEST 5TH STREET=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Date

~~Mail~~

~~Date~~ and Subject

Acceptable to Pressed with your plans. DuRois

Feb 17, 1946.

DAYTON COUNCIL ON WORLD AFFAIRS

Room 234—131 North Ludlow Street
DAYTON 2, OHIO

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23-48-35

lecture

February 18, 1948

Dr. W. E. D. DuBois
409 Edgecome Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It was with great pleasure that we learned of your willingness to come to Dayton on March 2nd to speak on our program on Human Rights. We had felt that we would be unusually fortunate to be able to present you to our members.

The meeting was to bring out the progress being made in the international field by the United Nations and the importance of these developments for the United States. We were hoping to present with you Dr. John Humphreys, Director of the Division on Human Rights. Because of the delay in receiving an answer from Dr. Humphreys, we feel that it is necessary to postpone the whole meeting since it would now be impossible for us to do a complete job of presenting this topic to the community.

We realize that this postponement means that we may not have a similar opportunity to obtain you as a speaker. We regret deeply that the program could not be carried through in time to do an adequate job by March 2nd.

I understand from Mrs. Hathcock that you will be returning from the west coast in April. Perhaps at that time we may try this program again and would hope that our first failure would not affect your willingness to participate.

Say that I'll be in Cleveland —
& might come on that but
D

23-48-36

We are deeply grateful of your consideration of our invitation and we are sincerely disappointed that the time element worked so against us. We look forward to a future opportunity of having you as a speaker.

Mrs. Hathcock will discuss this matter more thoroughly when she sees you in New York in the near future.

Sincerely,

Frances Reed

Frances Reed
meb

Acting Secretary

[Dayton Council on World Affairs]

lecture pending

February 26, 1948

Miss Frances Reed
Dayton Council on World affairs
Room 234-131 North Ludlow Street
Dayton 2, Ohio

Dear Miss Reed:

Your letter of February 18, has been brought to the attention of Dr. DuBois. It is likely that he could appear for you in April but it would have to be after the 17th of the month. Perhaps Doctor and Mrs. Hathcock will have an opportunity to make more definite arrangements when she sees him in New York. However, in this regard I think you should know that Doctor, who is away on a lecture tour to the West Coast will not return to New York until April 14. Perhaps you would like to convey this information to Mrs. Hathcock.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Lecture

DAYTON COUNCIL ON WORLD AFFAIRS

131 NORTH LUDLOW STREET
DAYTON 2, OHIO

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330-48

March 5, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe, Research Assistant
Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Smythe:

In reply to your letter of February 26th, I want to tell you that the Program Committee has decided that they would like very much to have Dr. DuBois speak at a meeting of the Council on Friday, June 25th. The subject of the program will be "Human Rights" and we are hoping to obtain Dr. John Humphrey, Director of the United Nations Division of Human Rights, for the same program.

Dr. Humphrey will be asked to speak on the progress being made internationally in establishing Human Rights standards. Dr. DuBois would be asked to discuss the implications of the international developments for this country.

The date, June 25th, is tentative and would depend upon whether we could get Dr. Humphrey and Dr. DuBois for the same time.

The Program Committee feels that it would be a great honor to have Dr. DuBois on such a program.

If it is at all possible to clear this date with Dr. DuBois before he returns from the West Coast, we would greatly appreciate it since we are anxious to announce our program for the remainder of this year as soon as possible. We will appreciate anything you can do to help us in this matter.

I am enclosing a folder describing the Council and a copy of our monthly bulletin so that you may see what we are doing.

Ans. Mch 16
#200

Very truly yours,

Frances Reed

Miss Frances Reed
Acting Secretary
meb

[Dayton Council on World Affairs]

lecture

March 8, 1948

Miss Frances Reed
Dayton Council World Affairs
131 North Ludlow Street, Room 234
Dayton 2, Ohio

Dear Miss Reed:

Thank you for your letter of March 5. I know that Dr. DuBois would be happy to appear for the Dayton Council. I am forwarding your letter to him, and as soon as I have his decision I will write you. You may rest assured that I will do all that I can to help.

With thanks for your courtesy and interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LH

Lecture

DAYTON COUNCIL ON WORLD AFFAIRS

131 NORTH LUDLOW STREET
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23-48-34

May 28, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You must have been wondering for some time about our plans for June and our request that you address the Council. I apologize for the delay in making them known to you but, until the last week, they were not at all settled. I hope that your experience with many Program Committies will help you to understand our predicament which developed when two unexpected speakers became available, filling our May and June programs. Also, the Executive Committee felt that we should not attempt programs in July and August.

We are still most hopeful that we will be fortunate enough to present you to our members in a human rights discussion at some time in the fall or winter and we look forward to that time with much eagerness.

The Dayton Council appreciates most sincerely your kindness in considering to lecture to our group and hopes that our belated decision did not cause you any inconvenience. That you will be able to come to Dayton for a program later on is our earnest hope.

Sincerely yours,

Frances Reed
Acting Secretary

Copy to Mrs. Jessie Hathcock

[Denmark]

Permanent Delegation of Denmark
to the United Nations

File No. XI.B.13.

New York, March 18, 1948.

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

Thank you for your letter of January 22, 1948 and the enclosed copy of a petition presented to the Commission on Human Rights.

23-46-6

Since you have already forwarded the petition to the appropriate United Nations body, namely the Commission on Human Rights of which Denmark is not a member I am convinced that no other UN-organ will deal with the problem before a report on the matter has been issued by that Commission.

With regard to your question whether it is possible to have the publication printed and published in Denmark I am afraid that the severe world shortage of newsprint which is especially felt in Denmark will make the realization of such a project impossible for the time being. However, I have forwarded the publication together with an account of your requests to the Danish Foreign Office.

Sincerely yours,

William Borberg

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

Smythe

c/o The Seaside
Waterford, Connecticut
June 7, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am a graduate student at the Johns Hopkins University in the field of American history working under Prof. C. Vann Woodward. I have reached the thesis (Ph. D.) stage in my work, and I have become interested in examining the relationship existing between the Republican party and the Negro since 1877. Realizing that this problem is a vast and complex one and will probably have to be worked up in a series of studies, I shall attempt to study only one aspect of this relationship for my doctoral thesis.

I should like to make an appointment with you in New York, so that I can discuss this study with you. I could come to see you in New York on just about any date that would be agreeable to you. An early date this summer would be very satisfactory to me, so that I hope you might be able to find one this month (preferably toward the end of the month).

Very truly yours,
Vincent P. De Santis
VINCENT P. DE SANTIS

23-14-4

June 9, 1948

Mr. Vincent P. De Santis
C/O The Seaside
Waterford, Connecticut

Dear Sir:

My assistant, Dr. Hugh Smythe, would be glad to have you talk with him at anytime, and I am sure that he could help you in the laying out of your thesis.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

40 S. 19th Phila 3
S. T. M. Alexander

23-20-63.

Earl B. Dickerson
3501 S. Parkway
Chicago

[Dickenson]

January 5, 1948

Dictaphone Corporation
Bridgeport 5, Connecticut

Attention Mr. F. J. Kekacs CREDIT DEPARTMENT

Gentlemen:

In accordance with instructions in your letter of December 30, I am enclosing my check for $189.37 which will complete the payment on my machine purchased in September, 1947.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois
By Smythe

WEBD:hhs

22-30

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 6, 1949

Dictaphone Corporation
420 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

With regard to your invoice of December 1, 1948, may I ask you to make this out to me:

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

The three machines listed will be installed in service here after this date.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40th St.,
New York 18, N. Y.

1A 6325
1B 5060
1S 1400

22-30

DISTRICT OR BRANCH
N. Y. 284
0
12-1-47

TICKET NO. 44

MONTH January 1948

DATE 1/16/48

SERVICE MAN J. Seamans

CUSTOMER APPROVAL
WEB DuBois, per HHS

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME—Used on Acoustic Machines	

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME Used on Electronic Machines	

Hours Worked
1.30 Dm

FORM B461

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION
PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET
CUSTOMER'S COPY

STATEMENT

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF Dictaphone REG. U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

22-30

.W. E. B. Dubois

.20 West 40th Street

.New York, N.Y.

TERMS NET 30 DAYS

DATE JAN 31 1948

DATE	REFERENCE	CHARGES	CREDITS	BALANCE
DEC 15	17.08	31.50		31.50 *

February 11, 1948

Dictaphone Corporation
420 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

I am going the latter part of this month and in March to spend a week in San Francisco, a week in Los Angles and a week near Houston, Texas. Can you tell me if in any, or all of these cities I could secure the temporary use of an electronic dictaphone and if so, to what firm should I address my request? I should want to have the use of the dictaphone in my room and not have to go down to the main office of the company.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

22-30

February 25, 1948

Dictaphone Corporation
Bridgeport 5, Connecticut

Attention Mr. F. J. Kekass

Dear Sir:

I have your statement under date of January 31, for $31.50, concerning the machine purchased by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. I am at a loss to understand this since on January 5, in accordance with instructions in your letter of December 30, 1947, the Doctor sent you a check for $189.37 to complete the payment for his machine.

I would appreciate a letter of clarification from you concerning this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

22-30

STATEMENT

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG. U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

22-30

W. E. B. Dubois
20 West 40th St.
New York City

TERMS NET 30 DAYS

DATE FEB 2 19

DATE	REFERENCE	CHARGES	CREDITS	BALANCE
SEP 30	649.84	195.72		
DEC 15	17.08	31.50		
JAN. 6			189.37	
JAN 6 CR	172.32		6.35	
FEB 12	170998	5.73		37.23 *

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40th St.,
New York 18, N. Y.

1A 6325
1B 5060
1S 1400

DISTRICT OR BRANCH
N. Y. 284
0
12-1-48

TICKET NO. - - - - 39

MONTH
March
1948

DATE
Jan. 3 - 48

SERVICE MAN
Sonia Mata

CUSTOMER APPROVAL
W E B DuBois by Smythe

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME - Used on Acoustic Machines

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME - Used on Electronic Machines

Hours Worked

22-30

FORM Ba61

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET

CUSTOMER'S COPY

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG U.S. PAT OFF DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

BRIDGEPORT 5, CONNECTICUT

March 4, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th. Street
New York City, N.Y.

22-30

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of February 25, with regard to our January 31 statement in the amount of $31.50. Enclosed you will find a copy of our Invoice No. 1708 in the amount of $31.50 dated December 15, 1947. This invoice covers maintenance for your machines from December 1, 1947 to December 1, 1948.

We hope that the above information will answer your question in regard to our statement.

Very truly yours,

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

V. L. Marran

Credit Department

VLMarran/sja
enc.

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

Manager
The Dictaphone Company
420 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

My dear Sir:

I do not seem to be able to get your book-keeping department to make out my bill correctly. I wrote you December 28, saying: "I am moving my office from 20 West 40th Street to 23 West 26th Street. I have four of your machines, two dictating machines, one transcriber and one shaver. I shall want service on these machines during the year 1949, and this service will be charged to me personally."

Despite this, bills like the enclosed have been coming to my former office at 20 West 40th Street, billing me for three machines and not four. Will you kindly make out a bill correctly to me at this address and indlude service for four machines.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

March 23, 1948

Dictaphone Corporation
375 Howard Avenue
Bridgeport 5, Connecticut

Gentlemen:

22-30

I have your statement of February 29, in which you state there is a balance due of $37.23 on the account of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Inasmuch as Dr. DuBois has completely paid for his machine, and the yearly up keep is being taken care of, would you be good enough to explain this item of $37.23.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG U.S. PAT OFF DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

BRIDGEPORT 5, CONNECTICUT

March 26, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

22-30

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of March 23 in regard to our statement of February 29 showing a balance due of $37.23.

The balance should have been $31.50 as a charge of $5.73 was posted to your account in error. On March 4 we sent you a duplicate copy of our Invoice No. 1708 in the amount of $31.50 as per your request, and as you mentioned in your letter of March 23 ~~we~~ you are taking care of this item.

Thank you for your cooperation in clearing this matter.

Very truly yours,

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

V. L. Marran

Credit Department

VLMarran:wlm

March 26, 1948

Dictaphone Company
1303 Capitol Avenue
Houston 2, Texas

Gentlemen:

I have courtesy card No. 19-1206. I should like to use a dictating machine, the electronic type, for about two weeks and I should like two dozen cylinders. I am stopping with W. R. Banks at Prairie View College. Can you let me have such machine? I should be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:elh

Fill ↓

STATEMENT

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF Dictaphone DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

22-30

May 2, Check #10.67

.W. E. B. Dubois

.20 West 40th Street

.New York City, N. Y.

TERMS NET 30 DAYS

DATE MAR 31 1949

PLEASE DETACH AND RETURN THIS STUB WITH PAYMENT

DATE	INVOICE OR CREDIT NO.	CHARGES	CREDITS	BALANCE
JAN 17	35916	39.00		39.00*

IF THE ITEMS ABOVE HAVE BEEN PAID PLEASE DISREGARD THIS STATEMENT

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

B-163 REV. 12-48 □

CUSTOMER'S COPY

FORM B461 REV. 7-47
PRINTED IN U. S. A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET

DIST.	BR.	CUSTOMER NO.
170		284000

W E B DUBOIS
20 WEST 40TH ST
NEW YORK 18 N Y

	MO.	YR.
	058	120112

SERVICE MAN DUPREZ DATE 5-24-48

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NO.	SERV. CODE
A6	006325	✓
B10X	005060	✓
S7	001400	✓

22-30

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES	

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES	
	1		

PLEASE REFER TO THIS TICKET NO. 31739

CUSTOMER APPROVAL W E B DuBois by HHS

HOURS WORKED

FORM 544 REV. 3-48
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

CUSTOMER'S COPY

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG. U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

NAME DR. DU BOIS DATE 7/14/44

ADDRESS 409 EDGECOMBE AVE DEPT.

CITY BRONX STATE N.Y.

LOCAL SERVICE STATION
NEW YORK
420 LEXINGTON AVENUE

CHECK ✓ AT RIGHT WHEN USED AS PREPAID MAINTENANCE WORK TICKET

172902

FIRST PREPAID MAINTENANCE INSPECTION

PARTS AND LABOR NO CHARGE PREPAID MAINTENANCE

ANALYSIS OF CALL		TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NUMBER	QUAN.	PART NO.	PART NAME - USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES	AMOUNT
MODEL	Cause For Call CODE						
AE	21	AE	70631				

NON-MAINTENANCE CALL CHECK BELOW ✓		QUAN.	PART NO.	PART NAME - USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES	AMOUNT
CHARGE CALL	✓				
INSPECTION OF MACHINES ON DEMONSTRATION					
SPECIAL CALL NO LABOR CHARGE					
SHOP REPAIR					

INVOICE

22-30

CUST. PUR. ORDER NO.

CUST. REQUISITION NO.

LABOR CHARGE @$3.00 PER HOUR TIME CODE TIME USED 1 HRS.

SERVICE RENDERED BY A. Bahnsen

APPROVED BY CUSTOMER W.E.B. DuBois

TOTAL MATERIAL AMOUNT	
LABOR (MIN. CHG. $1.50)	3 00
SALES TAX	
TRAVEL EXPENSE	
TOTAL AMOUNT	3 00

PLEASE MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION, 375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

TERMS NET 30 DAYS

CUSTOMER'S COPY

FORM B481 REV. 7-47
PRINTED IN U. S. A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET

DIST.	BR.	CUSTOMER NO.
17	0	284000

W E B DUBOIS
20 WEST 40TH ST
NEW YORK 18 N Y

MO.	YR.
078	120112

SERVICE MAN J. Olszewski DATE 7-15-48

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NO.	SERV. CODE
A6	006325	✓
B10X	005060	✓
S7	001400	✓

22-30

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES	

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES	

PLEASE REFER TO THIS TICKET NO. 47862

CUSTOMER APPROVAL W E B Du Bois by Shirley Graham

HOURS WORKED 4 1/4

CUSTOMER'S COPY

FORM B481 REV. 3-48
PRINTED IN U. S. A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET

DIST.	BR.	CUSTOMER NO.
17	0	284000

W E B DUBOIS
20 WEST 40TH ST
NEW YORK 18 N Y

09 | B | 12 | 01 | 12
MO. | YR.

SERVICE MAN J. Olszewski DATE 9-29-48

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NO.	SERV. CODE
A 6	006325	✓
B 10 X	005060	✓
S 7	001400 3	✓

22-30

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES	

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES	

PLEASE REFER TO THIS TICKET NO. 65844

☐ CUSTOMER APPROVAL Lillian Murphy

HOURS WORKED 1 1/4

CUSTOMER'S COPY

FORM B461 REV. 3-48
PRINTED IN U. S. A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET

DIST.	BR.	CUSTOMER NO.
17	0	284000

W E B DUBOIS
20 WEST 40TH ST
NEW YORK 18 N Y

118 120112

SERVICE MAN J. J. Stevens DATE 11/30/48 (MO. YR.)

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NO.	SERV. CODE
A 6	006325	✓
B 10X	005060	✓
S 7	001400 3	✓

22-30

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES	

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES	

PLEASE REFER TO THIS TICKET NO. 87916

☐ CUSTOMER APPROVAL Lillian Murphy

HOURS WORKED

December 2, 1948

The Manager
Dictaphone Corporation
420 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Sir:

I have invested a considerable sum of money in your dictaphones, having two dictating machines, a shaver, and a transcribing machine.

This morning your representative teld me that there is something wrong with the switch on the transcribing machine and that he cannot repair it because those parts are not being made. This seems to be a rather extraordinary situation. I should like to hear from you concerning it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

FORM B44 REV. 3-48
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

CUSTOMER'S COPY

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG. U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

NAME Du Bois DATE 12/8/48

ADDRESS 202 W 70 St DEPT.

CITY NYC STATE NY

LOCAL SERVICE STATION NY York

CHECK ✓ AT RIGHT WHEN USED AS PREPAID MAINTENANCE WORK TICKET

570640

FIRST PREPAID MAINTENANCE INSPECTION

PARTS AND LABOR NO CHARGE PREPAID MAINTENANCE

ANALYSIS OF CALL		TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NUMBER	QUAN.	PART NO.	PART NAME - USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES	AMOUNT
MODEL	Cause For Call CODE						
67	23	67	5060	1	17310	Switch Comp.	

NON-MAINTENANCE CALL CHECK BELOW ✓

		QUAN.	PART NO.	PART NAME - USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES	
CHARGE CALL					
INSPECTION OF MACHINES ON DEMONSTRATION					
SPECIAL CALL NO LABOR CHARGE					
SHOP REPAIR					

INVOICED

CUST. PUR. ORDER NO.

CUST. REQUISITION NO.

LABOR CHARGE @$3.00 PER HOUR

TIME CODE →

TIME USED HRS.

SERVICE RENDERED BY E E Hines

APPROVED BY W E B DuBois by H H Smythe CUSTOMER

TOTAL MATERIAL AMOUNT	
LABOR (MIN. CHG. $1.50)	
SALES TAX	
TRAVEL EXPENSE	
TOTAL AMOUNT	

PLEASE MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION, 375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

TERMS NET 30 DAYS

22-30

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
December 28, 1948

The Dictaphone Company
420 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

I am moving my office from 20 West 40th Street, to 23 West 26th Street. I have four of your machines, two dictating machines, one transcriber and one shaver.

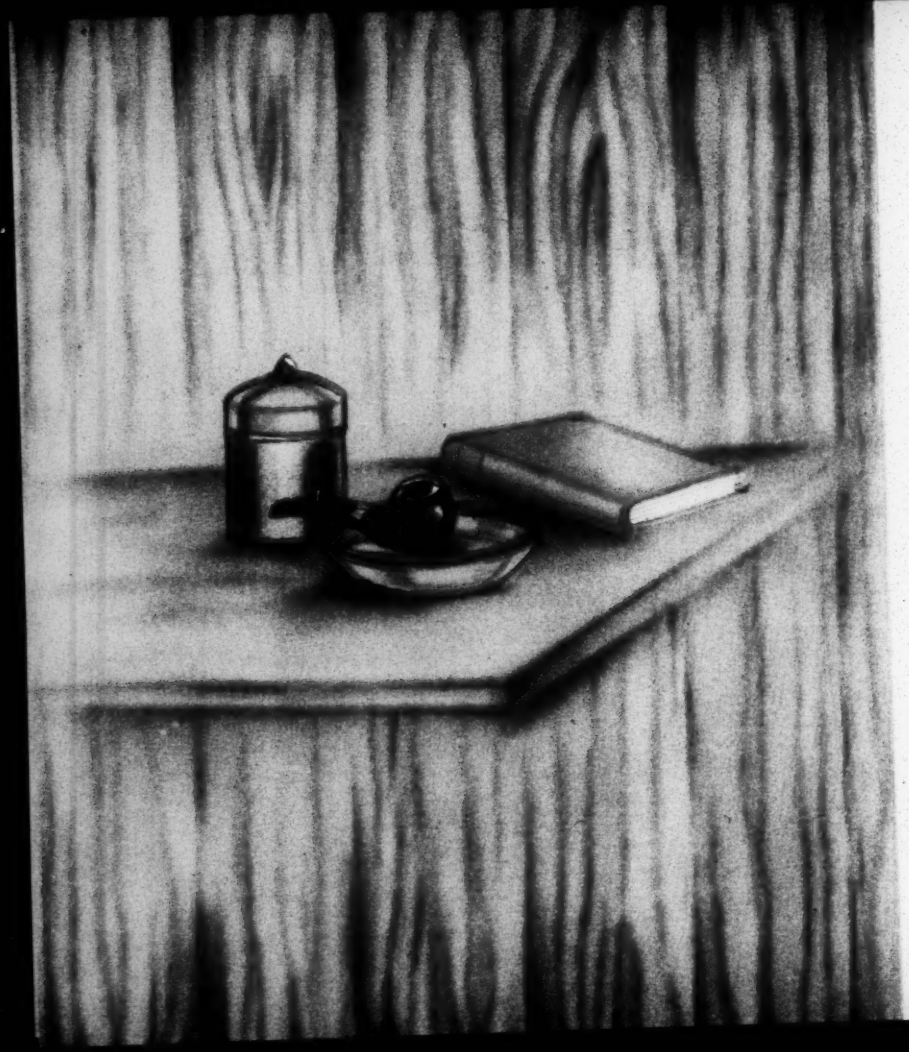
I shall want service on these machines during the year, 1949, and this service will be charged to me personally.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Lifelong HAPPINESS
for You



[Diggs?]

23-25-90

No need for words
between us two
You know words can't express
My heartfelt Birthday wish
for you
for Lifelong happiness!

Nell

January 27, 1948

Miss Irene Diggs
Morgan College
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Rene:

This will acknowledge the return of the following books:

SOCIAL THOUGHT FROM LORE TO SCIENCE, Barnes & Becker

SOCIOLOGY, Ogburn and Nimkoff

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA, Myrdal

INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY, Park & Burgess

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, Hertzler

Thanks very much for sending these volumes and their return has been made known to Dr. DuBois.

How goes things? We had hoped to see you during Christmas but you are a will-o-the-wisp when in town. Let us know if you head back this way, for you will want to come by and enjoy a snack with us. The furniture is sparse but the food will be good, and you will like to see our baby daughter, Karen Pamela Smythe, now known as SLUB. Did you receive our birth announcement? We sent you one there.

Hello to those we know mutually there. Best wishes for continued success in your work.

As ever,

Hugh H. Smythe

February 6, 1948

Miss Irene Diggs
Morgan College
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Rene: Just a quick note to acknowledge receipt of DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL THEORY, by James P. Lichtenberger. This information has been passed along to the Doctor and he thanks you. Incidentally, he would appreciate your returning his NEGRO CARAVAN and asked that you be notified in this respect.

Sorry Mabel and I didn't get a chance to see you. You would love to see our Karen, known as SLUG, for she is some girl! No doubt you will be returning for the DuBois 80th Anniversary Dinner on February 23, and I will see you then. With thanks again for returning the book, and anticipating the return of NEGRO CARAVAN, and with best wishes to you, I say

So long,

Hugh H. Smythe

Irene Diggs
Department of Sociology
Morgan State College
Baltimore 12, Maryland

16 February 1948

Ans 2-17-48

My dear Hugh,

Dr. Du Bois tells me that he wrote a letter to T. K. Gibson asking him to get in touch with me. As yet, I have not heard from Mr. Gibson. Do you know anything about the letter? If so, can you send me a copy immediately?

Thanks a million for your notes. When I am in New York, as you can well imagine, I have just one million things to do but I must take time out to inspect the New Addition. Possibly when I come this weekend!

With sincere best wishes to you, Mabel and the Queen

As ever,

Irene

Greet Mrs. Murphy for me!!!!

23 C - 45

March 22, 1948

Miss Irene Diggs
Morgan College
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Irene:

This is to acknowledge your check sent to Dr. DuBois. He has b en notified of this reception.

Hope everything is going well.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

March 26, 1948

22-38-02

Miss Irene Diggs
Department of Sociology
Morgan State College
Baltimore 12, Maryland

My dear Nell:

I have received your letters of March 12 and March 16 and thank you for letting me hear from you. I have greeted the Somervilles and the Bankses.

I shall hope to see you when I return to New York toward the end of the month. Meantime, I think you ought, before April 1, to move your things entirely to the dormitory at Morgan. I shall have to be coming down to Baltimore rather frequently during the spring and there are some friends of Mrs. Du Bois who will be coming. So suppose you move out and give us that room. I thank you for what you have done in helping the family.

I shall be here until April 7 and then go to Atlanta, Washington, and New York.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Irene Diggs
Department of Sociology
Morgan State College
Baltimore 12, Maryland

13 May 1948

22-37-24

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Answering your letter of May twelfth, may I say that I should be delighted (honored) to participate in the course at the New School for Social Research.

The subject might read "The Negro in Latin America: 1500-1800 (Brasil was discovered in 1500 and the first Negroes were brought to Hispanola in 1502); or "The Negro and the Colonization of Latin America."

As far as I know now I could make arrangement to be in New York most any week day. However, a Friday night would be more convenient. The honorarium is satisfactory.

I am well, busy and happy!

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18

August 17, 1948

Dr. Irene Diggs
Department of Sociology
Morgan College
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Dr. Diggs:

We are now preparing the lecture schedule for the course, The Negro in American History, which Dr. DuBois is directing for The New School during the Fall term, 1948-1949. In connection with your lecture you are scheduled to appear on Monday, October 11, at 8:30 P.M., and your topic is THE NEGRO AND THE COLONIZATION OF LATIN AMERICA.

Will you please let us know if this is correct. If not, please state the subject you wish to discuss. According to your letter of May 13, this was the topic you preferred. Since we are pushed for time in preparing the publicity on this course, we will appreciate an immediate reply.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

P.S. All classes in the course meet on Monday evening, 8:30 - 10:10 P.M.

New School

Irene Diggs

409 Edgecombe Avenue New York 32, New York

6 September 1948

22-32-25

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Monday, October eleventh, at 8:30 p. m. is quite all right for the lecture. I prefer that the subject read "The Negro in Colonial Spanish America".

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York City 18

22-38-01

December 16, 1948

Dr. Ellen Irene Diggs
809 North D Street
Monmouth, Illinois

Dear Nell:

Merry Christmas to you and to the family, I hope you will enjoy your Toronto trip. Thanks for the clippings. But why was there no news from the center of hostilities? Write me about it.

Here everything is apparently going well. I shall move within the next two weeks and the Chicago matter is coming out all right. I shall write you later.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Dill, Augustus]

December 2, 1948

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

22-38-10

Between the years of 1908 and 1928, I was closely associated with Agustus G. Dill, as one of my students, as a teacher in my department, and during most of the time, as business manager of THE CRISIS magazine, of which I was then editor.

I found Mr. Dill an educated, intelligent, and co-operative worker; he was punctual and absolutely honest and I could not have accomplished my work without his aid.

Since about 1928, I have not seen Mr. Dill except occasionally and cannot testify as to his career since that date.

W. E. B. Du Bois

National

RELIGION and LABOR FOUNDATION

106 CARMEL STREET **6-1327** **NEW HAVEN 11, CONN.**

26 West 90th Street
Apartment 3-B
New York City
October 24, 1948

Francis J. McConnell
Honorary President

Thornton W. Merriam
Kermit Eby
Chairmen

Loyd F. Worley
Treasurer

General Executive Board

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Charles C. Webber
Stephens S. Wise
R. R. Wright, Jr.

Staff

Willard Uphaus
Witherspoon Dodge
Alan B. Peabody

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

There are several ties between us - your inspiring life and books, and our common residence in Atlanta for many years.

On September 27 I received a letter from Dean John H. Ferguson of The New School in which he mentioned you and the possibility of my giving some lectures to your classes.

Such possible lectures would be based on my long and broad background of experience in the South in the realm of inter-racial - or inter-cultural, as I prefer to call it - relationships. Perhaps my experience as Southern Director of FEPC would be of special value in this connection.

I inclose a "flier" of the National Religion and Labor Foundation which was used last fall in working up a tour of the colleges, universities, and theological seminaries from the north-east Atlantic seaboard as far west as Iowa. I made the tour during the months of January to May of this year, lecturing to classes and assemblies in fifty-seven institutions of higher learning. This flier also has a brief biographical summary of my life and positions held.

I also inclose letters of recommendation from Col. Austin T. Walden, and Dr. William Holmes Borders, minister of the great Wheat Street Baptist Church, in Atlanta.

I have just completed a volume, SOUTHERN REBEL IN REVERSE, which will be published in the next few months.

If you are interested, an interview at your convenience would be advisable. You can communicate with me at the above New York address.

With kind regards, and high esteem, I am

Sincerely yours,

Witherspoon Dodge

Witherspoon Dodge

9

November 4, 1948

Mr. Witherspoon Dodge
National Religion and
Labor Foundation
26 West 90th Street
Apartment 3-B
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Dodge:

I regret to say that my course is only fifteen lectures long and all of the lecturers have been chosen. If I see any opportunity in the future, I shall be glad to let you know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

CHARLES DOLLARD
522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 18, N.Y.

23-25-28

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Dollard regret
that a previous engagement will
prevent them from attending the
dinner in honor of
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois on Monday,
the twenty-third of February.

February fifth
Nineteen hundred and forty-eight

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND
808 PERDIDO STREET
NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA

46

File Negro Since 1900

December 2, 1948

23-32-25

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
NAACP
20 W. 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I read your article in the New York Times with great appreciation. For many years I have followed your work and admired the courageous leadership which you have given to progressive forces.

You will be encouraged, I think, by the Declaration of Civil Rights which was adopted by a conference at the University of Virginia on November 20, a copy of which I enclose. No doubt you saw the piece in the New York Times on November 21 which described the conference. This is one more evidence of democratic gains being made by the white liberal South. Another indication is the rather amazing results of our survey of the faculties of 11 Southern universities printed in the November issue of the Southern Patriot, a copy of which I enclose.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

James A. Dombrowski

James A. Dombrowski
Director

JAD/e
Encls.

Rec'd Jan. 30, 1948

[Dominican Republic]

DELEGACIÓN PERMANENTE
DE LA REPÚBLICA DOMINICANA
ANTE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

No. 25

El Jefe de la Delegación Permanente de la República Dominicana ante las Naciones Unidas tiene el honor de saludar al Sr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Director del Departamento de Investigación de la "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People", y acusa recibo del ejemplar de su publicación "An appeal to the World" que ha tenido a bien remitir con carta del 22 de enero cursante.

Al agradecer dicho envio es interés de la Delegación Dominicana el poseer dos ejemplares adicionales con el propósito de remitirlos al Departamento correspondiente del Gobierno Dominicano.

El Jefe de la Delegación Dominicana aprovecha la oportunidad para renovar al Sr. W. E. B. Du Bois su más sincero aprecio y estimación.

New York, enero 29 de 1948.

EM/maht.-

2 additional "Appeals" sent Feb. 2, 1948 (by Scythe)

2i Copy D II

August 24, 1948

Mrs. Celestine Dorch
5 Bennington Street
North Randolph, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Dorch:

How is the painting coming on?

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

23-22-D

December 20, 1948

23.2.3.2

Miss Hannah Dorner
49 West 44th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Miss Dorner:

I was awfully sorry to have to eat and run the other night, but I had tickets for the Metropolitan, secured a long time ago and it was too rare an opportunity to give up.

Please send me a bill for the two dinners and be assured within the future I shall be glad to cooperate as far as I can with the organization.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC. · PUBLISHERS · GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK

14 West 49th Street, Rockefeller Center, New York 20, N. Y. CIrcle 6-1700

In Replying Refer to: Mrs. C. A. Pollard
New York Office

February 18, 1948

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Early in May we are publishing a study of the Negro vote from reconstruction days to the present, and its effect on the American scene. The book is written by Henry Lee Moon, is titled BALANCE OF POWER, and we hope to sell it for about $2.75.

Mr. Moon has quoted briefly from your book, SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, published in 1940, as follows:

Page 53: "Mr. Washington distinctly" ending "education for the Negro youth."

22-32-11

A. C. McClurg & Company have granted us permission but advised us that you were the person who must be consulted.

May we have permission to include this selection in all editions of our book published throughout the world, including in translation? We hope you will feel that this is "fair use" of the material, since ours is a non-fiction definitive book on the subject.

Sincerely yours,

C. A. Pollard

CAP:mbh

Permissions Department

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
The Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

---

granted
W. E. B. DuBois
Feb 26, 1948

[Doubleday]

March 1, 1948

Mrs. C. A. Pollard
Permissions Department
Doubleday & Company, Inc.
14 West 49th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Pollard:

This is to inform you that Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has granted his permission for Mr. Henry Lee Moon to quote from SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, DuBois, 1940 edition, first published by A. C. McClurg & Company. This refers to the quotation noted in your letter of February 18, the said quotation to be used in the volume, BALANCE OF POWER, which you are publishing for Mr. Moon.

This will confirm my conversation with you via phone in which I informed you that Dr. DuBois had sent his permission for the quotation to be used.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

22-32

December 23, 1948

Mrs. Fannie Howard Douglas
1806 Eleventh Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

My dear Fannie:

Merry Christmas and so forth.

Are you going to be in town December 26 or 27th?

Let me know.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

January 16, 1948

230-45

Professor Cedric Dover
Department of Social Science
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Professor Dover:

Thank you very much for the copy of the MONTHLY SUMMARY, which has just arrived. The publication continues to live up to its high reputation and under your supervision it undoubtedly will achieve even greater success.

Dr. DuBois would like to have a copy, if you can spare it. I told him you had written me that several copies would be sent but as yet we have received only the one copy.

If at any time we can make a contribution to your organ or your work, please feel free to call upon us. With thanks and our very best wishes for continued success, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

Cedric Dover

February 14, 1948

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Please forgive the long delay in replying to your letter of December 18. It reached me after the vacation, and every attempt to reply to it since then has been delayed by the feeling of needing to give it more mature consideration. I am now more confident of shaping what I wish to say.

23-27-3

I have, of course, long been aware of the treatment you received at Atlanta University, and realised that you would not wish any cooperation with that institution as such, but felt that you would not exclude the prospects of cooperation from any appreciative individual who might happen to be there. I was not, in fact, thinking of official support for the proposed book from any university, but saw it rather as an independent publication, normally issued from a good publishing house, sponsored by a group of your friends and admirers. I thought I might be able to help because I should be able to cut across some of the inherent difficulties and also influence contributions from outside America.

In so far as the situation at Fisk is concerned, I wonder if you are not thinking of attitudes that existed many years ago, but which have changed with changes in the faculty and board of trustees. And the appointment of Charles Johnson as President indicates the beginnings of a new "revolution" in policy and practice at Fisk, which is already evident to some of us here. This policy, it seems to me, includes taking fair criticism fairly and giving credit where it is due. Thus, though you have often been discussed here in my presence, you have never been mentioned in petty or personal terms, while to the progressive members of the faculty and the socially conscious students you have an heroic stature. I have heard repeatedly, and in terms of high praise, of the leadership you gave to the anti-McKenzie movement, while two faculty members and several students have directed my attention to your first writings in the Fisk Herald.

Charles Johnson himself is the firmest of your admirers here, and the most concerned about your receiving the fullest recognition and personal regard for the great work you have done and are still doing. I say this on the basis of knowledge acquired over many years, and not merely from the renewal of personal relations with him at Fisk. He spoke often and appreciatively of you when we were together ten years ago, and again when he stayed with me in London last year. At that time he was obviously distressed by the treatment you had received, and gave

me the definite impression that he could always be regarded as being at your service. He hoped, too, that your life would form the subject of a full and scholarly biography, and told me with great pleasure of the care with which your manuscripts and materials have been preserved.

Again, a day after I arrived here, he reminded me that I could now take the opportunity to do something about a birthday volume for you and promised every help he could give. I also got the impression that he was thinking in terms of admiration for you, as well as the significance of an adequate dedicatory volume to the colored world, without the slightest trace of desire to bring Fisk University or himself to the forefront in the matter. Subsequent discussions, at one of which the Alexanders were present, confirmed this impression.

I suppose I say these things about Charles Johnson because I have a high regard both for him and yourself, and I therefore want you to know them. At the same time I would not have said them if I did not know that you regard me as having sufficient critical impartiality not to allow pleasant personal relations to interfere with my judgments. This leads me to the point arising from the fact that you were opposed to his appointment as President, which he had also told me about with no trace of rancour and with emphasis on the integrity of your opposition. I doubt if it can be maintained as a principle that it is inadvisable for a man to go from one successful career to another. Who would dare to say, for example, that our cause would have benefitted more if you had continued as a professor of sociology instead of giving twenty-five of the most productive years of your life to the fighting platform of the NAACP and "The Crisis"?

23-27-4

In Charles Johnson's case my own feeling is, and I am not sure that he would agree with me, that he is old enough to look back with satisfaction upon his career in sociology, and young enough to bring this experience fruitfully into making an outstanding success of his new work as an educationist. I think, too, that after the inevitable time-lag, during which he will maintain a sentimental attachment to his old Department and tidy-up unfinished work, he will be wise enough to let the Department acquire a new momentum and concentrate on the different position of leadership which he now holds.

That position seems to be unavoidable, since the pressures on outstanding men in a minority group are stronger than they are elsewhere. I have no doubt that if Charles Johnson had been a professor at Harvard or Oxford he would have moved slowly along the academic groove to the eventual status of a professor emeritus, but at Fisk it could have been predicted more than a decade ago - as I did after I had been here a few hours in the winter of 1937 - that his occupation of the presidential chair was only a matter of time.

Finally, I know something of the situation in New York, but feel that it can be handled. My view is that your friends are not going to be greatly disturbed by the few who are hostile. I agree that the idea of the suggested book would be best abandoned if it did not meet with spontaneous and generous cooperation, but I believe that it will get such cooperation. However, we can discuss

the matter further when we meet, which I hope will be before your birthday. This letter, long though it has become, was merely intended to help in preparing the ground for our talk. I am looking forward to it more eagerly than I can say.

With Best Wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Cedric Dover

cd/aw

23-27-5

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee
DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

March 29

23-14-3

Dear Hugh Smythe:

You have probably come to the conclusion that when it comes to C.P.T. and all its implications I am one of the leading experts. You would, of course, be right - but at Fisk I can at least plead that a 100 hours week is an extenuating circumstance.

Thank you very much for the photostats. My wife was particularly delighted to have them. I believe that Carl van Vechten and Harold Jackman would also appreciate copies for their respective collections, and so would Arna Bontemps and Aaron Douglas for the Fisk Library and the Fisk Art Department. It would also be "politic" if you sent copies to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, New Delhi, India, with an appropriate letter supplementary to that which Dr. DuBois has probably written him. I am suggesting to Mr. Nehru that it would be a great thing for his Government to invite Dr. DuBois to India this Fall as an official guest of honor.

Have you prepared any press-releases of the birthday dinner with emphasis on the Wallace, Nehru, Norman Manley, Yusuf Mehendly, Ziervogel, and Padmore telegrams? If so would you send copies to Manley, C. Ziervogel (Sufelberg Hostel, Canterbury Street, Cape Town, S. Africa), Padmore, Dr. M. Joseph Mitchell (League of Colored Peoples), T. R. Makonnen ("Pan-Africa"), and

Mr. Anup Singh, Public Relations Officer, Indian Embassy, Washington — also to the Jamaican papers. This would lead to a good deal of useful publicity.

I have heard from Carl Getruhn and have said I hope to attend the banquet — it is not quite certain yet for reasons of expense, but I might manage to make a professional visit at the same time.

Ziervogel, by the way, is a very special admirer of Dr. DuBois and was responsible for the S.A. telegrams you have — also for the enclosures.

With Best Wishes

Sincerely yours

Cedric Dover.

[Dover]

SUGGESTIONS FOR A FESTSCHRIFT VOLUME

For

DR. W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS

"The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line." -- W.E.B. DuBois in The Souls of Black Folk, 1903.

"There is slowly arising not only a curiously strong brotherhood of Negro blood throughout the world, but the common cause of the darker races against the intolerable assumptions and insults of Europeans has already found expression. Most men in this world are colored. A belief in humanity means a belief in colored men. The future world will, in all reasonable possibility, be what colored men make it." -- W.E.B. DuBois in The Negro, 1915.

23-25-100

And a belief in colored men means that colored men must believe in themselves. That we have begun to believe in ourselves, not merely in terms of economic progress but with a proper pride in our cultural heritage is proved by those who have organized this banquet, those who have come to it, and those who have wished they could come to it, to honor William Edward Burghardt DuBois.

For we are not only honoring a great colored man and a great person, nor only the first and still the greatest Negro scholar and patriot since the Emancipation. We are also honoring a man of the people, the colored people, a man who spans in his own fruitful life the whole of the rising colored world and epitomises in his eight decades the struggles, sufferings, aspirations, achievements and understanding of Negroes and of all men of color.

Few men, therefore, deserve more richly the tributes he has received. They will pass into our fund of common tradition, but they are not enough. We must do more if we are to prove ourselves deserving of this man -- who for eighty years has so proudly been a black man -- and the heritage he has enriched.

There should be no place in them for pedestrian tributes and rhetorical lip-service.

The second part of the book was suggested, with the sure instinct that distinguishes her, by Marie Burgess Johnson (Mrs. Charles S. Johnson). She felt that it should contain representative, classified selections from the books and other writings of Dr. DuBois, each section being entrusted to an authority in that field, who would add emphasis and perspective in a short introduction. The special advantages of this method seem obvious.

23-25-102

A chronological summary, a Who's Who of authors, and a good index should, of course, conclude the book. An appropriate and arresting title would doubtless emerge as the material grows, but I have thought of it for a long time as Eighty Years A Black Man: The Life, Work, Influence and Selected Writings of William Edward Burghardt DuBois.

The practical details seem to me simple. Six months of energetic thought, correspondence and work, stimulated by a small advisory committee close to Dr. DuBois, should produce the entire manuscript. An editor who can secure its component parts, give it shape, and guide it through the press with typographical discretion could easily be found. He should find more than adequate compensation in the honor of doing the work, while the contributor who seeks payment for inclusion in a book of this character would not be sought.

Publication should be on a normal royalty basis through a reputable house, but a subsidy might be necessary. Therefore a fund should be created to provide such a subsidy and other expenses. This

And the first of the many things we must do is to crystallize his life and work into a book of noble proportions, an enduring book which will be read wherever there are colored men and friends of the colored peoples, a book which will find its way into every school, college, library, and home where there is awareness of a new direction in world progress. Moreover, it should not be a book by one man, but should reflect the representative minds of the whole colored world, as well as all friends of justice and promoters of intercultural relations.

23-25-101

The plan for such a book should grow out of discussion against a wide perspective. But I visualise it, without the impertinence of trying to provide a project, as a carefully designed, yet not too rigidly schematized, volume -- with a frontispiece portrait by a distinguished Negro artist and a generous selection of photographs. It should have a dedicatory poem preceding a Foreword by some outstanding leader of the "darker races," such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India. There should be tributes, too, from personal friends and representatives of the many organizations and movements who have known the impact of Dr. DuBois and his work.

The body of the book should perhaps be in two parts. The first I see as a collection of essays by a distinguished and adequately varied group of contributors. Some would be biographical, a few reminiscent; some would evaluate books and activities. There should be room, too, for contributions of original thought, not biographical or evaluative but fertilized by some dynamic idea advanced by Dr. DuBois. In other words, these essays should have texture and quality.

fund should be incorporated after publication of the book into an endowment for a Fellowship or other Award (according to the amount available) named after Dr. DuBois. The profits from the book -- and I am sure that it would be financially profitable -- could be channelled in the same direction.

In this way we would secure two enduring memorials to a man who deserves the best we can give. How the fund should be sponsored -- whether by an institution or by a small board of trustees -- I shall not try to suggest. But I can suggest, and I do urge, that we show our affection, and our sense of history, by starting to give now. I add my assurance that I will spare no effort to secure substantial donations to this fund.

23-25-103

Cedric Dover

C/o Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee
February 20, 1948

NOTES ON DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

Suggestions for a Festschrift Volume for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Notes on Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois --Biography

Comments on My Life, by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

De Senectute, by W. E. B. DU BOIS

How can we make the United Nations Charter Effective, W. E. B. Du Bois

Missing Pages in American History, by W. E. B. DU BOIS

What the Negro wants in 1948, by W. E. B. Du Bois

Race Relations in the United States: 1917-1947, by W. E. B. Du Bois

The Fight for Freedom in Education, by W. E. B. Du Bois

Roosevelt, By, W. E. B. Du Bois

The Workers, by W. E. B. Du Bois

Civil Rights and Democracy, by W. E. B. Du Bois

MSC-32-9

Also list of greetings from well known persons to Dr. DuBois on his 80th An-

March 3, 1948

Professor Cedric Dover
Department of Social Science
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Professor Dover:

Under separate cover we are sending you the photostatic copies of the plaque you presented to Dr. DuBois on his 80th birthday. This is in accordance with your request that Mrs. Dover was anxious to have these copies, made when you stopped by the office while in New York.

I am writing the American Veterans Committee concerning your invitation to their banquest honoring Dr. DuBois in Washington, D. C. on April 12.

Best wishes to you and Mrs. Dover.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

March 25, 1948

Professor Cedric Dover
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Dover:

I have just had a letter from Carl Gebuhr of the American Veterans Committee, informing me that he has sent you and Mrs. Dover an invitation to be the guest of Dr. DuBois for the A. V. C. Civil Rights Banquest on April 12 in Washington, D. C. honoring Dr. DuBois as the Man of the Year 1948. I hope that you will have received the invitation formally by the time you receive this letter.

Sometime ago, in compliance with your request, I sent you photostatic copies of the plaque which you and Mrs. Dover presented to Dr. DuBois on his 80th Birthday. As yet, I have not heard from you and do not know whether you received them. Would be good enough to let me hear from you regarding them.

I hope your work is going well.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LMHS

1042 17th Avenue, North
Nashville 8, Tennessee

June 8, 1948

My dear Dr. DuBois:

The enclosures are for your information. I do hope it will be possible for you to visit India this winter.

I did a lot of scheming to meet you in mid-April as we arranged, and then fixed my hopes on meeting you in Washington in May. I now intend to sit on your doorstep in September till I catch you and carry you off to luncheon.

Have you thought any more about the scheme for a dedicatory volume? Should I write to Spingarn about it?

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Cedric Dover

23-27-13

[Enc.?]

June 7th, 1948

Dear Jawaharlal Nehru:

I am most grateful to you for the gracious and very appropriate telegram you sent me for Dr. DuBois on his eightieth birthday. I need hardly add that Dr. DuBois himself, who is an old admirer of yours, was also deeply appreciative. Moreover, a cumulative effect has resulted from the realisation that such a message from the highest level in India was a token of a larger interest and sympathy.

I am encouraged by your response to enclose a note on "Relations With American Negroes", which might contain some key-information for the departments concerned, and another on five "Eminent Negroes available for Service in India", who would not only make definite contributions to our educational and cultural renaissance, but also influence public opinion when they return. Dr. DuBois is, of course, first on the list, as I believe that an invitation to him to visit India as an official guest would be an inspired gesture. Your secretary will no doubt see that the other information I have given reaches the proper quarters.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

23-27-1/4

[Enclosure]

NOTE FROM CEDRIC DOVER TO THE PRIME MINISTER

EMINENT NEGROES AVAILABLE FOR SERVICE IN INDIA

The scholars recommended here not only have a rich and definite experience to give India, but (and this is in the long run perhaps more important) they would also take away facts and impressions which would be cumulatively expressed in their own milieu. They are persons of exceptional distinction and sympathetic personality, who have demonstrated their friendship for India and would welcome opportunities for closer relationships.

23-22-15

1. DR. W.E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS, Director, Department of S pecial Research, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18.

   Educated at Fisk, Harvard and Berlin. Professor of Economics and History, and founder-editor of The Atlanta University Studies, Atlanta University, 1896 - 1910, Director of Publicity, and one of the founders, of the N.A.A.C.P., and founder-editor of its journal The Crisis, 1910 - 1932. Professor of Sociology, and founder-editor of Phylon, Atlanta University, 1932 - 1944. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia, 1924. Founder of the Pan-African Congress which met in Paris, 1919; in London, Brussels and Paris, 1921; in London and Lisbon, 1923; in New York, 1927 and in Manchester, 1945. Travelled widely in Europe (including Russia), the Americas, Africa and Asia (especially Japan). Various honours and decorations include: the Spingarn Medal, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, and Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Most of his fifteen books have become classics of American history, sociology and letters, and in this decade he has published Black Folk: Then and Now (an elaboration of his survey of The Negro in the Home University Library, 1915); Dusk of Dawn (autobiography); The World and Africa; Colour and Democracy, which is also to be published in India; and An Appeal to the World (a symposium prepared under his editorial supervision and presented to the United Nations).

   It would be a gesture of profound significance to Indian-Negro relations if Dr. DuBois were invited to India this winter as the guest of the Government. India has much to gain from the personality and deep experience of this great champion of the coloured and oppressed peoples everywhere. And we can make demands on his time, knowledge and energy with no consideration for his years: he is as fit and vigorous as a really alert man of fifty.

2. DR. ALAIN LOCKE, Professor of Philosophy, Howard University, Washington 1, D.C.

Educated at Harvard, Oxford (Rhodes Scholar) and Berlin. Travelled widely, and member of various societies, in Europe and the Americas. His philosophical learning, which includes close attention to Indian philosophy, is held in high academic esteem, while those who are interested in Negro culture know him, through his many surveys, anthologies and symposia, as a pioneer. His superb survey and anthology of The New Negro (1925) heralded the New Negro Movement and remains a fertilising work, which has been extended by his Bronze Booklets and his splendid evaluation and collection of the achievements of The Negro in Art. The whole field of Negro culture is again reviewed by him in Le Role du Negre dans la Culture des Ameriques (Government Press, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, 1943). The breadth of his interests is shown still further in "Values and Pragmatism" (American Philosophy: ToDay and ToMorrow; 1939), and in the area covered and unified by When Peoples Meet (1942 and 1946), in which Bernhard Stern of Columbia gave editorial collaboration.

Dr. Locke is a distinguished scholar and progressive educator, whose presence in India for a year would not only benefit us by what he has to give, but also by what he will absorb and take away. In art he is one of those rare and great dilettantes who survey a whole field of human achievement against a large perspective - and no one can introduce us more adequately to the composite picture of Negro culture than himself. I hope therefore that we can take early advantage of his interest in India by inviting him to accept a visiting professorship at a leading university, and encouraging him frequently to radiate outwards from there by delivering special lectures at other institutions.

3. DR. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, Professor of Sociology, Howard University, Washington 1, D.C.

Educated at Howard, Clark, New York School of Social Work, Copenhagen and Chicago. Travelled widely in Europe and the Americas, and has an intimate knowledge of Brazil and the West Indies, where he studied on a Guggenheim Fellowship. A continuous but controlled stream of sociological research has won for him the highest respect in American sociology: he is today President of the American Sociological Society. His books - The Negro Family in Chicago The Negro Family in the United States (winner of the Anisfield Award, 1939), and Negro Youth at the Crossroads - are solid but also indicative of his sensitiveness to clear presentation and literary quality. His latest book, The Negro in America (MacMillan), is now in the press, and is expectantly awaited by those concerned with the subject.

I heard recently that India is looking for a visiting professor "distinguished in the social sciences". Professor Frazier's position as President of the American Sociological Society guarantees his distinction, and I know no sociologist better qualified by attainment and personality to help in the development of sociological teaching and research in India. Moreover, his specialised knowledge of the family, and of the problems of youth, should have a particular and productive value for us.

I should add that Mrs. Frazier is a poet and in every sense of the word an artist - and as we have assured ourselves a flow of engineers, I am anxious that a trickle of artists should come our way. Dr. Frazier himself is very much at home, and also most stimulating, in creative company.

4. PROFESSOR AARON DOUGLAS, Head of the Department of Art, Fisk University,

Nashville 8, Tennessee.

Educated at Nebraska, New York (M.A., Columbia), and Paris. Travelled widely in Europe, the United States, Mexico and the Caribbean. Rosenwald Fellow and winner of various awards. Aaron Douglas first attracted attention while he was still a pupil of Winold Reiss in the middle 'twenties, and within five years he was widely known for his powerful murals and book illustrations. In recent years he has concentrated on portraits and tropical landscapes, as his artistic purpose has been centred on revealing the Negroes to themselves and to America. He is now ready to expand this intention to artistic interpretations which will help all the coloured peoples - and their friends-to understand each other better. His knowledge of art generally is profound, his social sensibility acute, and his teaching (both technical and historical) of the kind that inspires. I say all this from intimate knowledge, as I have known him for a long time and have worked with him as a colleague (who lived in the same house) for a year.

The presence of an artist of the stature of Aaron Douglas in India would be cumulatively valuable even if his services were confined to academic teaching. But he would do more than that. He would bring with him an exhibition of his work and he would take back to America his sympathetic impressions of Indians and Indian life recorded on canvas and in his mind. Simultaneously it could probably be arranged, through Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, for an Indian of similar attainments to replace Professor Douglas at Fisk. I feel that two-way exchanges of this nature would produce results of the most far-reaching significance.

23-27-17

5. ARNA BONTEMPS, Librarian, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

Educated at California, Chicago (Master of Arts) and New York. Travelled widely in the United States, Mexico and the Caribbean. Specialist in library science. Nationally known as poet, novelist, playwright, critic and lecturer. Julius Rosenwald Fellow, 1938-39 (creative writing) and 1942-43 (library science). Crisis poetry prize, 1926; Pushkin poetry prize, 1926-27; Opportunity short story prize, 1932. Editorial supervisor in the Illinois Writers' Project of the W.P.A. His plays include the successful St. Louis Woman, his novels God Sends Sunday, Black Thunder, and Drums at Dusk. He has also written several popular 'juveniles' of exceptionally high quality which have attracted large adult audiences as well. For us the most recent of these are also the most interesting: They Seek a City, We Have Tomorrow, and The Story of the Negro. Langston Hughes and himself have in the press a considerable anthology of Negro poetry.

Mr. Bontemps, whose family background includes some East Indian mixture, has long wished to visit India in circumstances that would enable him to interpret

our life and problems in creative terms. He would, of course, study our cultural and social activities and write and lecture on them in America, but his main objective would be to write a novel or a reflective ~~time~~ travel book which would for the first time reveal a Negro writer's responses to India. All this, however, would be in addition to the basic work he would be willing to do as a librarian and teacher of library science. He is due a year's sabbatical leave from July 1, 1949, which suggests that in his case, too, a mutually agreeable arrangement ~~could~~ might be made with the President of Fisk University.

23-27-18

June 23, 1948

Mr. Cedric Dover
1042 17th Avenue, North
Nashville 8, Tennessee

My dear Mr. Dover:

I have had your letter of June 8 for sometine, and I am just getting around to answering it. I am so sorry that we did not get a chance to meet, but I am sure we will this summer, and certainly next year, if, as I hear, you are going to be connected with the New School: I hope we shall see much of each other and of Mrs. Dover.

23-27-1

I want to thank you very much for your kind letter to Mr. Nehru. It would certainly be a realization of my life's ambition to be able to see and know India. I have just had tea with Miss Talyarkhan, a young Indian woman who publishes and edits TREND. I do not know whether or not you are acquainted with her. She is a very interesting person.

I have been doing a good deal of lecturing this Spring and it has taken me out of the office; but I have finished my lectures now, and I shall devote myself to writing a novel.

I shall be glad to hear from you from time to time. With best regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

re Cedric Dover

Copy to: DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS - for information

EXTRACT FROM LETTER DATED 23RD JUNE, 1948 FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, TO CEDRIC DOVER.

"As regards your suggestion that some eminent Negroes should be invited to India, I agree that this is a valuable suggestion but the best time to consider it will be in winter, sometime after December 1948, when weather and other conditions are favourable. We, therefore, propose to wait for some time before giving full consideration to your suggestion."

23-27-20

Hoping to see you soon.

JN.

[Dover]

Hugh Smythe

1042 17th Avenue North
Nashville 8, Tennessee

July 21, 1948

Dear Hugh:

Mr. T.R. Makonnen of PAN-AFRICA would like to publish a good article of about 10,000 words on Dr. DuBois - his life and his times - which he feels "would be an inspiration to Africa at the present moment". Would you like to do it - and fairly quickly? I hope so as PAN-AFRICA and its associated efforts are really spreading the "gospel" most effectively. I hope, too, that you will keep Makonnen regularly supplied with items of interest - articles, news, clippings - as a demonstration of colored unity in practice.

Yours,

Cedric

23C-45

July 26, 1948

Professor Cedric Dover
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Cedric: Just a quick note to acknowledge yours concerning the PAN-AFRICA thing. I am way ahead of you! About two weeks ago I heard from Makonnen and he asked me about some material on DuBois for the purpose you mentioned. I wrote him at once, and sent him a whole package of data from which he could compose the article, he indicating that he intended to do the thing himself.

I have just heard from him again, today, and am writing him immediately. Thanks for your information and I would have been glad to do the article on DuBois.

We are quite busy now and I am kept at it doing research and writing...Hope all goes well with you and your wife. Hope to see you when you land here. Until then, best of luck in all you do---

As ever,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, New York

November 19th, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
The New School.

23-27-2

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Cedric asks me to tell you that he has gone to Chicago for an intergroup Conference and might not be back in time for your lecture on Monday. He also asked me to send you the enclosure.

I heard about your drinking party last Monday - and was very jealous.

Please do not trouble to reply: I know you are busy.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Dover

Dorothy Dover

March 11, 1948

Mrs. Elizabeth Johns Drake
3767 South Lake Park
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Liz:

How are you and Sandra? Where is Drake? I have been looking for him to come through here on his way to England, but he is still will-o-the-wisp.

You know that Reddick is going South to Atlanta University on April 1. When I see you I will give you what I know of the story.

Mabel and Karen are fine. Let us know if you are coming East this summer. Lots of luck and love to all three of you from all three of us.

As ever,

Hugh H. Smythe

P. S. Write me at home: 2225 5th Avenue, Apt. 2C.

HHS:LM

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American Council on African and West Indian Affairs

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Chicago 37, Illinois, U.S.A.

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23-21-14

April 28, 1948

251 Bute Street, Cardiff, Wales

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
Director of Special Research, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

While doing research here in Cardiff I have had the opportunity of conferring with a number of the Somali seamen who are domiciled here. You may recall that the Somali Organization in Britain had fraternal delegates and observers at the last Pan African meeting in Manchester. At present their strongest organization is the United Somali Party, whose president, Mr. Tualla Mohamed I have come to know quite well.

The Somalis in Britain and Somaliland (British-French-Italian) have become quite concerned about their fate due to promises made to Italy during the recent elections. They feel that only the aroused public opinion of Negroes and liberals in America can prevent them from being placed under Italian trusteeship. They have very few ties with American organizations or news sources. When I left New York I asked Hunton of the Council on African Affairs if he would try to get some publicity for a few documents that I had secured last summer when in Britain, but I understand that conditions surrounding the council have resulted in many changes and I have been too isolated to know how things stand there now, or if Hunton is still there. Consequently, I am writing to you, as a person who has African affairs deeply on his heart, to see if you could assist in getting the Somali point of view before the American public in these crucial days when the pay-off for the Italian election is probably to be made.

I am enclosing a number of releases from both East Africa and Cardiff. The demands are, I think, very, very reasonable, particularly their request for non-Italian trusteeship and for a United Somalia. (Note the EWE have raised this same question in West Africa.) I understand that Somali leaders are quite prepared to back the Ethiopian claim to Eritrea but do think of French Somaliland and its port as the part of a United Somaliland.

(over)

My professional interests as an anthropologist have been focused on East Africa, and I am particularly interested in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya. I hope before returning to the States to visit this area, though at the moment that is a vague hope. I think your Black Folks, Then and Now had much to do with turning my interests to this area.

With respect to the enclosures, it was my thought that the New York newspapers and main news magazines might listen if you raised your voice on the Somali question where others of us are far less likely to be heard. To most American newspaper people, even, Somaliland means nothing. I learned this in January when I tried to interest some of the editors, soon after the riots there, in the main underlying issues. I fear I didn't get very far.

I hope you will not feel that it is presumptious for me to write in this fashion, but I have been brought up from my youth to look to Dr. Dubois as "The First Advocate" in more ways than one. In later years as I came to know your writings intimately, I found them a source of continuous inspiration and edification. As a friend of Reddick, Allison Davis, and Hugh Smythe, I feel that I can approach you on this matter without hesitancy.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

St. Clair Drake

St. Clair Drake
(co-author with Horace Cayton
of BLACK METROPOLIS)

PS- I think I should state that the organization upon whose letterhead I am writing is a purely local Chicago affair and has not had, and does not now have, any connections with other organizations of similar name. In fact, I've heard that a vote has been taken to change the name in order to avoid confusion with the New York organization.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT A MEETING HELD IN CARDIFF ON FEBRUARY 11, 1948, at which representatives from 12 white and colored organizations were present, with a combined membership of 15,000.

MOVED: That in keeping with paragraph three of the Atlantic Charter "They respect the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live" to which our Government and those of the United Nations pledged themselves.

That Italy definitely in the Peace Treaty concluded with the Victorious Nations renounced claims to rights in her Ex Colonies.

That the British Government pledged themselves by manifestos dropped from aeroplanes in War operations 1940/41
"That Somali would never return under Italian Domination."

23-21-30

Resolved: That this meeting of Cardiff Citizens and Colonial Delegates whole heartedly support the claims of the Somalis as expressed by the Somali Youth League in their communication of 18th July 1947, to the Foreign Ministers Conference. Paris,
and desire that they be used as a basis for settlement in this area.
They request our Government to accept them as such and that the resolution be forwarded to:-

The Prime Minister
Ambassadors of Allied Countries in Great Britain
The Secretary General of U.N.O.
The Secretary General of W.F.T.U.

Chairman	-	Mr. A. Sheppard	- Colonial Club
Speakers:	-	Mr. T. Mohamed	- Somali United Party
		Mr. M.J. Hassan	- International Moslem Society
		Mr.J.Nurse	- Colonial Defence Assoc.
		Miss M. Bruten	- Greek Women's Democracy
		Mr.A. Mosall	- Colonial United Committee

Drake St. (1)2.12
Invite to Jacobs

3767 Lake Park Avenue
Chicago, Illinois
July 14, 1948

22-40-24

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

When I was in Cardiff, Wales I wrote you a long letter concerning the question of the Somalis and their attempt to see that the Italians do not regain their colonies in Africa either directly or by subterfuge. You may have replied, but since I have been moving about quite a bit all of my mail has not yet caught up with me. I am therefore writing again to indicate some more recent developments.

About a month ago all of the Somali organizations in England met in Manchester to iron out some of the differences between them and to settle upon a unified program. Mr. T. Ras McKonnen sat with the group in an advisory capacity. It was decided that a united front would be presented upon these points:

1. Opposition to any form of trusteeship of East African areas by Italy.

2. Trusteeship by a group of powers rather than by one is the first choice.

3. If a one-power trusteeship is decided upon, that a resident committee from the U.N. of several powers be placed in East Africa. In view of the fact that certain circles have accused the Somali Youth League and the United Somali Party of agitating for a British trusteeship, the Somalis wish to make it clear that they have never taken such a position.

There is also unanimous agreement that the Somalis will stand together for a United Somalia, including at the minimum French Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, and British Somaliland under U.N. trusteeship. Their maximum desire would be for sections of Kenya and Ethiopia where there is a Somali majority to be a part of United Somalia, but this is not an insistent demand. The Somalis are anxious not to come into any conflict with Ethiopia and are supporting Ethiopia's demand for an outlet to the sea through Eritrea.

The U.N. Commission has returned from Africa and is now studying its report, as you know, and this issue will sometime in the future be before the United Nations for discussion. I feel that those of us who are interested in the development of the African peoples toward self government should begin now raising this question and preparing public opinion for a fight against the return of Italy to the continent of Africa. I note that Dorothy Thompson recently started beating the drums for a program of opening up Africa to the "excess populations of Europe." I note also that the liberal journals very seldom comment on this question.

I have not thought out in any detail the question of ways and means of creating some discussion in the press on this matter, but I do think that some of us who write should begin the discussion and am wondering if there would not be some value in forming a rather informal committee around the question of opposition to the return of Italian colonies, particularly since Italy has swung to the right.

22-40-25

I know that you are busy and would not worry you with this matter were it not for the fact that I feel that all of us here in America are much more concerned with the West African problems than we are with the affairs of East Africa, and yet in some ways the East African areas may become decisive in the fight for colonial independence, given their proximity to Southeast Asia and the Near East.

Sincerely yours,

St. Clair Drake

St. Clair Drake
Co-author, Black Metropolis

SCD:mc

22-40-26

August 6, 1948

Mr. St. Clair Drake
3767 South Lake Park Avenue
Chicago 14, Illinois

Dear Mr. Drake: Thank you very much for your letter of July 14, which touches upon a very important subject. The one thing that I have done recently is to submit an article to The Atlantic Monthly on the general subject of Negro advancement and of white immigration to Africa, and their future position. I hope it will be accepted.

I shall certainly be glad to do whatever I can to keep Italy from regaining her colonies.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

August 9, 1948

22-37-76

Mr. St. Clair Drake
3767 South Lake ParkAvenue
Chicago 14, Illinois

Dear Mr. Drake:

During the Fall term, of the school year 1948-1949, I am conducting at The New School a course, The Negro in American History. I am wondering if you are expecting to be in New York during the year, and if so, would you be willing to lecture for us?

The lectures take place on Mondays, 8:30-10:10 P.M. We can pay only the small fee of $50.00, without expenses, but you will be in good company, and The New School has an excellent reputation, as you probably know. You are free to discuss any subject you choose under the general topic of the course.

I should appreciate hearing from you at your very earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:S

New School Course

August 23, 1948

2225 Fifth Avenue, 2-C
New York 35, N. Y.

Mr. St. Clair Drake
3767 South Lake Park Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Drake:

Why in the devil don't you let us hear from you about that lecture at the New School? The publicity is going in and I have permitted your name to go on the list. The New School is going to release the advertising on the course this weekend, as soon as the material comes from the printer. In the absence of any word from you, I assumed it was all right to let your name go in.

Do write and let me know what you intend to do, and what subject you plan to discuss, this being necessary to send to The New School for their scheduling.

Hope all is going well with you, that you are working over your English materials, and that you plan to get it all into final shape soon. Lots of luck and do let us hear from you soon.

As ever,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

October 7, 1948

Dr. St. Claire Drake
Department of Anthropology
Roosevelt College
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Drake:

We do not seem to be able to get in touch with you. I trust you will let us have an answer to this letter as promptly as possible. I am asking you to change the date of your lecture from November 29, to December 20. This will make a better logical development.

I shall put you down for the subject: "The Negro in Cities" unless I hear from you to the contrary.

The lecture hour is from 8:30 until 10:10. There will be time for a lecture from three quarters of an hour to an hour, discussion, and then a word from you on the literature. There are 17 or 20 students in the class.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

22-32-28

October 7, 1948

Dr. St. Claire Drake
Department of Anthropology
Roosevelt College
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Drake:

We have you down to lecture November 29, at The New School, but as yet no idea of the subject you would like to take.

The general subject is "The Negro in American History." How would you like to treat the subject, "The Negro in Cities."

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

ROOSEVELT
COLLEGE
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS
TELEPHONE
WABASH 3580

Dezember ~~November~~ 2, 1948

Draft

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I am sorry not to have answered your several communications, and although December 20 is less convenient to me than November 29, my failure to answer your letters gives me no right to choose a date. I shall be on hand on December 20 to speak on "Negroes in Cities."

23-27-6

I have looked over the mimeographed memorandum regarding the N.A.A.C.P. and note therein that one of your recommendations regarding the former Italian colonies suggested the ultimate incorporation of Eritrea and ex-Italian Somaliland into the Ethiopian nation. I do not think that the American Negroes should suggest that Somaliland become a part of Ethiopia. When in England this year, I had close contact with the Somali leaders there, and also able to examine a number of documents from Mogadishu as well as the report of the U. N. Investigating Commission. Ninety-five percent of the Somalis there were opposed to an Italian trustee-ship. Less than ten per cent favored incorporation into Ethiopia. Many of their leaders felt than American Negroes were so pro-Ethiopian that they were ignoring the expressed will of the Somali people. I think that those of us who wish to see a greater Ethiopia should take a stand for an independent united Somalia embracing French, British, and Italian Somaliland. We could then encourage such a unit to voluntarily accede to Ethiopia. If the Moslem Somalis are placed under Ethiopian rule against their will, the Negus will have the problem of trying to hold them by military forces and the history of Ethiopia indicates that the hilanders have in the past dissipated a lot of the energies in trying to rule the pastoral peoples of the desert low-lands against their will.

Copy

I hope that you are in the best of health and that you have

ROOSEVELT
COLLEGE

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE
WABASH 3580

before you many more years of that productive scholarship which has so greatly enriched American life.

Sincerely,

St. Clair Drake
Ass. Prof. of Soc.
SCD:mp

P.S. I note that your secretary has referred to me as Dr. Drake. Since I am just writing my Doctoral Dissertation, the use of the title is somewhat pre-mature.

23.22.7

[Drake University]

January 5, 1948

9-6

Mr. I. E. Metcalf
310 Empire Building
Des Moines 9, Iowa

Dear Mr. Metcalf:

Thank you for your letter of December 30.

My appointments in St. Louis are not settled, but they will probably cover the period February 24-29. I can speak at Drake University probably the week of March 2. I will let you know definitely by January 15.

Unfortunately, I shall be able to take but the one lecture, but if I can take another the charge will be $125.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[Drake University]

January 12, 1948

Mr. I. E. Metcalf
310 Empire Building
Des Moines 9, Iowa

23.29.7

My dear Mr. Metcalf:

Confirming my letter of January 5, may I say that I must be in Oakland, California, to speak March 5. I could, therefore, speak for you March 2, or possibly the 3rd, if I could be sure to get to Oakland by air in time to speak the 5th. I should prefer the 2nd as a date.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBDlm

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American Brotherhood

[Drake University]

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310 Empire Building, Des Moines 9, Iowa
I. E. METCALF, Director

BROTHERHOOD WEEK
February 22-29, 1948
Harry S. Truman
Honorary Chairman
Robert P. Paterson
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Frederic M. Miller
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22-33-16

January 26, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 W. 4th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am sorry that this reply is so late but I was unable to get an answer from the assembly committee at Drake University sooner.

They asked me to say that they regret very much that they cannot have an assembly program during the week you said you could be here because of other commitments. Perhaps we can have better success at another time.

Yours very truly,

I. E. Metcalf

IEM:rc

76 St. Nicholas Pl. Apt. # 32
New York 32, New York
June 3, 1948

Mr. Walter White
Executive Secretary
N.A.A.C.P.
New York, New York

18940 JUN 7'48

Dear Sir:

A few weeks ago, on the advice of Dr. Ralph Bunche, I had a telephone conversation with you concerning the possibility of representing the NAACP at Trusteeship Council meetings as an interest group representative. You expressed great interest, but indicated that limited funds prevented your considering an increase in staff.

I am writing you this letter because my interest in dependent areas greatly exceeds income considerations. I would regard such an appointment as a career opportunity. Since my early undergraduate studies under Dr. Ralph Bunche, Dr. Eric Williams, Professor William Hansberry, and Dr. Allain Locke at Howard University, I have followed with keen interest the political and social progress of dependent peoples. It has been my great desire to make a contribution in the field of colonial affairs.

23-36-14

After obtaining my Bachelor's Degree in Political Science in 1943, Professor Hansberry and Dr. Bunche were instrumental in my being approved by the State Department and selected by a representative of His Majesty, Haile Selassie I, to aid in the rehabilitation program of Ethiopia. For two years I worked in an administrative capacity for the Ministry of Education - organizing, staffing, and financing model elementary schools. In 1946 I returned to America to pursue graduate studies. My plans were interrupted by induction into the military service. For twelve months, and with many favorable results, I fought discrimination in southern army camps. My discharge, although honorable, was given prematurely and under very unusual conditions.

Since my release from the army, I have been at New York University. Next week I shall receive my Master's Degree in Public Administration. My thesis is an analysis of the administration of the government of Ethiopia.

During the past year I have been able to attend most of the meetings of the United Nations' Headquarters which concerned dependent areas. As a matter of fact, I have gotten to know many of the members of the secretariat who handle trusteeship affairs. My close association with the staff members and my regular attendance at Trusteeship Council meetings have provided me with an excellent understanding of the International Trusteeship System.

Although the activities of the Trusteeship Council are of enormous importance to the American Negro, there will be no Colored American organizations represented at the coming regular meeting of the Council this month. In the past the Council on African Affairs, which has been

considered by members of the Trusteeship Division of the Secretariat as an excellent pressure group, has had representation at the annual meetings. Unfortunately, the Council on African Affairs, because of internal political disturbances, will not be represented this year. And, if the Council on African Affairs were to be represented, the differences in interests between the CAA and the NAACP would warrant the representation of the latter.

The Negro people of America should take an active interest in the struggle of the people of Africa and of other dependent areas for self-determination. We must fight against the attempt of the Union of South Africa, for example, to impose its undemocratic system of government upon the people of South West Africa. We must aid the struggle of the Ewe people of the Togolands for unification. We must not permit Italy to regain control of her former African colonies. We should urge that the colonial powers begin to bring their territories under the International Trusteeship System. We should insist that more adequate information be included in the annual reports by the Administering Authorities. And for the future, there are even more imposing questions to which persons interested in trusteeship affairs must address themselves. There must be a time limit to the period of trusteeship. The inhabitants must be assured that at the termination of the trusteeships they will receive full economic and political independence. The erection of fortifications and the stationing of troops in the trust territories must be restricted. The trust areas must cease to be administered as "integral" parts of the territories of the Administering Authorities which tends to perpetuate the colonial system. And finally, the inhabitants of the trust territories should be allowed to participate in the drawing up of the terms of the trust agreements.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People could render an invaluable contribution by mobilizing the spiritual and material resources of the American Negro People behind a program of progress and liberation for the inhabitants of dependent areas.

23-36-15

Sincerely,

Edgar D. Draper

Edgar D. Draper

7th
June
1948

Dear Mr. Draper:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 3rd. I shall write you further about this matter after I have taken it up with some of my associates.

Ever sincerely

Secretary

Mr. Edgar D. Draper
76 St. Nicholas Place
Apt #32
New York 32, New York

WW:emw

COPY

23-26-3

March 12, 1948

Mrs. Nina G. DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

My dear Nina:

I haven't bothered you with information about my trip as I know Yolanda has told you most of it. First of all, in the middle of February I went to Boston and talked at Revere Hall in Mechanics Building for a very busy colored woman who holds an annual art exhibit. There were five or six hundred people there and all listened very carefully. I met, of course, a great many old friends.

Then after a few days I sent up in Maine to Colby College at Waterville, a very interesting school which I had never seen before. There were two or three colored students and two teachers who had taught with me at Atlanta. I was very nicely entertained and lectured to students, and held conferences in the parlor and had dinner with students and professors.

Then I came back to New York just in time for my dinner party. I had not been anxious to have this dinner given because it cost so much and put so many of your friends on the spot. You know, of course, that it was $7.50 a plate, which was highway robbery, but I had nothing to do with it. In fact Mrs. Alexander ran it, and naturally she and I had some differences of opinion. For instance, to my surprise she informed me over the phone that Charles Johnson, the new president at Fisk was going to preside. I said flatly that he was not going to preside at my dinner. She went up in the air and so did I but finally we compromised and Arthur Spingarn presided and Johnson made a speech. It was really an extraordinarily interesting event. Over 300 people were present and lots of your friends: Mrs. Curtis, Mrs. Trotman, Mrs. Bell and the girls, Lottie Cooper, and numbers of others. One white woman friend in Chicago gave me as a present a check for $100.00. The messages were splendid - from the Prime

Minister of India, Nehru, and some of the prominent Indians; from Henry Wallace, from Gunnar Myrdal and his wife, etc.

The dinner was over about midnight and next morning at 7:30 I hopped on a plane and was in St. Louis that afternoon. I was so afraid I would be delayed by the bad weather but I made it all right. I staid with Mabel Byrd Curtis who has two twin sons 12 years of age, most interesting kids. Her sister-in-law is Julia Childs Curtis, you may remember her - she was a student of mine at Atlanta. I spoke there to 800 pupils at Stowe College which is the colored Teachers College. There was a delegation of 65 white high school students to hear me. Two days later I spoke to the Booklovers Club - about 300 persons-in the local church.

Finally I took another plane and came to San Francisco. It was long, rather hard ride with rain and snow almost all of the way until we cleared the last range of mountains. As usual the view of Los Angeles and San Francisco from the air at night was startling in its beauty.

At San Francisco a delegation of white and colored people met me and I went to the Palace Hotel. Since that I have spoken to 600 people in Oakland, to a large banquet of several hundred at the Labor School in San Francisco. Today I speak at Palo Alto where Stanford University is located. Day after tomorrow at Sacramento. On the 12th at the University of California and on the 14th at the Jones Memorial Church in San Francisco. On the 15th I shall go to Los Angeles to stop with Doctors John and Vada Somerville whom you remember. I will write you again from there.

I hope you are comfortable and content. You would have been very pleased to see your daughter and grand-daughter sitting at the head table at the New York dinner.

Yours with love,

March 26, 1948

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

My dear Nina:

I left Los Angeles Sunday, February 2 for Albuquerque. There on Monday, I spoke at the University of New Mexico. There were about seven hundred in the audience, and I had a very pleasant reception. Then on the 23rd I flew to San Antonio, stopping with a doctor in a very pleasant home. Then on the 21st flew to Prairie View and stopped with the Bankses.

Mrs. Banks has had a slight stroke something like yours but is getting on pretty well. Mr. Banks is well and both of them ask of you and send love. I shall stop here until April 7 and then go to Atlanta where I speak at the Wheat Street Church. Then I shall come up and spend a couple of days with you and then go back to Washington to receive an award from the American Veterans Committee. Then to my desk in New York.

I hope this will find you resting comfortably. I am trying to send you an Easter lily. I hope it will get there by Easter morning.

My regards to Mrs. Matthews and family.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

April 20, 194[illegible]

23-22-21

Mrs. Rachel Davis DuBois
204 East 18th Street
New York, New York

My dear Rachel:

I have finally got back more or less permanently to my desk. Call me up sometime, I shall want you to come to breakfast or lunch. I am enlcosing a letter to Ethel and Margaret. Will you forward it for me? I hope all is going well.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

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33C-38-9

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Leadership Training
School and Community Programs
Consultant Services
Publications

204 East 18th Street
New York City 3, N. Y.
ORchard 4-3193

Dear Mr Smyth,

Will you please send to Dr E. C. Lindeman, 122 E 22nd St - New York School for Social Work - some of the materials on the "Day Care". In your covering note say that I suggested it. Seasons greetings

Rachel D DuBois

12-3-48

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Key for Info

22-39-71

Monrovia, Liberiam
West Coast of Africa,
February 16, 1948.

Dr. W. E. Dubois,
National Association for the Advancement
of coloured people,
20th West 40th Street,
New York, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Dear Doctor,

My name is unknown to you, but is it a reason fro me to keep from expressing my admiration for your worthy campaign aiming at putting the black race in the place it deserves?

I am reading since last week your lastly published work "Africa and the world" in which you have put forth so many facts to prove the part played by Black Africa in the world history and civilisation. Before I read your book, I was living in an almost complete unawareness of the achievements of our ancestors. "Africa and the world" is a revelation to me. It has arisen in me an eager desire to devote myself beside my professional occupation to the study of Negro History.

Your book is one whose influence ad repercussion on the future of the whole black race is impossible to calculate now. The future and further developpements in human thought will prove the action of your book in the change of racial conception on both sides: on the black man's side it will create confidence in his value; on the white man's side it will help towards less racial prejudice. The result will be an important step towards the humanity you are dreaming.

As I have been told that I will not find better tutor in the field of Negro History it will be very profitable to me to make a thorough study of the books you have already published. Will you please tell me if I can have them from you or if not, where I can have them and at what price.

I would appreciate very much if you accept to give me some help in the study of Negro History by informations

22-39-72

about the bibliography, principal sources of documentation, the different institutions which in United States are interested in Negro History.

I am very hopeful to have a favourable answer and remain respectfully yours,

Dr. R. Ducheine

March 2, 1948

Dr. R. Ducheine
Monrovia, Liberia
Africa

Dear Dr. Ducheine:

Your letter to Dr. Du Bois has come during his absence from New York on an extended lecture tour to the West Coast. He will be absent from the city for about two months. However, I know that he will be glad to hear from you and that he appreciates the nice things you said about him and his work.

In regard to his publications I am enclosing a list of them with the publishers. You may secure them directly by writing the publisher.

Many of Doctor's books contain bibliographical material. You will find these helpful. However, I suggest that you write directly to:

Mr. Arna Bontemps, Librarian
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee U. S. A.

The Curator, The Schomberg Collection
136th Street Public Library
New York, New York U. S. A.

Dr. Edwin R. Embree
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Daniels, Librarian
Howard University
Washington, D. C. U. S. A.

Dr. Carter G. Woodson
Association for the Study of
Negro Life and History
1538 9th Street N. W.
Washington, D. C. U. S. A.

We want to thank you for writing and if we can be of further service please contact us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

22-39

HHS:LM

[Dunbar Senior - Junior HS]

CARRINGTON L. DAVIS
PRINCIPAL

VIVIAN E. COOK
VICE-PRINCIPAL
JAMES R. HOWARD
SPECIAL ASSISTANT

Lecture Pending

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

PAUL LAWRENCE DUNBAR SENIOR-JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
MCELDERRY AND CAROLINE STREETS
BALTIMORE - 5, MARYLAND

February 5, 1948

23-38-122

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City 31, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

When I called by telephone at your home on Sunday, I was informed that you had left already for New York. I regretted very much that it was not possible for me to get in touch with you on Saturday; however, I spoke to your daughter about my great desire to have you speak to the young people in this school - more than two thousand in number.

I am very anxious to have you during the present term at any time that your schedule will bring you in this section during the days of school. I feel that this large group of young people ought to have the privilege - at least once - of both seeing and hearing you. I should be very much obliged, therefore, if you will inform Yolande sufficiently in advance of a scheduled visit in this area in order that I may contact you and arrange for you to talk to the group.

I shall not be satisfied until I have achieved this objective.

Sincerely yours,

Carrington L. Davis

CARRINGTON L. DAVIS
Principal

[Dunbar Senior-Junior HS]

April 20, 1948

N B-36-121

Principal Carrington L. Davis
Paul Lawrence Dunbar Senior-Junior
High School
Mcelderry & Caroline Streets
Baltimore 5, Maryland

My dear Mr. Davis:

I shall be in Baltimore on May 2. I can speak at your school on May 3, but I shall have to charge you my railway expense from New York to Baltimore and return. This is the very least charge that I can make.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Dunbar Senior - Junior HS]

CARRINGTON L. DAVIS
PRINCIPAL

MILDRED J. SEABORNE
~~VIVIAN E. COOK~~
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lecture

Talk

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

PAUL LAWRENCE DUNBAR SENIOR-JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
MCELDERRY AND CAROLINE STREETS
BALTIMORE - 5, MARYLAND

April 21, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York City 18, N. Y.

23-38-120

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Upon receipt of your letter, I have immediately placed you on the calendar for May 3rd, and I shall be prepared to take care of the charge of railroad expenses for your trip.

I want to thank you for your generosity in rendering us this very valuable service at so nominal a fee, but I have been extremely anxious for my student body both to hear you and to see you; so that your appearance here will satisfy a long felt desire.

Unless I hear from you to the contrary, I shall arrange for the assembly at 9:45, Monday, May 3rd.

Very truly yours,

Carrington L. Davis

CARRINGTON L. DAVIS
Principal

CLD:MMC

Copy sent to Yolande - May 27, 1948

Lectures completed

[Dunbar Senior-Junior HS]

CARRINGTON L. DAVIS
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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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MCELDERRY AND CAROLINE STREETS
BALTIMORE - 5, MARYLAND

May 20, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N. Y.

23-38-123

My dear Dr. DuBois:

In spite of my oral expression of thanks to you upon the occasion of your visit to the school, I desire further to let you know how grateful I am for the contribution made by you to the education of that large group of young people to whom you spoke.

In view of the tremendous pressure under which you are constantly working for the solution of major problems, the fact that you were willing to take a little while off to talk to this group puts us under a lasting obligation to you.

I am frank to admit that I was not so deeply concerned about whether or not those gathered in the auditorium were able to follow your close and ordered presentation as I was that they should have a visible confirmation of one of their own group who represents the highest attainable in learning and culture. We do not know whether or not, as a result of this visible evidence, there may be one or more out of that mass that faced you, who, spurred by the challenge of your presence, may go on to prepare themselves for decisive contributions to the promotion of a more humane civilization in their time of ripe maturity.

On behalf of the student body, the faculty, and my own personal sense of indebtedness, I desire again to thank you.

Very truly yours,

Carrington L. Davis

CARRINGTON L. DAVIS
Principal

Ref. Rec'd & S.T.A

23-39-48

Ethel Ray Nance
1125 Somerville Avenue
Philadelphia 41, Pa.
Jan. 23, 1948

My dear Dr. DuBois,

I was believing all week that Rachel had related to you my request that you proceed with the matter we discussed last Sunday. I have just learned that she never received the message I left for her just before leaving New York. I am very eager to lay my case before Sadie Alexander, if you can make possible an interview for me. When I telephoned my New York lawyer, Mr. R. Lawrence Siegel, he said "That would be wonderful" and remarked that Mrs. Alexander is on the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

It is splendid of you to speak for me, Dr. DuBois. I think this may be the move that will set things rolling.

It was a pleasure, as it always is,

to be in your company last Sunday. Recalling the mishap to my right wrist, you will know this to be the painstaking effort of my left hand.

Sincerely,
Ethel Duncan

file Ethel Ray Nance

1125 Somerville Ave.
Phila. 41, Pa.
February 3, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois,

"This book of mine and yours" is so moving, so illuminating, that I must fail in any attempt to describe its effect on me. Last evening I went on a search for Andromeda in the nearby children's library and I found her there, the lily-white daughter of Ethiopia's dark King. This then is sportsmanship, I thought. There is nothing, nothing, "they" won't steal and brazenly call their own - no classic myth, no 2½ acre cocoa farm, no achievement in art or science. There is no sanctuary from their vulgarity and greed. "The great states went to war in jealousy over the ownership of the little people", you say. That is the whole story. And the little people are all of us out of whom the cartel monsters, with their enormous appetites and tiny brains, would make both slaves and customers. "The World and Africa" is a beautiful and terrible book, Dr. DuBois. In bringing out of obscurity such testimony as that of Howitt and Frobenius you have done a great service for the lay reader. And for a masterly lesson in the anatomy of the profit system I am greatly indebted to you.

I had to tell you all this before speaking of the letter I received from Mrs. Alexander. She expresses her interest in my experiences with Girard College and asks me to call her for an appointment after March 8th. She will be out of the city until that time. Can you let me know what points in the case you touched upon in writing to her, so that I may know where to begin when I talk with her? Also, in view of the fact that I have no money, I am concerned as to whether you have indicated that to her.

I am enclosing herewith some material bearing upon Cooperative development in the Philadelphia area. The Philadelphia Inquirer clipping reports the opening of Cooperative Town Inc. at 1126 W. Jefferson Street on Decem-

ber 17th last. This is the project we were describing to you. The neighborhood study club program, which laid the foundation for this cooperative store, stems from the Cooperative Education-Extension Service described on one of the leaflets I am sending you. This is the work into which Miss Thomas and I have been throwing ourselves. I hope you will find the information interesting for your newspaper column.

With best wishes,

Ethel Duncan

P.S.
Dear Dr. DuBois,

I am the "secretary" while Ethel's arm is in the cast, so expect the worst for style and mistakes above. The most I can do is say what she tells me to, somehow, with the wrong keys always jumping up! I do not see WHY they had to put the x next to the c, and also I have discovered I produce an original spelling all my own. I wish I might be so creative when I intend to be!

With my best wishes also,

Margaret Thomas

23-39-50

February 6, 1948

Miss Ethel Duncan
1125 Summerville Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Ethel:

I gave to Sadie Alexander a fair account of your financial situation. Thank you for the papers about the cooperative movement in Philadelphia. I hope the arm is better. Give your efficient secretary the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

Thank you for your kind words about my book, I liked it too.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBDuBLM

April 20, 1948

28-27-22

Dear Ethel Duncan and Margaret Thomas:

Thank you so much for the photographs. I received them after a trip that literally extended from the Great Lakes to the Gulf and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. I am just back at my desk.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-31-8
Key Miscellaneous

734 E 47 st
Chicago, Ill.
May 2, 1948

Dear Mr. Dubois:

How are you fine I hope. this is Jammil L Durham, studen of Vass Business College. I am very inderest in the Walfairs of my People of the South.

First of all I am Negro from the South and I would like to bring some of my Points to the N.A.A.C.P because we Negroes of the South need help. And you was the Only Man that I

23-31-9

really new about. that
I could bring any trouble
law. Mr. Dubois I lived
in the South for nineteen
years I was born in
Mississippi. I am twenty-
one years of age and I
thought it was time for
me to try to help my people
if it was any way.
we need members of the
N.A.A.C.P in Miss., as well
as we have them in
Chicago, Mr. Dubois I have
been reading the Chicago
Defender for eight years
and I read about the work
that you do, I want to fol-
low in the same foot step

23-21-10

I know I will have a lot of disapointment but I am willing to take the Chance. because I love my People.

Mr. Dubois. Plese answere this letter as Quick as you can. I will be so Glade to know that you recaived my letter. I want know what to do.

Yours truely
Tommie L Durham

June 29, 1948

Mr. Tommie L. Durham
734 East 47th Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Durham:

This is in reply to your letter of May 2 to Dr. DuBois. He wants you to know that he appreciated your writing and understands your situation and what you feel about helping improve things for all people in this country.

It is good that you have left the South. In this way you will grow and understand what it means to have a measure of freedom. What you need to do is to try and learn more about life, the way things are done, and when you have done this then you will be in a position to help others. You will find it profitable to study some more, if not formally in school, then get books and read. Guidance in reading can be had in your city from the Good Sheperd Community Center at 51st Street and South Parkway, or by writing to the Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago.

The Doctor wants you to keep up your courage and hope, and with perseverance, hard work and seriousness of purpose you will in time find yourself able to do some of the things you want to do to help all people.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHSS:s

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MUrray Hill 2-8565

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23-38-32

March 9, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are enclosing details on the engagements which you have accepted in Baltimore. You will be hearing directly from Rev. Joshua O. Williams with regard to any last minute arrangements.

Sincerely yours,

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp
enclosures

A nonprofit, non-political membership organization for education not relief

The East and West Association
62 West 45th Street, New York 19, N.Y.
~~40 East 49 Street, New York 17, N.Y.~~
PLaza 5-0843

[East and West Association]

Lecture

CONFIRMATION OF ENGAGEMENT

23-26-8

SPEAKER:	W. E. B. Dubois
PLACE:	Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church, Baltimore
SPONSOR:	Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church
CORRESPONDENT:	Rev. Joshua O. Williams Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church
Address:	1206 Etting Street
Telephone:	Baltimore, Maryland
DATE:	May 2, 1948
TIME:	4:00 p.m.
DURATION:	Approximately one hour
TOPIC:	COLOR AND DEMOCRACY: A WORLD CHALLENGE
QUESTIONS AFTER LECTURE:	Yes
FEE:	$75.00
RECOMMENDED TRAVEL:	Pennsylvania Railroad
ACCOMMODATIONS:	
REMARKS:	Forum meeting - general theme, "Living Together in One World" Audience inter-racial; majority Negro.

[Enclosure]

The East and West Association

62 West 45 Street, New York 19, N. Y. Murray Hill 2-4894

AGREEMENT between THE EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION and

Name The Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church

Address 1206 Etting Street

City and State Baltimore 17, Maryland

for the Sponsoring Organization Rev. Joshua O. Williams

for the following engagement:

Speaker W. E. B. DuBois

Place Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church

Date May 2, 1948 Time 4 p.m. Duration approximately 1 hour

for which the Sponsoring Organization agrees to:

(1) Pay a fee of $75.00 directly to the speaker on the day of the meeting;

(2) Plus a service charge of 20% ($) to be mailed to The East and West Association, 62 West 45th Street, New York 19, New York;

(3) Plus a share of the speaker's travel expenses, not to exceed the cost of round-trip first-class travel from New York City;

(4) Arrange transportation between place of meeting and bus or railroad station;

(5) Provide room or hotel accommodations for the night of .

(THE EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION is not responsible for the delay or nonappearance of speakers owing to unforeseen circumstances, such as accidents, strikes, or other reasons beyond its control.)

By Joshua O. Williams
SPONSOR

By Ruth M. Smith, Program Bureau
THE EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION

* * *

Additional Information for Speaker

Type of Meeting: Forum meeting - general theme, "Living Together In One World"

Audience: Inter-Racial, majority Negro

Topic: Color and Democracy: A World Challenge

Question period: Yes

Recommended travel: Pennsylvania Railroad (Cab directly to Church)

Addommodations:

Remarks:

23c-38-16

[East and West Association]

March 11, 1948

Miss Lily Edelman
Educational Director
THE EAST AND WEST ASSOCIATION
62 West 45th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Miss Edelman:

I have just received your letter of March 9, re the engagement of Dr. DuBois in Baltimore on May 2. I shall pass along this information to Dr. DuBois who is away lecturing on the West Coast.

Sincerely Yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

East-West Assoc

PEARL S. BUCK

62 WEST 45TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

May 17, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-209

I wish to invite you to be my guest at the "East-West Night" to take place at the Ziegfeld Theatre on May 24th.

The occasion is the presentation of the East-West Award to James Yen of China, given each year to the person anywhere in the world who in the opinion of the Directors of the Association has done at anytime during his lifetime the most for human relations and better understanding among peoples. U. S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas will receive it for him and will make an important address.

The event will feature Noami Aleh-Leaf of Palestine presenting dances of the Near East. From Mexico has come a really unusual group with Los Tres Panchos and Fernando del Monte. The distinguished Chinese basso, Yi-kwei Sze heard last season at Town Hall, has recently returned from a triumphant tour of the West Indies. He will sing three Chinese songs accompanied by the talented pianist Mary Hsia. Then we are proud to present the Indonesian dances of Soekoro and his extraordinary Javanese group and Jean Leon Destine and his group of Haitian dancers. Mr. Destine has just finished a tour of Mexico and you probably know already of his first-rate gifts.

Do let me know that you yourself can attend so that I may put aside a seat for you.

Very sincerely,

Pearl S. Buck

Pearl S. Buck

P.S. There will be a reception for Justice William O. Douglas on the stage of the Ziegfeld Theatre at 7:45 p.m. before the program begins. I hope very much that you will meet with us. Will you let me know if this is possible for you? An early reply will be helpful to us.

May 19, 1948

Miss Pearl Buck
62 West 45th Street
New York, New York

My dear Miss Buck: I shall be glad to come as your guest to the "East-West Night" to take place at the Ziegfeld Theater on May 24. I shall be on time for the reception for Justice William O. Douglas.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

The East and West Association

Devoted to new and better understanding between peoples through mutual knowledge

62 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-8565

May 20, 1948

lecture

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23-38-102

Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am delighted that you are able to be one of our honored guests this coming Monday night at the Ziegfeld Theatre.

If you are attending the special reception for Justice Douglas which will be held at 7:45 p.m. please use the stage entrance. I have enclosed your ticket.

I am looking forward to talking with you.

Cordially yours,

Pearl S. Buck

Pearl S. Buck

June 16, 1948

23-20-10

Miss Lily Edelman
East and West Association
62 West 45th Street
New York, New York

My dear Miss Edelman:

On may 2, I spoke for you in Baltimore in the Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church of Reverend Joshua O. Williams. He paid my fee and expenses with a check for $87.50.

This, after being deposited, was returned for lack of funds. I returned the check to him via registered mail, and asked him to arrange for payment. This was on June 4. We have heard nothing from him.

Will you kindly help me to collect this fee? I shall be under obligation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

The East and West Association

Devoted to new and better understanding between peoples through mutual knowledge

62 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-8565

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June 18, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 20th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The content of your letter of June 16th disturbed us because nothing like this has ever happened in the past. We immediately wired Baltimore, asking them to pay you at once. If you don't hear in the next few days, let me know and we shall get a long distance call through. I am very sorry that you have been put to this inconvenience.

Sincerely yours,

Lily Edelman

Lily Edelman
Educational Director

le/fp

A nonprofit, non-political educational organization

[East + West Forum]

Dear Dr. DuBois: — Rec'd May 4, 1948

23-29-35

Sorry we missed you when the secretary brought in your cheque. Forwarding same at your request to your New York Office.

lecture

Very truly yours
Sarah T. Diggs
Chr. Sponsorship for
East & West Forum Series.

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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WUC194 SER PD=WUX CHICAGO ILL FEB 17 337P

DR W E B DUBOIS,

NAACP=

=DOING STORY ON NEGROES AT HARVARD. CAN YOU AIR MAIL ANY INFORMATION YOU HAVE ON NEGRO STUDENTS AT HARVARD PAST AND PRESENT? 505 PM

Rcd. FEB 17 1948

Rfd. to Dr. DuBois (ans)

Ack.

D. O.

=BEN BURNS
EBONY MAGAZINE.501P.

23-20-C

ans 2-24

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

February 17, 1948

Mr. Ben Burns
Ebony Magazine
5125 South Calumet Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Burns:

Your wire, re Negro Students at Harvard, has come during the absence of Dr. DuBois, who is away lecturing in New England. He will not return to New York until the very end of the week, and leaves Monday night for the West Coast for an extended lecture tour. However, I shall try to bring your wire to his attention prior to his departure, and you know he will be glad to comply with your request if it is at all possible.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

AIR MAIL SPECIAL

Ebony

February 24, 1948

23-20-3

Dear Dr. DuBois: We have recently received a small check in this office from one of our readers. It is made out to Rev. Michael Scott whose work was featured in the November 1947 issue of EBONY under the heading of "The World's Worst Slums."

We do not have Rev. Scott's full address in this office, and it occurred to us that we might be able to get it from you. Can you help us out in this matter? We would like to forward the check as quickly as possible, and also give Rev. Scott's address to the donor.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Burns
Executive Editor

BB:hr
Encl.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 1, N. Y.

February 25, 1948

Mr. Ben Burns
Ebony Magazine
5125 South Calumet Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Burns:

In regard to your wire to Dr. Du Bois on "Negroes at Harvard," since the Dr. will be away lecturing for the next two months I doubt that he will be able to comply with your request. I am sure that you know that he would have been glad to cooperate with you if time had been available.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23-20-11

Ebony

February 27, 1948

23-20-6

Dear Mr. DuBois: EBONY magazine is planning a story in a coming issue on distinguished Negroes in various fields, from a then and now standpoint. We want this story to present a clear picture of what many now famous Negroes were doing at the age of twenty, showing how this relates to their present vocation, or in some cases, how it possibly has no relationship. This story will also show many of the obstacles and opportunities that they encountered and the effect these had on their careers.

We feel that such a story would be especially inspiring to our youth who are now trying to begin a worthwhile career, and would appreciate your help in making this story a success. We would like to get a picture of you taken at the age of twenty along with some information about what you were doing and some of your experiences at that time. We assure you that we will take good care of any photographs that you may send, and will return them to you when we have finished using them.

Please let us hear from you as soon as possible as we are anxious to get this story completely assembled.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Burns
Executive Editor

B.B.:js

Doctor W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

5123 SOUTH CALUMET AVENUE, CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

23-30-12

February 27, 1948

Mr. Ben Burns
Ebony
5125 South Calumet Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Burns:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois has come during his absence from New York on a lecture tour to the West Coast. However, in compliance with your request, I am enclosing the following:

The Reverend Michael Scott
P. O. Box 8312
Johannesburg
South Africa

As you probably know, Mr. Scott has left the country and this is his permanent South African address.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

March 4, 1948

Mr. Ben Burns, Editor
EBONY
5125 South Calumet Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Burns:

Your letter of February 27, to Dr. DuBois, concerning the article on distinguished Negroes from a then and now standpoint of view has just reached this office. As you know, Dr. DuBois is in California lecturing and will be away from New York for several weeks. However, I am forwarding your communication to him immediately, and as soon as I have received a reply I will send you the requested material.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Ebony]

March 9, 1949

Mr. Ben Burns
5125 South Calumet Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Burns:

Dr. DuBois writes from California that he will send you the short article, re prominent individuals at the age of 20, on May 1. His charge for this will be $25.00.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh M. Smythe

HMS:LM

Ebony

March 11, 1948

23-20-4

Dear Mr. Smythe: I am afraid you misinterpreted my letter to Dr. DuBois regarding the story that EBONY is planning to do on prominent individuals at the age of twenty. We would like to get a picture of Dr. DuBois that was taken at the age of 20. The information we requested was not in the nature of an article, but merely a few facts about what he was doing at the age of 20. However, what we are mainly interested in is the picture.

I hope that this clarifies the situation and that you will let me hear from you soon regarding this.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Burns
Executive Editor

B.B.:js

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

[Ebony Magazine]

March 15, 1948

Mr. Ben Burns
5125 South Calumet Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Burns:

I have just received your letter of March 11. I should like to make it clear to you that in regard to your letter to Dr. DuBois, re prominent individuals at the age of 20, that I sent it to him in California for his personal consideration. The answer which I sent to you was relayed directly from Dr. DuBois. Consequently, the misinterpretation was not due to any fault of mine. I acted merely as the transmitter of correspondance between you and Dr. DuBois.

I am forwarding your letter of March 11, sent to me personally, to him.

Undoubtedly the Doctor confused your request, re prominent individuals at the age of 20, with the request from Mr. Pressley, of THE NEGRO DIGEST, re his article for the coming Youth series.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Ebony

March 18, 1948

Dear Mr. Smythe: Thank you for your letter of March 15th. We appreciate your conveying our correspondence to Dr. DuBois. We are now looking forward to hearing from him regarding a picture of himself at the age of twenty and his activities at that time for our EBONY story, as we want very much to use him in the story.

23-20-7

Sincerely yours,

Ben Burns
Executive Editor

B.B.:js

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
20 Wes t 40th Street
New York, New York

June 2, 1948

Mr. John Johnson, Editor
EBONY
5125 South Calumet Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Several times your office has asked me about photographs of myself in earlier years. May I say that I have the following photographs:

1. Of my as a child in my mother's arms:
2. At five years of age:
3. At 16, on my graduation from high school:
4. When I graduated from Fisk and Harvard:
5. When I was married:
6. At intervals of 5 or 10 years since.

Also, I have photographs of my mother and father, of my paternal grandfather and maternal grandmother. All of these are in my possession, but I could not let them go out of my hands. If you want to send a man here, or probably to Baltimore, I could have them assembled and let him rephotograph them.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Ebony

Ebony

NEW YORK ADVERTISING OFFICE
55 WEST 42ND STREET
SUITE 243-244
CHICKERING 4-8867

September 23,1948

Mr. W. E. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

23.20.2

No doubt you are familiar with the program of EBONY magazine which is designed to raise the level of Negro publications, both editorially and in our advertising columns. We are succeeding even beyond our expectations in establishing Ebony as the top prestige magazine of the upper-bracket income Negro family. Our "Backstage" Department of the November issue explains our policy along this line and further outlines some of the steps we are taking to keep Ebony representative of the reader-confidence that has firmly established Ebony as the most widely read of all Negro publications. Ebony, at 30¢ per copy, is the highest-priced in the field, yet is bought by a guaranteed minimum of 350,000 discriminating, sophisticated, ultra-modern families each month. This is representative of better than 21% of all urban Negro families in the U.S.

EBONY has now convinced one of the nation's largest advertisers, who has consistently featured Men of Distinction, that we can suggest at least six outstanding Negro men whose accomplishments and abilities qualify them for such national recognition as such distinctive, high-toned presentations bring. If such a series is accepted and featured in Ebony, the general business implications are tremendous. It could mark an end to the general assumption that all colored persons are low-income persons, therefore prospects only for the least desirable, cheapest-priced consumer goods.

We would sincerely appreciate the opportunity to be able to suggest featuring your illustrious career-accomplishments as one of the six to be used. No endorsement or testimonial is stated or implied. Approximately four-fifths of the space will be given to pictorial highlights of your life.

You will receive a case of the product, personally autographed with your own picture on the back label, a contribution in your name to your favorite charity, and the satisfaction that the entire treatment, handling and publication will remain on the highest level.

The first insertion is tentatively planned for the January issue, out December 8th. Your consideration will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,
EBONY MAGAZINE

Wm.P.Grayson/mh

Eastern Advertising Mgr.

5125 SOUTH CALUMET AVENUE, CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

[Ebony Magazine]

COPY FOR:

EBONY MAGAZINE
Full Page

CALVERT DISTILLERS CORPORATION

NOTES:

GREAT MOMENTS in the lives of DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS

-

(Head and shoulders of Alain LeRoy Locke, in gown, with baccalaureate cowls draped around his neck) — Illus.

Alain LeRoy Locke - distinguished Negro philosopher, lecturer, teacher and author.

-

(Locke waving goodbye to friends from the deck of a steamship. Show "Cunard" banner on gangplank) — Illus.

Immediately after graduating with honors from Harvard University in 1907, brilliant Alain Locke was thrilled to find he'd been appointed the first and only Negro Rhodes Scholar to Oxford Univ., England.

-

(Locke, with pointer, at blackboard filled with modern-looking military diagrams. Show row of heads -- students -- in foreground) — Illus.

Later, after furthering his studies at Berlin Univ., Mr. Locke returned to receive his Ph.D. from Harvard; and to become Personnel Officer and Instructor of War Aims, United States Army Training Corps.

(Continued #2)

23-20-10

(Bearded gent, in tails and "Embassy" ribbon, shaking Locke's hand after an after-dinner speach. Other pompous looking gents applaud) Illus.

Today, Alain Locke -- Professor of Philosophy at Howard Univ., and University of Wisconsin; World-famous for his writings and lectures -- considers his most memorable moment when made Inter-American Exchange Professor to Haiti.

-

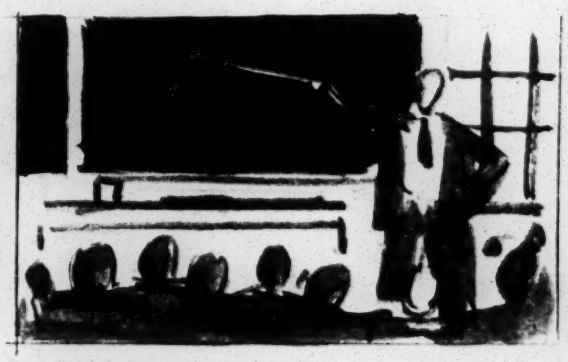
A moment you'll never forget, is that precious instant your lips touch Lord Calvert. Ah -- truly a whiskey of distinction, you'll admit . . . with a flavor so rare, so smooth, so mellow that from that very moment on, you'll always remember to ask for --

L O R D C A L V E R T

A "custom" blended whiskey. 86.8 proof, 65% grain neutral spirits.

23-20-11

Great Moments in the Lives of Distinguished Americans!



A moment you'll never forget

LORD CALVERT

For Men of Distinction...

[Educational Research Bulletin]

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
HOWARD L. BEVIS, *President*
COLUMBUS 10

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

January 17, 1948

23-46-32

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

In reply to your inquiry of December 21, let me say first that we have been short handed in the office which accounts for my delay in replying. I apologize for this delay.

I do not have statistics on the points you list. I believe that the two agencies which would have the most complete statistics would be (1) the United States office of Education and (2) The National Education Association. I suggest you inquire of them.

Sincerely yours,

R. H. Eckelberry

R. H. Eckelberry,
Editor and Professor

rhe;mh

[Educational Research Bulletin]

Corresp O

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
HOWARD L. BEVIS, *President*
COLUMBUS 10

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

October 5, 1948

23-46-29

Mr. W.E.B. Dubois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

My dear Mr. Dubois:

I am sending you a copy of the September issue of the Educational Research Bulletin, on page 167 of which you will find a review of your book, Encyclopedia of the Negro: Preparatory Volume with Reference Lists and Report.

Yours very sincerely,

J. MacLatchy
Josephine MacLatchy
Assistant Editor

Not yet received
W.E.B.D.

[Educat. Research Bulletin]

November 4, 1948

Miss Josephine MacLatchy
The Ohio State University
Columbus 10, Ohio

Dear Miss MacLatchy:

The copy of the September issue of the Educational Research Bulletin, which you promised to send to Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, has not been received as yet.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
HOWARD L. BEVIS, *President*
COLUMBUS 10

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Sent Negro Encyclopedia

November 15, 1948

Mrs. Lillian Murphy
Department of Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23C-30-3

My dear Mrs. Murphy:

I am sorry that Dr. Du Bois failed to receive the first copy of the Educational Research Bulletin we sent you. A second copy was sent on November 8. I hope you have already received it.

Yours very sincerely,

J. MacLatchy

Josephine MacLatchy
Assistant Editor

JM:ch

Thanks sent 11-17-48 by Smythe

23C-4/5

High-lecture May 4 accepted for M.S. Jones March 24

Brooklyn College

BEDFORD AVENUE AND AVENUE H
BROOKLYN 10, N. Y.

ADULT EDUCATION

February 7, 1948

Mr. Madison Jones
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York City

4506 FEB-9'48

Dear Mr. Jones:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of this morning relative to the appearance of Dr. Du Bois in the course: "FILM FORUM: UNDERSTANDING WORLD PROBLEMS".

Dr. Du Bois will have the widest latitude in expressing himself on any phase of the "Negro Problem". The date is May 4, the time 8 P.M. and the lecture will take place in Room 245 of the Midwood High School building, adjacent to the campus. The school may be reached by taking the Brighton line (BMT) to the Avenue H station, or by taking the Seventh Avenue Flatbush line (IRT) to Flatbush Avenue.

Would you be good enough to confirm the above at your earliest convenience? Thank you.

Cordially,

Murray Eisenstadt

Murray Eisenstadt, Moderator

Note: I may be reached at the Midwood High School (GE 4-6616) or at ES 7-7275 between 3-5 PM.

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

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March 25, 1948

Mr. Murray Eisenstadt
Brooklyn College
Bedford Avenue & Avenue H
Brooklyn 10, New York

Dear Mr. Eisenstadt:

Dr. Hugh Smythe, assistant to Dr. DuBois in this office, has consented to appear at Midwood High School on May 4th to lecture to an adult class on any phase of the Negro Problem. Will you please direct any further inquiries to him.

Sincerely yours,

Madison S. Jones, Jr.,
Administrative Assistant

MSJ:dp

Smythe

May 6, 1948

Mr. Murray Eisenstadt
Film Forum
Midwood High School
Bedford Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Eisenstadt:

The following are the persons I suggest that you contact for appearances on your forum in the fall.

Miss Marion Palfi, 229 East 53rd Street, New York, New York. She is a professional photographer and is particularly interested in the work of juvenile delinquency. In writing her you might mention this subject as the source for her lecture.

Mr. Julius A. Thomas, Industrial Secretary, National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York, New York. He is particularly specialized in employment problems of Negroes.

Miss Elizabeth H. Baker, Director, Maple Street Neighborhood Center, 33 Orange Road, Montclair, New Jersey. Social work, with emphasis on group problems is her field of interest.

If I think of others who might be suitable, I shall send the names along. Meanwhile, best wishes for continued success in your work.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

23-25-54 735

Birthday Greeting by WESTERN UNION

1948 FEB 23 PM 4 01 (01)

N94 PD=WL CINCINNATIO OHIO 23 343P

DR W E B DUBOIS,

HOTEL ROOSEVELT=

AS AN ALUMNUS OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CLASS 1908 MYRIAD MEMORIES ARE MINE ON THIS YOUR 80TH BIRTHDAY. YOUR ELOQUENCE AND YOUR SAGACIOUS ANALYSES OF WORLD EVENTS ARE PERPETUALLY INSPIRING. YOUR FORMER STUDENT=

ALFRED J ELKINS, MD.

1908 80.

Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

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Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

February 5, 1948

22-32-15

Dear Mr. Smythe: I have been glad to comply with the suggestion in your note of February 3, as per the enclosed letter.

Very truly yours,

ERE:NL

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

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23-25-77

February 9, 1948

Dear Doctor Alexander: I find that I can be in New York on the evening of February 23 and I am therefore enclosing my card and subscription to the dinner in tribute to Doctor DuBois. I assume that business dress will be acceptable unless I hear from you to the contrary.

It will be a great pleasure to join in this highly deserved tribute to this Elder Statesman.

Very truly yours,

Edwin R Embree

Pres, JRF

ERE:NL
Enc.

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, New York

[1948?]

I deeply regret missing the birthday celebration of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. I am absent on work for UNESCO, and in excuse, I plead that Dr. DuBois is among those chiefly responsible for my interest in a universal society with cultural diversity but with equal rights and equal opportunities for all.

22-1-12

My admiration for Dr. DuBois approaches worship. He has greatly influenced my work and thought as he has that of so many. While such men flourish I keep my faith.

Devoutly present in spirit, I join you in saluting a great American.

Edwin R. Embree

Lee Smythe

23C-45

October 21, 1948

Dr. Edwin R. Embree, President
The Liberian Foundation
Stettinius Associates
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Embree: I was fortunate enough to receive a copy of your latest volume, PEOPLES OF THE EARTH. I thought you might like to see what I thought of it and so send you the enclosed clipping of a review I did of it for the CONNECTICUT CHRONICLE. Incidentally, last week I appeared before the Huntington, Long Island, Board of Education and recommended it highly as a "must" book for them to include in their materials on the Negro. It is the sort of thing we have needed for a long time.

I hope your work is going well. Mrs. Smythe joins me in regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
2225 Fifth Avenue, 2-C
New York 35, New York
(Home address)

:S

Enclosure

Curious letter

Reid
Feb. 14, 1948
20 W 40th
24/18, 24/4

Kansas City Kans
Feb 10. 1948.

Dr W.E.B. DuBois. Dear Sir.
I suppose you think this as a Unusual letter. But I call it a get together and get aquanted letter. The real purpers of this letter is for the up grade to success for the Colored people in the united States. Now to Make My Self Renown. I am Mr Claude H English 1319 Ann ave Kansas city 2 Kans. I am a Prophet for ome birth and a worker for god. and through god. this program I have for the colored race. Came from god through me to My people. and it has taken me three years to receave it by geting a message time by time. and now it is finished its my duties now to get the message to the Colored race in this Country. but its not posible for me alone to get this program to all the colord people. so that's why reason for writhing you as to some suggestions this is your program as well as our race. Now this is what I have receaved through visions from god

is to get the program Through the United States by any means of News advertisements through our colorid papers. & by word of mouth. Then a convention will be given at some apointed large city. like Kansas city. Concerning This program. the whole cours of this program is to let the colored people get a better understanding what its courses is. and to pick delegates from every city in the united States that has a colored population. each delegate that is picked for his city or State will be given a copy of this program for his people in his district. This is the way I received from god through visions to let the colored people know what he is sending them. Now this program and what it mean to the colored race do you know the colored people in this country is the only race in the world that under bondage to another race. let us get rid of this. and it rids this country segregation. lynching. it puts a end to all types of Jim crow in this country. it causes the colored race to depend on themselfs for their own living their own jobs for working

it will cause the colored race to have
and own. every thing the white people
have. in the line of our own factorys. of
all diferant Manufacturing. our own law
schools. our own laws to rank right up
with the white races laws That will give
us more law protection. we will have our own
Collages for our younger generation to get
their full Courses. and when they graduate
there will be a Job awaiting them.
This program has also added the Colored
race of America a day to represent the
dark race in America. the day its all
has been desired. and a declaration for it
all finished. in as This country will loose
this great war. where would the white man
go? to europe. Now where would the colored man
go? There is no answer to that question. but
This program will cause the colored race
to take america over. as it allready belongs
to the Colored. This what I have wrote you
is just a little sketch of what this Program
Means. but there are plenty more yet to
this program. I am asking your helps as
I am asking hundreds of others. This is

your program, as well as millions of other of our race. Let some one els read this and see what they think of it. We need their help, please wright me and let me know if you care to go any further we care to help us put it through if so wright to me and Ill any Body that would like to help are some suggestions wright me

Mr Studs A English
1919 Ann Ave
Kansas City 2 Kansas

[Ethiopia]

22-40-83

የኢትዮጵያ ንጉ መንግሥት ሌጋሲዮን
ወሺንግቶን

IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN LEGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

August # 30, 1948

Dr. DU BOIS
Crisis Publishing Company
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

It has been my earnest desire since my arrival in the United States as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the Ethiopian Government, to reach as many outstanding leaders of the colored race in America as possibile, to acquaint myself with their general condition and to exchange views of mutual interest in cultural, historical and other matters. It is, however, unfortunate that I have been able to contact only few of such representatives so far. I would very much appreciate it therefore, if you will call on me at the Legation, 2134 Kalorama Road,N.W. Washington D.C., for the purpose of exchanging views as mentioned above.

All expenses incurred by you on this trip will be refunded by me.

I would suggest you call this week, as I have planned to be out of town next week.

Your notifying me of the date of your coming to Washington will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Ras Imru
Minister

2134.

KALORAMA

22-40-84

September 13, 1948

His Excellency, Ras Imru
Imperial Ethiopian Legation
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the feeling that our interview, interesting as it was to me, did not quite meet the plans or give the information which you had in mind.

I was interested in the future of your country, whose history I have followed with absorbed interest for the last forty years. I had hoped to discuss with you ways in which two great branches of the black race--the 15 million people of your country and the 13 million Americans of Negro descent, might collaborate in the future for progress, survival and cultural expansion.

On the other hand, your chief interest was inquiry into the discrimination against people of color in the United States and what steps we were taking to eliminate it. You naturally assumed that we as Americans are at least in part responsible for our country's failure to live up to its own laws and declarations and were curious to know my attitude toward discrimination. On the other hand, I assumed that you were more or less familiar with our long struggle for equality in this land and its results.

We were, perhaps, both wrong in part. American Negroes are not responsible for discrimination in this land; they are the victims of it. Only 85 years ago three-fourths of the Negroes were chattel slaves. In less than a century, against the social, political and economic power of one of the greatest of modern nations, this group of Negroes, back to the wall and opposed by modern civilization have:

1. Fought for their own freedom (Lincoln said that without help of Negro soldiers, the North could not have conquered the South in the Civil War)

2. Helped to reconstruct the nation after the Civil war, by new social legislation including public schools.

3. Reduced our illiteracy so that today over four-fifths of us can read and write.

4. Become an important part of the national economy and also saved money, bought property and founded family life.

5. Continuously during these 85 years fought color and race discrimination.

I am enclosing a short history of our efforts. It is chapter 1 of a petition to the United Nations. I wish you would have this translated into Amharic and then if possible have it printed and distributed among your officials and in your public schools. In this way you would let Ethiopia understand the struggle we have made and are still making for the abolition of the color line in modern civilization.

After you have read this, I wish you would let me confer with you again with the idea of exploring ways of cooperation between Ethiopia and the other dark-skinned groups of the world. I would especially like to suggest the idea of a Pan-African Congress held in your country, with His Imperial Majesty as patron, to confer on present cooperation and future aims.

I am Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/ lm
Enclosure:

September 24, 1948

23-8-10

His Excellency, Ras Imru
Minister from Ethiopia
Ethiopian Legation
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:

May I call to your attention the fact that I have had a small communication on Ethiopia, published in THE NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE, on

I am sending herewith my book, THE WORLD AND AFRICA.

May I express to you my shame and chagrin at your treatment at Constitution Hall. You will realize what we Negro Americans have been going through for generations.

I am, Sir

Very respectfully yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

Ltr Ethiopia

IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN LEGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 1, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

23-38-11

My dear Sir:

This refers to your letter of the 24th of September addressed to His Excellency the Minister Ras Imru, in which you informed him about your communication on Ethiopia, published in the New York Herald Tribune on September 18, 1948, and sending your book, The World and Africa.

I have been directed by His Excellency the Minister to acknowledge receipt with much appreciation on your publication and to inform you that the book, The World and Africa, was not enclosed in your letter.

His Excellency thanks you very much for the sympathy you expressed on the treatment he had at Constitution Hall.

With best regards from the Ethiopian Legation.

Very truly yours,

Mesfin Begashet

MF/als

March 10, 1948

Teacher of the 7th Grade
Excelsior High School
St. Augustine, Florida

Dear Madam:

This office has just received several more letters from your pupils to Dr. DuBois, who is away on the West Coast lecturing. I am sure that the Doctor appreciates these expressions of admiration, and I shall be sure to see that they are brought to his attention upon his return.

However, I hope you will understand and convey to your pupils that it is impossible for Dr. DuBois to answer individually each of these letters. The demands upon his time do not permit this. Consequently, I am asking that you pay his respects and thanks to the students for writing, and I am enclosing for the class as a whole a photograph of the Doctor.

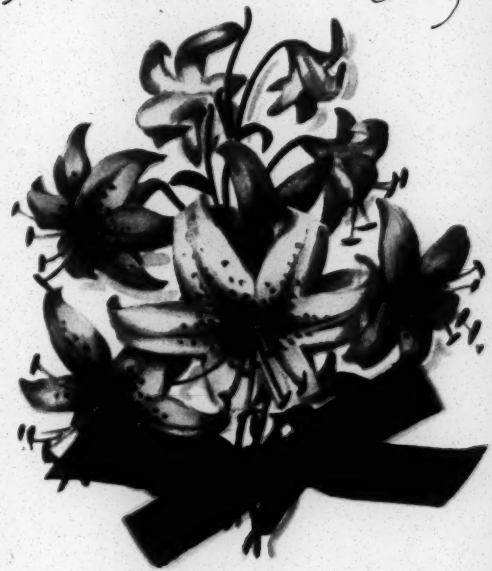
With continued best wishes for the success of you and your students, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

HHS:LM

Happy Birthday



With All Best Wishes

23-25-83

Feb. 23, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Our sincerest greetings to a great American. Thank you for your stimulating and profound contribution to world knowledge.

Cordially,
Lewis & Alice Fauntleroy

For your birthday –
all the pleasure
That a day like this can bring–
For always – every happiness
And the best of everything

Key for Info

November 29, 1948

Mr. John E. Farley
No. 64, 1879 Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

22-39

Dear Mr. Farley: In conformance with your request made by phone this morning, Dr. DuBois will be pleased to see you on Friday, December 3, at 3:00 P.M.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Wallace

23-32-19

HOWARD FAST
43 WEST 94TH STREET
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

March 24, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

May Day, this year, will be the occasion for a tremendous parade for peace and the wallace program.

We are now setting up a Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions for May Day, to insure the greatest participation of workers in the cultural fields in this demonstration.

May we use your name as a member of this Committee? Would you be good enough to wire me your reply collect?

Sincerely yours,

Howard Fast

Howard Fast

HOWARD FAST
43 WEST 94TH STREET
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

June 22, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 EdgecombeAvenue
New York 32

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your very kind note. I can't tell you what comfort it gives me.

I must, however, take the opportunity to point out that only a part of the world has gone mad. There are hundreds of millions of very good people who retain their sanity and help me retain mine.

23-17-1

I am enclosing with this a copy of an open letter to the American people which I wrote. I wonder whether you could have it printed in any of the Negro newspapers. I feel there is great importance in it being brought home to the Negro people that one of the sins I have committed, and for which I am being punished - among other things - is in the writing of FREEDOM ROAD. This is not a fantasy, for there is nothing in our present indictment that carries with it any taint of guilt - and therefore we must presume that we are going to prison for our careers in the broadest sense.

Sincerely,

Howard Fast

encl.

Mr. Howard Fast
43 West 94th Street
New York, New York

23-17-3

Dear Mr. Fast:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I received from Mr. P. L. Prattis, Executive Editor of THE PITTSBURGH COURIER. He wrote it in reply to my communication of June 23, in which I enclosed and sent to him the letter you had sent to me.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:s

HOWARD FAST
43 WEST 94TH STREET
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

July 7, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
The N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for sending me Mr. Prattis's letter. I think you will understand when I say I have difficulty in following Mr. Prattis's train of thought.

What does he mean when he says that he does not know what he can do in the Courier without creating an issue? He cannot create an issue. The issue is there. He reminds me of people who say it is wicked to take up the struggle for Negro rights since you thereby create problems.

23-17-4

I hate to ask you to do anything further about this, but I do think that it might help Mr. Prattis's immortal soul if someone he respected were to point out to him that we, on our side, neither make issues nor create trouble. Most of the time, it seems to me - and it should seem to him, too - we merely fight for our lives and our very existence on the basis of issues that the system of rotten reaction has already created.

In any case, I am deeply indebted to you for your kindness.

I spoke to Shirley, and she is trying to arrange a dinner. I look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Howard Fast

Howard Fast

HOWARD FAST
43 WEST 94TH STREET
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

December 10, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I read with great excitement your letter about the plates of THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK.

For a long time now I have been trying to obtain a copy of that book, and by all means, we must figure out some way to get it back into print as soon as possible.

I have sent a copy of your letter to Sidney Russell, director of the Liberty Book Club, and recommended the matter to his most earnest consideration. Herbert Aptheker is one of the editorial consultants of Liberty Book Club, and I would suggest that you send a few words to him about this book. Meanwhile, I will pursue it to the best of my ability.

I do want to say that the evening we spent with you at Shirley's house was one of the most delightful in a long time. I hope to see you again very soon.

Sincerely,

Howard Fast

Apt. 7
Guadiana 24
Mexico, D.F.

Dear Mr. DuBois: First of all I
want to apologize for a very unfair
criticism I made some years ago
about [illegible] way
having to do with [illegible] apparent failure -
or as I interpreted it then - [illegible]
refusal to respond to my greeting on
an elevator on the 15th St. YMCA -
[illegible] my greeting [illegible] responded to my
rather polite nod and I have always
wanted since then to do this -

Then secondly - I want to say how
happy I was a few years ago to read

23-30-X

2/

in some paper here of the few tributes
given [illegible] on Jan 8th birthday – Hoffy
was [illegible], not simply because [illegible] received
the merited tributes, but were especially
because [illegible] in rather, and quite exceptionally
many men, have proven pure, virtuous,
keeper, more vigorous and with [illegible]
free minds over more persecutions, and
intelligent brave with the passing [illegible] the
[illegible] I see now that [illegible] were
[illegible]
an outstanding leader in [illegible] days
[illegible] a true leadership, has today [illegible]
are [illegible] on [illegible] statesmen – one
[illegible] the very few in the whole
American scene –

I am sure we readers

23-30-80

Duck & Dawn, which means so much
more to me now than it did when I
read it some years back (the subtitle
eg, I see) — and as (?) literature —

I would like, briefly, to ask a question,
which [illegible] and have the time to
[illegible] I shall
answer, if we can't here,
not be disappointed if I —
can't see the time. I would [illegible]
[illegible] to the class and
to J — [illegible]
meaning implied in not — [illegible]
or the one near the [illegible] conclusion — "I
was born and end with here. Would
in her right against separation and [illegible]

I never thought for a hundred years or more
America's war is very going to be as
long-fought as ours.

WIRT G. FAUST
THE MERCERSBURG ACADEMY
MERCERSBURG
PENNSYLVANIA

Appreciation

22-38-13

January 31, 1944

My dear Dr. Du Bois,

Having just read your Color and Democracy, I want to thank you for writing it. I am passing on the book for several of my friends to read. But how distressingly futile this for an ordinary person, such as I am, to read such a useful and challenging book with the realization that he "can do nothing about it"! To be informed is, of course, one thing; but that seems so very insufficient. I appreciate how much study, observation, travel, thought, talent, sincerity has gone into the making of this book — and what a valuable

WIRT G. FAUST
THE MERCERSBURG ACADEMY
MERCERSBURG
PENNSYLVANIA

22-38-14

man you, yourself, are. Surely there must be some way in which I might know how widely the work is read — in America and abroad; whether, indeed, it has been translated and sold in other countries; what effectiveness it has had with those who have influence on colonial affairs. It must go home to the people who have destiny in their hands!

Stuart you will recall me as having been on Spillman's faculty and you where one of my inspirations was knowing you. I shall not forget your delightful playfulness, at Miss Thomas' delightful party, with my little daughter. You have undoubtedly long since forgotten my daughter and

WIRT G. FAUST
THE MERCERSBURG ACADEMY
MERCERSBURG
PENNSYLVANIA

22-38-15

Dear occasion, but of such little amenities is the pleasant side of life made up. The daughter is now a graduate of the University of Wisconsin (A.B.) and Smith College (A.M.) and is engaged in psychiatric social work.

Respectfully,
Wirt G. Faust

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

February 6, 1948

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Mr. Wirt G. Faust
The Mercersburg Academy
Mercersburg, Pennsylvania

23-27-27

My dear Sir:

I was so glad to have your letter of January 31, and your kind words about COLOR AND DEMOCRACY. It received fairly good circulation. The United States Navy bought several thousand copies for the sailors. Perhaps it will do some good.

Give my best regards to your daughter. I have a granddaughter who is in the Northfield School. Perhaps the coming generation will do something about this world; there is a hell of a lot to be done!

I am enclosing one of our petitions to the United Nations in which you may be interested.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

Nellie: Please release from and send [illegible] book. Don't [illegible] "hell of a lot" [illegible] from a Righteous and dignified [illegible] a man as his [illegible]

(FENG)

Consol F

Apartment 104
512 West 122nd Street
New York 27, New York
November 16, 1948

Dear friend:

We are sorry to tell you that the Riverside Church felt that the Marshal Feng Memorial Service should not be held there on November 19. We have therefore been forced to change the date of the service.

We shall let you know within the next few days where the meeting will be. It will probably be held around the first part of December and the program will be essentially the same as that planned for the Riverside Church. We feel that it is important for all those who believed in the good will and integrity of Marshal Feng to come together to honor his memory.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest Osborne

Ernest Osborne

Donald Towksbury

Donald Towksbury

230-20-11

MARSHAL FENG YU-HSIANG

MARSHAL FENG YU-HSIANG DIED ON HIS WAY TO NORTH CHINA TO PARTICIPATE IN THE COMING POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE WHICH HE HOPED WOULD BRING ABOUT A DEMOCRATIC AND PEACEFUL CHINA. ALTHOUGH HE WAS SIXTY-SEVEN YEARS OLD, THE MARSHAL BELIEVED HE STILL HAD A CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S AGE-OLD ASPIRATIONS FOR THAT DEMOCRACY WHICH HE HOPED THE TWENTIETH CENTURY WOULD BRING THEM. IN HIS "FAREWELL TO AMERICA" HE SAID: "I AM FULLY CONFIDENT ABOUT THE FINAL VICTORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT ALL OVER CHINA. AND I CAN ASSURE YOU, MY FRIENDS, THAT THE NEW CHINA WILL NOT ONLY MAINTAIN ITS FRIENDSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES BUT WILL ALSO IMPROVE IT."

22-34

MARSHAL FENG'S LIFE FALLS INTO THREE MAIN PERIODS: FIRST, AS A FOLLOWER OF DR. SUN YAT-SEN, HE HAD A PART IN THE FOUNDING OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC; LATER, AS THE CHRISTIAN GENERAL, HE WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO LEAD HIS COMMAND AGAINST THE JAPANESE AGGRESSORS AND CONTINUED HIS FIGHT THROUGH THE LONG WAR YEARS; AND FINALLY, AFTER V-J DAY, HE DEVOTED ALL HIS ENERGIES TO THE FIGHT AGAINST OPPRESSION.

THE MARSHAL REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT THE KUOMINTANG, UNDER GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK, WAS NOT CAPABLE OF BRINGING ABOUT FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES FOR THE BENEFIT OF A MAJORITY OF HIS COUNTRYMEN. HE DID NOT HESITATE TO VOICE HIS CONVICTION THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT'S FINANCIAL AND MILITARY AID TO THE KUOMINTANG REGIME WAS PROLONGING WAR IN CHINA AND BETRAYING THE CHINESE PEOPLE. NOR DID HE SPARE HIMSELF IN HIS EFFORTS TO TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT SUCH POLICY WAS AGAINST THEIR INTEREST AND DAMAGED THE TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES.

MARSHAL FENG WAS A SOLDIER AND A POET. HE WAS A SIMPLE MAN. HE NEVER DEALT IN CIRCUMLOCUTIONS. IF HE HAD SOMETHING TO SAY, HE SAID IT. HE DELIBERATELY SHUNNED SECURITY AND THE PROSPECT OF A COMFORTABLE OLD AGE IN HIS COUNTRY BECAUSE HE HAD AN IDEAL HE BELIEVED WAS WORTH FIGHTING FOR AND TO WHICH HE GAVE HIS DEVOTION AND HIS LAST STRENGTH.

THIS MEMORIAL MEETING IS BEING HELD TO HONOR MARSHAL FENG, A GREAT CHINESE AND TRUE INTERNATIONALIST AND A LOVER OF HIS FELLOW-MEN. IT IS FITTING THAT SUCH A MEETING BE HELD IN THE UNITED STATES, THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THE FINAL TWO YEARS OF AN EVENTFUL AND COURAGEOUS LIFE WERE LARGELY SPENT.

per Ltr 10-5-48
to Chas H. Houston

FIRST AFRICAN BAPTIST CHURCH)

Dickson, Taylor, Carter & Ealey
Law Offices
Fisher Building
313-A North Second Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Ernest C. Dickson
William E. Taylor
Frederick Charles Carter
Roland Duke Ealey

Dial 3-8584

Washington Office
903 U Street, N.W.
Hobart 4719

Lecture

January 6, 1948

offered
April 11 - Sunday

23-38-135

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New

My dear Dr. DuBois:

The mens' Forum of First African Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia is holding its first public forum, Sunday, February 15, 1948 at 3:30 P. M. and has asked me to invite you here as speaker for the ocassion. Should you find it convenient to accept this invitation, and we wish so much that you can, please inform me of the terms upon which you will appear at this meeting.

Thanking you in advance for your kind and favorable consideration of this matter, I am,

Most respectfully yours,

Roland D. Ealey

Rpland D. Ealey, Pres.
Mens' Forum First Baptist Church

January 9, 1948

Mr. Rpland D. Ealey, President
Mens' Forum First Baptist Church
Richmond 19, Virginia

Sir:

I shall be lecturing in the Middle West and California in March next; returning I shall stop over in Texas and then probably come north by way of Atlanta. I will be glad if there was any demand to lecture at your church. My charge for lectures is $100.00, out of which I pay my own expenses. If you think there is any chance for such an engagement I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

lecture

January 12, 1948

Mr. Roland D. Ealey, President
Men's Forum First Baptist Church
Richmond 19, Virginia

My dear Sir:

My letter of January 9, was mistakenly sent to you and meant for another person. I would like to say that it will be impossible for me to speak for you February 15, as I have engagements elsewhere.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Dickson, Taylor, Carter & Ealey
Law Offices
Fisher Building
313 ½ North Second Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Ernest C. Dickson
William E. Taylor
Frederick Charles Carter
Roland Duke Ealey

Dial 3-8584

Washington Office
903 U Street, N.W.
Hobart 4719

lecture

February 12, 1948

23.38-131

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Your letter of January 9, 1948 was recceived, but the same was received late due to some miscarriage of the postal service. Our church welcomes the possibility of having you lecture in this City.

If this letter is not too late to be considered for your possible appearance here this spring, kindly inform me about what date you may find it possible to lecture here.

Most respectfully yours,

Roland D. Ealey

Roland D. Ealey

RDE:be

Abr. 11. $100

February 21, 1948

29.32.132

Mr. Roland D. Ealey
313-A North Second Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Ealey:

Your letter of February 12 has just been brought to my attention, since I am just back from a lecture tour of New England. I should be happy to speak at the Sunday Forum of your church on Sunday, April 11. The charge for this appearance would be $100.00.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

COPY

Dickson, Taylor, Carter & Ealey
Law Offices
Fisher Building
313-A North Second Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Washington Office
903 U Street, N.W.
Hobart 4719

Ernest C. Dickson
William E. Taylor
Frederick Charles Carter
Roland Duke Ealey

Dial 3-8584

February 25, 1948

23-38-130

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dr. Dr. DuBois:

I received you letter of February 21, 1948 relative to your appearance here April 11, 1948. Our church has its regular communion on that date therefore we wish you will find it convenient to appear Sunday April 4. Kindly let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

Roland D. Ealey

Roland D. Ealey

RDE:be

lecture

February 27, 1948

Mr. Roland D. Baley
313-A North Second Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Baley:

Your letter of February 25 has arrived during the absence of Dr. DuBois from his office. He is on a lecture to the West Coast and will not return to New York until April 15. Consequently, the date of April 4 is unavailable, since he will be lecturing in Texas at that time. The Doctor's schedule is booked solidly for the next few months, and the only available date in April is the 25th. Open dates in May are the 16th and 23rd. I suggest these as possibilities but their confirmation depends upon Dr. DuBois.

When you have come to some decision, I should be glad to hear from you. With thanks for your interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Lecture

Dickson, Taylor, Carter & Ealey
Law Offices
Fisher Building
313-A North Second Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Ernest C. Dickson
William E. Taylor
Frederick Charles Carter
Roland Duke Ealey

Dial 3 8584

Washington Office
903 U Street, N.W.
Hobart 4719

March 8, 1948

23-38-137

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In reply to your communication of February 27, 1948 submitted by Hugh H. Smythe I wish to advise that at the regular business meeting of the Mens' Forum of our church it was unanimously agreed that the organization would sponsor a lecture by you, should you find it convenient to appear, for our spring forum.

We were informed that May 16th and 23rd are open dates, our choice is May 23rd however we would accept May 16th as an alternate date. Kindly inform us how soon in advance you desire payment of the stipulated fee.

Very truly yours,

Roland D. Ealey

Roland D. Ealey

May 16
#150

COPY

lecture

March 8, 1948

313 A North Second Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

22-33-05

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In reply to your communication of February 27, 1948 submitted by Mr. Hugh H. Smythe I wish to advise that at the regular business meeting of the Mens' Forum of our church it was unanimously agreed that the organization would sponsor a lecture by you, should you find it convenient to appear, for our spring forum.

We were informed that May 16th and 23rd are open dates, our choice is May 23rd, however, we would accept May 16th as an alternate date. Kindly inform us how soon in advance you desire payment of the stipulated fee.

Very truly yours,

(signed) Roland D. Haley

March 10, 1948

Mr. Roland B. Baley
313 A North Second Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Baley:

Your letter of March 8 has just been received. As you know, Dr. DuBois, is away lecturing on the West Coast, so your letter has been forwarded to him there. As soon as I have his reply, concerning his speaking for you in May, I shall pass it along to you.

With thanks for your continued interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Dickson, Taylor, Carter & Ealey
Law Offices
Fisher Building
313-A North Second Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Ernest C. Dickson
William E. Taylor
Frederick Charles Carter
Roland Duke Ealey

Dial 3-8584

Washington Office
903 U Street, N.W.
Hobart 4719

MARCH 23, 1948

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, NEW YORK

MY DEAR DR. DUBOIS:

We regret that we will not be able to sponsor a lecture by you this spring season.

Hoping to hear from you whenever another such opportunity is availabe, we are

Very truly yours,

Roland D. Ealey

Roland D. Ealey

[FIRST AFRICAN Baptist Church]

March 25, 1948

Mr. Roland D. Haley
313 A North Second Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Haley:

I have your letter of March 23 to Dr. DuBois. The Doctor is still away lecturing in the West, but I shall inform him of your answer. With regret that he was unable to appear for you during his current lecture tour, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:EM

File

Make Folder

August 18, 1948

22-34-19

Mr. Leslie H. Fishel, Jr.
68 Jarvis Court
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Fishel:

It was nice to talk with you the other day and I am glad that you are going to work on the subject of Jim Crow in the North. Also, I am happy that you were fortunate to have the interview with Dr. DuBois and to get his reaction to your proposed problem. In connection with other people you should see, I am listing the following and it will prove advantageous to contact them and begin a correspondence. Some of them will be coming to New York and it may be that they will be here when you are in the city, too, and that would enable you to have a personal conference with them.

Dr. Rayford Logan, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Mr. Herman Long, Mr. John Hope, Jr., all of Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

Dr. John Hope Franklin, Howard University, Washington 1, D. C.

Mr. St. Clair Drake, Roosevelt College, but write him at his home, 3767 South Lake Park Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. John M. Gandy, Research Associate, Chicago Council of Social Agencies; write him at his home, 3624½ So. Lake Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Kenneth Clark, Department of Psychology, City College, New York, N.Y.

Dr. Melvin Tumin, Princeton University, Department of Sociology, Princeton, New Jersey.

Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene, Lincoln University, Jeffe son City, Missouri, but he lives at 44 Scotland Street, Ansonia, Connecticut and comes East during the summer. Just now he is still in Missouri.

Although I do not know what may come of it, I think it might be of help to talk with Mr. Francis Broderick, 82 Oxford Street, Cambridge, Mass. He is doing work on DuBois and knows something of the problem

you are researching. He may be able to give you some leads where you may be able to find some materials. He is a Schlesinger student, too. You can tell him I sent you. You will have to see him soon, however, since He will be leaving that vicinity shortly. He is a sound student and you may rely upon what he says.

Also, some of the research people on EBONY, the NEGRO DIGEST, THE NEGRO (published in St. Louis, Mo.), and the materials in the Negro newspapers will give you some leads. I believe Dr. DuBois told you to talk to anyone connected with the Conservator (of Chicago) and The New York Age and The Boston Guardian. For your information, there are a couple of master's theses done on THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, now on file at the University of Chicago. These ought to be of some help in your quest. Also, check bibliographies of Negro material, weeding out any that does not apply to your subject.

As I think of other things from time to time I shall let you have the benefit of my thinking for whatever it is worth to you. Meanwhile, good luck in your quest and please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

File Fiske, Hazel (Mrs. Fowler)

68 Jarvis Court
Cambridge, 38, Mass.
21 August 1948

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
NAACP
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Smythe:

22-34-17

Many thanks for your prompt and complete letter of the 18th. Your encouraging remarks, written and oral, were more than welcome and I honestly look forward to a longer bull session. You were very kind to let me slip into Dr. Dubois' schedule for my brief chat with him. As you probably realize, it is a privilege to have spoken to a man of his abilities and accomplishments.

I am looking forward also to the publication of your article on Jim Crow in Social Forces. Frankly, the definition of the term has me slightly stymied, for obvious reasons. I had inteneded to ask Dr. Dubois about it, as I had asked you, but I heard something said about "five minutes" and anyway, I didn't have my wits completely about me, in that short space! But for the thesis to make any sense at all, I will have to lift Jim Crow out of its everyday Southern context, and build it up into a concept covering basic mental and emotional attitudes and their physical reactions.

The list of papers which Dr. Dubois cited and which you thoughtfully included in your letter is familiar to me by name. However, there are earlier papers in New York and Boston which would prove valuable to me, if I could get at them. Some of them are mentioned in Simmons, Men of Mark, some in an appendix of Williams' History, v. II, and some in Daniels' book on Boston. For example, do you know where I could find Rufus Perry's National Monitor or John J. Freeman's Progressive American, both of which were extant in the early 1870's? These were both published in New York. There were others in Boston, but their names escape me at the moment.

These earlier papers, plus the New National Era which I have used on microfilm at the Schomburg Library, will prove invaluable as evidence of post Civil-War attitudes (while all eyes were turned Southward), as testimony for the reaction of the 1873 depression on interracial relationships. Then, in the 1880's, the NY Age is prominent. But at present I am focusing my heat-debilitated energies on the earlier period, with plans to work up chronologically to about 1910. I don't know if I got that idea of working up those forty-five odd years across to Dr. Dubois, or not. I hope so.

Your list of prospective correspondents will provide homework enough for months, and I am appreciative of your effort. I expect to start to work on the list this coming week. I have not run across Broderick, who apparently lives just down the road, but I intend to look him up shortly.

By all means, let me have the benefit of your thinking. It really will be of great value. As a novice hacking away at virgin timber, I'll need skilled hands to guide me. I only wish I could reciprocate.

If there is anything that I can do for you, won't you let me know?

One last word. I have probably overtaxed you with questions and requests already. When you reach your saturation point, please don't hesitate to let me know. Many thanks again.

Sincerely,

Les Fishel

22-34-18

P.S. Write me at my home address: 2225 Fifth Avenue, Apt. 2-C., New York 35, N. Y.

xxxxxxxxxx

August 23, 1948

Mr. Leslie Fishel
68 Jarvis Court
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Fishel:

Thanks for your letter, which arrived this morning. Knowing how rushed you are and what a problem it is going to be to assemble your materials, I am rushing this information right back to you for whatever it is worth.

It will be quite helpful to write to A. S. Pride, Director of the School of Journalism, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri. He worked under a Carnegie grant microfilming all the Negro papers he could find, and may know about the early newspapers you mention and where they can be found. Mark your letter personal to him, since I believe he is in Evanston, Illinois, during the summer doing some special work---also mark it "forward." You can tell him I recommended you, since he and I are friends.

Also, I showed your note to Dr. DuBois. He thought you might be able to find some of the newspapers at the library of Howard University---a man left a fine collection to them and he thought these early papers might be there. In this connection, ask John Hope Franklin about them when you write him---he is located there and can tell you if such are in the collection. Be sure and write him immediately about this.

You might write Mr. Arthur Spingarn, 36 West 44th Street, New York. He is a collector of Negro literature and knows a great deal about the kind of material you want. He will be glad to help you in your quest if he can assist you in any way...For Boston papers, write to Lorenzo J. Greene (I sent his address before) and ask him about them. You will get a reprint of the article "Concept Jim Crow" shortly, as it is about to be published in the next issue of Social Forces. It may help some, but we will do well to discuss the concept before arriving at any definition---the article is more of a source material thing showing the sociological validity of the concept.

Luck in your quest and let us help in any way we can.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

April 12/48

Dear B.

Could you tell me when you're to be in Washington?

I'm going to be in Ohio the last week in this month so that I'm hoping you come before. - And I hope you come when I can have you to dinner. - I hope it's a Tuesday.

Love,

Ruth Anna Fisher

23-17-6

Apartment 409,
654 Girard St., N. W.,
Washington 1, D. C.,
Oct. 3, 1948.

Dear B.,

23-17-7

Would you be good enough to tell Shirley Graham that I'm glad to do anything I can for her committee, but I'm not a member of the N. A. A. C. P. so perhaps I can't join a committee objecting to their actions.

Mrs. Ida Hunt, 1115 New Hampshire Ave. N. W., is a member and wants to join and I think Mary Cromwell, 1815 - 13th St. N. W. does also.

My delay in answering is not due to lack of interest but because when the letter came my flat was in the hands of the painters and I haven't been able to find anything here since. That is why I'm not returning

the first word, but writing to you.

Tell me what I can do as a new member of the NAACP and I'll do it gladly.

As ever

Ruth Anna

December 17, 1948

Miss Ruth Anna Fisher
654 Girard Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

My dear Ruth:

I am going to be in Baltimore with the family for Christmas, but on the 26th or 27th I could come over and have dinner with you, unless this is, for you, too near the Christmas festivities. Let me hear from you.

I am quite well and I think everything is turning out for the best. I will give you details when I see you.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

December 23, 1948

23-12-8

Miss Ruth Anna Fisher

654 Girard Street Northwest
Apartment 409
Washington, D. C.

My dear Ruth:

I shall arrive about 6 and I should think that we might have some of that cold turkey about 7. I shall be stopping at the Davidson's.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Fisk C448]

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
E. G. CLARK, President
SOUTHERN BRANCH POST OFFICE
BATON ROUGE, LA.

February 13, 1948

DIVISION OF BUSINESS EDUCATION

Dr. W. B. DuBois
c/o Hotel Roosevelt
Hendrik Hudson Room
45th Street at Madison Avenue
New York, New York

23-25-19

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On behalf of the Fiskites in the Baton Rouge vicinity, it affords us great pleasure to join with the thousands of other alumni in sending greetings to you on this occasion. It is indeed rare that a group has the pleasure of commemorating achievements of one who continues to make contributions outstanding in the field of human relations.

Your work has been exemplary of the ideals and principles for which your Alma Mater, Fisk University, stands.

Very sincerely yours,

1 card to — L. R. Posey — Fisk Club

Mr. L. R. Posey, President
Head of Department of Mathematics
Southern University

Samuella V. Totty

Miss S. V. Totty, Secretary
Director of Division of Business Education

CHAPTER ROSTER

NAME	POSITION	ADDRESS
Mrs. Frances Austin	Instructor of English	Southern University
Mrs. Evelyn Baranco		Baton Rouge, La.
Mrs. Cecilia B. Boline	Instructor of Music	Southern University
Mrs. Eulacie Chatman		Baton Rouge, La.
Mr. W. W. Clem	Instructor	Southern University Demonstration School
Mr. Tourgee DeBose	Director Division of Music	Southern University
Dr. A. H. Fleet	Physician	Baton Rouge, La.
Mr. James Frazier	Instructor	McKinley High School
Mrs. I. N. Givens	Jeannes Supervisor	Baton Rouge, La.
Miss C. Vernette Grimes	Law Librarian	Southern University
Mr. Benjamin Hall	Dean	Leland College
Mr. A. H. Jackson	Principal	McKinley High School
Miss M. G. Jacobs	Instructor	Southern University
Mr. John G. Lewis	Grand Master of Masons	Scotlandville, La.
Mr. H. D. Lawless	Instructor	Southern University
Mrs. M. N. Ringgold	Retired Jeannes Supervisor	Baton Rouge, La.
Mrs. Hortense Sewell	Teacher	Baton Rouge City System
Mrs. Annie P. Wilson	Instructor	Southern University

[FISK CLUB]

Fisk University
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

February 20, 1948

Dr. W E B DuBois
New York, N Y

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Nashville Fisk Club is happy to join those who do you honor on the occasion of your eightieth birthday. We feel that this tribute of homage, respect and esteem is entirely fitting and proper. We, along with your thousands of friends and admirers, have followed your career and gloried in your achievements and successes throughout the years.

As a Fisk alumnus you are a noble exemplification, excelling our deepest yearnings for "sons and daughters ever on the altar". As a world citizen we point to you with great pride, ever mindful of your superb contributions; contributions that will benefit and enrich for generations to come.

You have touched the lives of thousands; the simple people as well as the masters, bringing to all enlightment and learning. You have served magnificently your race and your country.

Felicitations to you, great humanitarian, scholar, writer and gentleman!

Sincerely,

The Nashville Fisk Club

William H Fort

William H Fort
President

23-25-50

23-25-99

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(42)..

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

22 PM 6 52

JA 303

J. NDA 364 NL PD=INDIANAPOLIS IND 22

DR W E B DUBOIS=

HOTEL ROOSEVELT 45 ST AT MADISON AVE NYK=

WE WOULD LIKE TO BE WITH YOU TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS GLORIOUS 80TH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION SINCE TIME DOES NOT PERMIT IT EACH ALUMNI SENDS CONGRATULATIONS=

FISK CLUB INDIANAPOLIS INDIANA.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

(FISK CLUB) 23-25-98

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(42)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
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Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

N34 DL PD=DETROIT MICH 23 1128A 1948 FEB 23 AM 11 47

DR W E DUBOIS=
HOTEL ROOSEVELT HENDRICK HUDSON ROOM=

WE OFFER YOU SOLICITATIONS ON YOUR BIRTHDAY WE ARE PROUD TO SALUTE YOU AS ONE OF OUR MOST OUTSTANDING ALUMNI AND MAN OF THE NEGRO RACE MAY YOU SPEND MANY MORE JOYOUS DAYS IN A VERY USEFUL LIFE=
DETROIT FISK CLUB.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIA[redacted]GGESTIONS FROM ITS P[redacted]NCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

23-25-97

1201

(25)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

N135 PD=GARY IND 23 707P

1948 FEB 23 PM 8 43

DR W E B DUBOIS=

HENDRICK HUDSON ROOM HOTEL ROOSEVELT=

:HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO AN INSPIRING AND IMINENT LEADER ON THIS MEMORABLE OCCASION=

·GARY FISK ALUMNI CLUB·

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Fisk Univ.]

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Office of the Alumni Secretary

January 28, 1948

Dear Fiskite:

At the recent Eastern Regional meeting of Fiskites the attendance covered 22 cities and 7 states, yet we missed you. Since you were not able to attend we are enclosing a copy of the resolutions, suggestions, and recommendations that were made at the conference. We hope that you will be stimulated to be active in your local group and will assist in carrying out the work of the Regional Conference. As you know, the development of the alumni program depends on each individual Fiskite, and we are sure that your interest in your Alma Mater will be stimulated by this report of the very fine conference.

Looking forward to your continued interest in Fisk,

I am

Sincerely yours,
Helen Y. Howard
Helen Y Howard
Alumni Secretary

HYH:h
Enclosure

23-17

[Fisk U.]

80th Birthday

GENERAL ALUMNI ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

February 22, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
West Fortieth Street
New York, New York

23-25-75

Dear Dr. DuBois:

One of the facts about which Fisk University has been most proud and which has been singularly salutary to her prestige is that she has had some part in your training and education. Fisk men and women every where, of every generation, hail you as their outstanding fellow-alumnus.

Often it is that successful and eminent men have more or less dissociated themselves from their Alma Mater. You have maintained a long, continuous, and decisive relationship with your Alma Mater and your influence and contributions to your college have been legion: To her aspiring youth you have been a beacon light of inspiration, and your courageous and articulate leadership in the movement insisting on high standards, academic freedom, and progressive realism in education was largely responsible for the emergence of the New and Greater Fisk after the upheavals of the Mid-Twenties.

On this your 80th birthday I am happy to send you greetings from the General Alumni Association and its three thousand living members, and wish you many more years of good health, happiness, penetrating scholarship, and vigorous advocacy. And I am pleased, at this time, to announce that the General Alumni Association at its Annual Meeting unanimously voted to institute at Fisk the William Edward Burdhardt DuBois Lectures in Social Sciences in recognition of and appreciation for your contributions to your Alma Mater, the Nation and all mankind as a scholar, author, educator and fearless champion of human rights and freedom for oppressed peoples everywhere.

This copy

May yours continue to be a long life of elan vital-!

Sincerely yours,

L. Howard Bennett

L. HOWARD BENNETT, President
General Alumni Association

LHB:ers

CA XX1 80 2/23

FISK UNIVERSITY AND ITS NEW YORK ALUMNI

cordially invite you to a

DINNER

in honor of

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

on the occasion of his Eightieth Birthday

Monday, the twenty-third of February

nineteen hundred and forty-eight

at seven o'clock

in the Hendrik Hudson Room and Palm Terrace of the

HOTEL ROOSEVELT

Forty-fifth Street at Madison Avenue

New York

R.S.V.P. by February 14.

23-23-1

[Fisk Univ.]

41-194-5

FISK UNIVERSITY AND THE NEW YORK FISK CLUB

Sponsor a Dinner Honoring

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

on the occasion of his Eightieth Birthday

MONDAY THE TWENTY-THIRD OF FEBRUARY
Nineteen Hundred and Forty Eight
at seven o'clock

In The

HENDRIK HUDSON ROOM AND PALM TERRACE
HOTEL ROOSEVELT

Forty-fifth Street at Madison Avenue
New York City

DINNER

Coupe of Fruit au Porto

Cream of Mushroom Soup

Hearts of Celery Queen and Ripe Olives

Salted Nuts

Roast Vermont Turkey

American Dressing Cranberry Sauce

Asparagus Tips Hollandaise

Candied Sweet Potatoes

Heart of Romaine, Pierette

Bome Roosevelt, Melba Sauce

Petit Fours

Demi Tasse

PROGRAM

Miss Betty Grayson, President of the New York Fisk Club,
presents the Chairman ..... Mr. Arthur Spingarn

Greetings from Fisk University ..... Dr. Charles S. Johnson
President of Fisk University

Greetings from the Fisk Student Body ..... Mr. Nathaniel Smith
President of the Fisk Student Council

Solo ..... Mr. Edward Matthews

"The Ascent of Clio" ..... Dr. John Hope Franklin
Alumni Trustee

Dr. DuBois and the National Institute of
Arts and Letters ..... Mr. Mark Van Doren

Solo ..... Miss Catherine Van Buren

An Indian Tribute ..... Mr. Cedric Dover

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

THE GOLD AND BLUE

John W. Work, '95

The warm, the genial setting sun
  Lights up the hills with mellow hue,
Where Fisk, our Alma Mater, stands
  Majestic, dear, old Gold and Blue.

Then hurrah and hurrah! For the Gold and the Blue!
  Her sons are steadfast, Her daughters true;
Where'er we be we shall still love thee,
  Fisk, our Alma Mater.

From North, from East, from South, from West
  Ethiopia's children gather here,
And breathe in loftiest light and love
  Of thine inspiring atmosphere.

To North to East, to South to West,
  Thy loyal children make their way
To execute thy fine behest,
  "Go turn the darkness into day."

To heaven, to country, and to thee,
  Our hearts shall first and last be true,
We e'en shall die with loyalty
  To heaven, to country, GOLD and BLUE.

[Fisk card]

PRESENTATION ADDRESS

ON THE OCCASION OF HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

TO DR. WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DUBOIS

B.A. (Fisk University 1888); Ph. D. (Harvard and Atlanta University); L.H.D. (Wilberforce University); Litt. D. (Fisk University); Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Spingarn Medallist, 1920; Editor of the Atlanta University Studies, 1897 - 1911; Professor of Economics and History at Atlanta University, 1896 - 1910; Editor-in Chief of 'The Crisis', 1910 - 1933; Founder-editor of 'Phylon', 1940 - 1944; Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia, 1924; Professor of Sociology at Atlanta University, 1932 - 44; Director, Department of Social Research, N.A.A.C.P.; Father of the Pan-African Movement; and Author of numerous books and articles covering six decades.

From

THE STUDENT BODY OF FISK UNIVERSITY

Represented by

NATHANIEL SMITH

President, Student Council, Fisk University

22-35-01

Dr. Dubois, Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies and Gentlemen:

When, in the experience of ordinary men, there walks among them a man of honor and knowledge, a man of logic and determination whose purpose is clear and unswerving, whose aim is to fight the people's cause, there is alarm in the land. His words echo like those spoken by a voice in the wilderness. And at first his fellows are too amazed to listen, too afraid of the truth to follow the leader who speaks it.

22-35-02

When, in the experience of ordinary men, this man prophecies and his words come to pass after the harvest of years, this man, this prophet, is at long last reverenced for his gospel of equality and unity. Then the people congregate, for through the light of this man they see the way to individual freedom and manly dignity.

They who doubt are still thousand fold amongst us. But today there are also torch-bearers in the "Dusk of Dawn" and they sing songs of "The Souls of Black Folk" coming out of raging "Darkwater". And so the people speak for their prophet tells them of a new day and the golden dawn. "Come," they cry. "Come. Let us live. Our time is at hand".

This is the parable of our time. In the days before the great wars for democracy, William Edward Burghardt Dubois told at Fisk University of a mighty heritage and a great way of life for all Americans, as later he told of sufferings and sorrows welding all the colored peoples of the world into a great unity that would burst all bonds. He was young then, the daring young man of plans and ideas. As editor of the Fisk Herald, he demanded a struggle for

emancipation, for the principles which would make a free University in a democratic society.

With this creed the name Dubois remains linked at Fisk, a name which keeps us on the road to a liberal education and challenges us to the rededication of all means toward one end - the liberation of the human spirit and a new belief in colored men. "For a belief in humanity means a belief in colored men", as Dr. Dubois said in the grimmest days of that first world slaughter more than thirty years ago. When we get this belief, this new faith, honesty and hope and brotherhood will throw out their brightness in a free community and a free world.

22-35-03

To you, Dr. DuBois, on behalf of the Student Council and all the Students of my University and yours, and indeed on behalf of all those men and women of my generation who admire you for your courage and philosophy, and want to be here tonight to honor you on your eightieth birthday, I bring you homage and respectful greetings. It is also my happy duty to present you with this Fisk Key. Will you wear it as a symbol of the spirit, the liberalism and the will to be, that charges the atmosphere at Fisk today. It is your key, Sir, not only because you are the greatest student we have known, but also because it is a symbol of your own indomitable will to open the locked doors that kept men in the courtyard who have a right to a place by the hearth.

MEMBERS OF THE STUDENT COUNCIL

Nathaniel Smith
Paul Bontemps
Sam Austin Jr.
Cornelia V. Mitchell
Norma E. Stokes
Joan H. Banks
Goldie B. Gibson
Emory Utterback
Rosemary Sexton

22-35-04

March 26, 1948

Mr. L. Howard Bennett
General Alumni Association
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Bennett:

May I thank you for your letter of February 22 and for your kind words concerning my work.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:elh

23-12-18

April 9, 1948

Mr. Arna Bontemps
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Arna:

I see where your new book is about to be released, and we are looking forward to seeing it.

I am enclosing some original draft manuscripts, of speeches by Dr. Du Bois, which I think you would like to have for your Negro collection. I am sending these on my own, but shall tell Dr. Du Bois about them when he returns from New York. I say this so that you will understand, should I have to write and ask you to return any of them.

Hello to Alberta and the children. Will be looking for you in June. Meanwhile, lots of luck in all you do.

Cordially,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Enclosures

Fisk University Library,

Nashville 8, Tennessee

April 12, 1948

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the gift mentioned below and I beg you to accept our sincere thanks.

Faithfully yours,

Arna Bontemps, *Librarian*

23.18-6

Corrected first draft, signed
COLOR AND DEMOCRACY, 1947
Corrected first draft, signed
NO SECOND CLASS CITIZENS, 1947
Corrected first draft, signed
CHICAGO ADDRESS, November 23, 1947
Fragment

To

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o The Crisis
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

April 19, 1948

Mr. Arna Bontemps
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Arna:

I am enclosing some signed material from Dr. DuBois. These are originals of material used in his columns, PAN AFRICA, which ran in THE PEOPLE'S VOICE until it folding recently, and WINDS OF TIME, which still runs in THE CHICAGO DEFENDER. I thought you might like to have this for the collection, and shall hereafter keep these original manuscripts for you and have him sign them. Heretofore, prior to my coming, this historical material has been destroyed!

We shall be looking forward to seeing you when you come in June, another meal or meals will be there.

Lang is really having it tough on the Coast, but it can't last, this stopping of his engagements. We dropped him a card.

Hope your latest book has a wide sale, and we are anxiously awaiting its release. You know we shall boost it all we can.

Love to Bert and the kids, and all the best to you.

As ever,

Hugh and Mabel Smythe

Enclosures

Fisk University Library,

Nashville 8, Tennessee

April 21, 1948

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the gift mentioned below and I beg you to accept our sincere thanks.

Faithfully yours,

Arna Bontemps, *Librarian*

23-18-5

Signed manuscripts of PAN AFRICA 1948
" " " WINDS OF TIME 1948

To Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Fisk University Library,
Nashville 8, Tennessee

May 3, 1948

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the gift mentioned below and I beg you to accept our sincere thanks.

Faithfully yours,

A. B.

Arna Bontemps, Librarian

23-18-4

Manuscript copy of THE ETHICS OF THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE (autographed)
Manuscript copy of WINDS OF TIME
Manuscript copy of A BOOK REVIEW (autographed)
Manuscript of A SERMON FOR THE CHURCHMAN (autographed)
Manuscript copy of WINDS OF TIME (autographed)

To Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York, New York

Fisk University Library
Nashville 8, Tennessee

ARNA BONTEMPS, LIBRARIAN

November 5, 1948

23-18-2

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have just received through the kindness of Hugh H. Smythe another collection of typed script copies of your speeches, articles, book reviews, and other fugitive writings. We are most grateful for these and for the privilege of adding them to the collection of historic materials we are trying to assemble here.

I am still doing preliminary work on the biographical project which I discussed with you sometime ago. I hope that I can soon get it to a point where it can be discussed a little further.

With kindest regards,

Ever sincerely,

Arna Bontemps

AB:mc

Fisk University Library,

Nashville 8, Tennessee

November 5, 1948

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the gift mentioned below and I beg you to accept our sincere thanks.

Faithfully yours,

Arna Bontemps, *Librarian*

23-18-3

Manuscript copies of speeches and fugitive writings by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

To Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Mr. Arna Bontemps, Librarian
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Arna: The enclosed is some more material from Dr. DuBois. It is mainly some lecture and speech manuscripts, with a few articles and book reviewes. We are sending this as requested for the library's collection.

Hope you are well. Let us hear from you. Hello to Bert and the children. Mabel and the baby, Karen, join me in best wishes.

As ever,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Enclosures

23-13

The Board of Directors

of Flanner House

requests the honor of your presence

at the meetings and seminars

marking the Celebration by Flanner House

of its Fiftieth Year of Service

in Indianapolis, Indiana

December first and second

Nineteen hundred and forty-eight

The favor of a reply is requested
The Fiftieth Anniversary Committee
Flanner House
333 West Sixteenth Street
Indianapolis 2, Indiana

FLANNER HOUSE

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE AND SEMINARS

DECEMBER 1 AND 2, 1948

Wednesday, December 1

10:00 A.M. Meeting of Boards, Agencies and Commissions Interested in Flanner House

12:30 P.M. Luncheon: Reservation, $1.65
Speaker: Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University
Subject: "Human Aspects of Community Development"

2:00 P.M. Seminar: *Human Aspects of Health*
Speaker: Dr. Martha Eliot, Associate Chief, U. S. Children's Bureau

6:30 P.M. Dinner: Reservation, $3.30
Speaker Mr. Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator
Subject: "A New Look at Community Health"

Thursday, December 2

9:30 A.M. Seminar: *Human Aspects of Employment*
Speaker: Dr. Douglas McGregor, President of Antioch College

10:30 A.M. Seminar: *New Challenges for Social Work in Community Development*
Speaker: Miss Lucy Carner, Chicago Council of Social Agencies

11:30 A.M. Seminar: *Self Help—An Approach to Community Development*
Speaker: Dr. Douglas Steere, American Friends Service Committee

1:00 P.M. Luncheon: Reservation, $1.65

Speaker: .....
Subject: "Community Initiative and Enterprise—A Bulwark to Democracy"
Radio Broadcast—N. B. C. System

4:00 P.M. Tea at Flanner House, 333 West 16th Street

All meetings are at the Indianapolis Athletic Club, 350 North Meridian Street

[Enc.]

To: Mr. Wallace O. Lee, Chairman
Fiftieth Anniversary Committee

From: .....
Name

....
Address Phone

I plan to attend the following meetings:

		Please Check
December 1		
12:30	Luncheon	.....
2:00	Seminar on Health	.....
6:30	Dinner Meeting	.....
December 2		
9:30	Seminar on Employment	.....
10:30	Seminar on Social Service	.....
11:30	Seminar on Self-Help	.....
1:00	Luncheon	.....
4:00	Tea at Flanner House	.....

Enclosed is my check for dinner and luncheon reservations .....

or

I will pick up my reservations at the dinner and luncheons .....

23-25-104

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(331)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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N42 DL PD=GO PHILADELPHIA PENN 23 1208P

1948 FEB 23 PM 12 51

DR W E B DUBOIS=

HOTEL ROOSEVELT=

=MANY CONGRATULATIONS ON =YOUR 80TH BIRTHDAY AND PRAYERS THAT YOU WILL LIVE ACTIVELY AND CREATIVELY FOR MANY MORE YEARS FROM ONE WHO HOLDS YOU IN HIGHEST ESTEEM=

=G JAMES FLEMING.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRO[illegible]NCERNING ITS SERVICE

NOTE — Wire sent Jan. 14. AM MAILING SHORT ARTICLE. coll. telegram

WEBD

THE CHICAGO ★STAR

PHONE: RANDOLPH 0580

166 WEST WASHINGTON ST.
CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS

Reg to write article

January 13, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York
c/o N.A.A.C.P.

Dear Sir:

C. 81. E. 2

I just finished talking to Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard. He suggested that I write you.

I have been approached by the United Farm Equipment Workers, CIO, National Office on the matter of an appropriate article on or for Negro History Week for their official organ. I suggested that they ask you for an article.

The editorial department which handles the publication for the International union could squeeze out of its budget only $25. With humiliation, I offer that sum for your effort, realizing that it is very small consideration. But feeling the importance of an article by you and the opportunity offered to strike a blow against racism and white chauvanism, I felt I could submit the matter to you nevertheless.

If you will be so generous as to comply, please wire collect.

It was my suggestion to them that the material they use on or for Negro History Week should seek to point up the whole doctrine of racism which in various ways affects Polish, Jewish, Hungarian, Greek, Mexican Americans, etc., within which is posed the Negro people, the most intensely exploited of all. All these groups in various ways are affected by the open or implied doctrine of of Anglo-Saxon, Nordic or Arayan superiority. In other words, it is my opinion that relating the matter of the Negro people and Negro History Week to other oppressed, including workers (e.g. the Taft-Hartley Law) would give breadth to the whys and wherefors of Negro History Week and would help to build unity against racism and reaction.

I believe in the above approach, particularly because of the groups of various national origins that make up this union.

May I hope for a reply by return Western Union -- "collect" -- to Mr. Forrest Emerson, United Farm Equipment Workers, CIO, 180 West Randolph Street. I will see that a check will follow immediately.

THE CHICAGO ★STAR

PHONE: RANDOLPH 0580

166 WEST WASHINGTON ST.
CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS

23-18-8

May I in closing express my personal appreciation, as well as that of others to whom I have tal ed, for your clear and fearless dealing with the current issues of the day, and particularly for your analysis of the meaning of the candidacy of Mr. Henry Wallace.

Yours very truly,

Ishmael P. Flory

IPF/bp
uopwa:24:cio

CC - Forrest Emerson
c/o United Farm Equipment Workers, CIO
180 West Randolph
Chicago, Illinois

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

23-18-7 JNE 7

January 14, 1948

COLLECT TELEGRAM

Ishmael P. Flory
The Chicago Starx
166 W. Washington St.
Chicago 2, Illinois

AM MAILING SHORT ARTICLE.

W. E. B. DuBois

COMMUNIST PARTY of
Bedford-Stuyvesant
17th Assembly District

1239 ATLANTIC AVENUE, BROOKLYN 16, N. Y. • ~~TRiangle~~ Stagg 2-9589

James W. Ford
Chairman

September 15, 1948

22-40-90

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois, Director
Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th. Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I read with profound shock and chagrin, in the New York Times September 14, the decision of the Board of Directors of the NAACP regarding yourself.

I think that your memorandum to the Board of Directors of the NAACP regarding the position the association is taking in these turbulent times strengthens the ever growing movement of progress and of the Negro people here and abroad in particular.

It expresses their best vital interests. They should be made aware of it, and they will tear away those elements of corruption, who cringe before imperialism, from their struggles and strengthen their fight for dignity, freedom and social progress.

Expressing my personal opinion and sincere best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,
James W. Ford
James W. Ford

[The Forum]

January 9, 1948

Dr. Sidney S. Bloom
609 Medical Arts Building
16th and Walnut Streets
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Bloom:

This is written in supplement to our telephone conversation of yesterday. Dr. DuBois is extremely sorry that he could not appear for your Forum on the dates specified. However, he was quite concerned that he did not make a promise and have you put out publicity, and then find that because of his absence on the West Coast he would be unable to keep the appointment. I am sure you understand his position here.

He asked me to write that if you should extend your series beyond March, that he would be delighted to address the Forum either the week of April 4 or 11.

With regrets and thanking you for your courtesy, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

[The Forum]

RIttenhouse 6-4998
RIttenhouse 6-3939

The Forum

801 Professional Bldg.
1831 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 3 - Pennsylvania

January, 1948

Dear Mr. Smythe:

I have your letter and I'm very disappointed. We want very much to hear Dr. DuBois.

The fee is okey —— but we can't start before the 15th of Feb — and on that date we're having Senator Taylor. He can't change.

If it's at all possible we'd like to have Dr DuBois March 14th or the 21st.

Please investigate it to see if there is any possible way of working it. I'd like to know as soon as possible.

Yours, with many thanks for your efforts.

Dr. S.S. Bloom.
609 Medical Arts Bldg.
16th & Walnut.
Phila. Pa.

RIttenhouse 6-4998
RIttenhouse 6-3939

The Forum

801 Professional Bldg.
1831 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 3 - Pennsylvania

Lecture

Rec'd Feb. 26
wrongly addressed.

23-29-10

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I'm very sorry that we could not make connections with you up until now. I wonder if things have changed some and March 21st is open now?

If it is please tell us. We'd like very much to hear you. And if you can't, please tell us which Sunday evenings after that might be open.

Yours respectfully,

Dr. Sidney S. Bloom,
605 Medical Arts Bldg.
16th & Walnut Sts.
Philadelphia. Pa.

Lecture

[The Forum]

February 27, 1948

Dr. Sidney S. Bloom
609 Medical Arts Building
16th and Walnut Streets
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Bloom:

Your letter, which was undated and misaddressed to 20 West 90th Street, has just reached this office. Dr. DuBois is away on an extended lecture tour to the West Coast and he will not return to New York until April 15. Consequently, on March 21 he will be lecturing in California and unable to appear for you.

According to his present schedule, the only available Sunday is April 25. During May he has May 16 and 23 open, but these are under consideration and I can only promise them tentatively dependent upon an early reply from you.

As you know, Dr. DuBois has wanted to appear on your Forum and regrets being unable to work out arrangements. However, perhaps matters can be cleared up to make this possible, and we will appreciate hearing from you. With thanks for your continued interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

330-25-46

March 12, lecture, 1949

RIttenhouse 6-4998
RIttenhouse 6-3939

The Forum

801 Professional Bldg.
1831 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 3 - Pennsylvania

Lect comp

Dear Dr. Du Bois;

We're very happy that you've decided to speak before our Forum. We're pleased to pay the $100 fee.

About the date, since speaking to you, Pierre Van Paassen has accepted the March 19th date. We'd like to have you one week ahead. Saturday, March 12th.

I'll consider this definite until I hear from you. At all cost we don't want to lose you. If March 26th is better, please tell us. If March 19th is the only possible date we'll ask Dr. Van Paassen to change.

If It's not too much trouble, ask your secretary to send a picture or a mat and a short biography.

Yours respectfully,

Sidney S. Bloom.

Dr. Sidney S. Bloom.
609 Medical Arts Bldg.
Phila. 2 Pa.

23-38-40

I shall be glad to have
for you Saturday March 12

Date? (1918)

RIttenhouse 6-4998
RIttenhouse 6-3939

March 21

801 Professional Bldg.
1831 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 3 - Pennsylvania

22-27-33

Dear Dr. Dubois:

It's several weeks now that we heard that it might be possible for you to come down to our Forum Sunday evening March 21st.

We'd like very much to have you. Please drop us a line to tell us if you can make it.

Yours respectfully,
Dr. S.S. Bloom.

p.s. We'll be celebrating Negro History Week slightly late, but we would like to celebrate it.

[The Forum]

March 29, 1948

Dr. Sidney S. Bloom
609 Medical Arts Building
16th and Walnut Streets
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Bloom:

I have just heard from Dr. DuBois. Unfortunately, his time is already so taken up in May that he cannot possibly take on another engagement. I regret very much that he will be unable to appear on your Forum at this time. I know that he would have been glad to do so, could he have arranged it.

Perhaps he might be able to appear for you at a future date if you are still interested. Please feel free to write me at any time.

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

Lecture Series

RIttenhouse 6-4998
RIttenhouse 6-3939

The Forum

801 Professional Bldg.
1831 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 3 - Pennsylvania

March 30. 1948.

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Weire very, very disappointed that Dr. DuBois cannot make our Forum in May.

We need him so badly here that our committee urges me to write once more to see if he can't possibly squeeze it in. —— On any of the dates Ive given you.

We planned on having Mr. Rainey with him. You know that the Progressive Party is running Mr. Rainey for Congress and his chances are good. This Forum that we are planning would be a fine blow in that endeavor.

Please see if Dr. DuBois can't possibly help us.

Sincerely yours.

Dr. S.S. Bloom.
609 Medical Arts Bldg.
16th + Walnut Sts.
Phila. Pa.

Dear Doctor:

The dates they have open are any dates after May 20. They would, of course, prefer a weekend date, such as May 21,22,23 or 28,29,30.

I am sending this to you for consideration, since you can see I wrote him your answer.

Smythe

84-62-262

[The Forum]

March 31, 1948

Dr. Sidney S. Bloom
609 Medical Arts Building
16th & Walnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Bloom:

I have your letter of March 30. In order that it might receive Dr. Du Bois' personal attention, I am forwarding it to him at once by air mail special.

I sincerely hope that something can be arranged.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[The Forum]

April 26, 1948

Dr. Sidney S. Bloom
Medical Arts Building
16th & Walnut Streets
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Bloom:

I could speak at your forum on either May 20, 21, 21 or 22. The conditions would be as follows.

The meeting must be a forum meeting and not a political gathering. I am prevented by the action of the Board of Directors, as a salaried officer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, from taking part in regular political meetings. I should, however, be free at the forum to state my opinions and to answer questions.

My charge for this service would be $75, out which I would pay my own expenses.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[c. April, 1948]

RIttenhouse 6-4998
RIttenhouse 6-3939

lecture

The Forum
801 Professional Bldg.
1831 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 3 - Pennsylvania

23-29-11

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are very regretful that we can't have you at our Forum on the dates you mention. We are most anxious to hear you, but since I last wrote (and feeling that the chances of getting you were slim) our organization has launched an ambitious series of seminars that run thru the mentioned dates.

We are doubly regretful since on the opening class on Negro History our instructor named W.E.B. DuBois- the greatest living American. One of our students questioned this statement. Forthwith the instructor reeled off the list of your accomplishments and described your long life- then challenged any one in the hall to name a greater American. All agreed that there was -"no contest".

We are very anxious to get a rain-check. We'll start another series of Forums in September. Can we have such a rain-check if you're around these parts then?

Yours very respectfully,

sidney S. Bloom

Dr. Sidney S. Bloom
609 Medical Arts Bldg.
16th and Walnut Sts.
Phila. Pa.

P.S. The conditions you mentioned are our conditions. We might be partial to the new Party, but we are a Forum that examines issues and are not part of any political group.

[The Forum]

RIttenhouse 6-4998
RIttenhouse 6-3939

LECTURE

Lecture, 1949

The Forum
801 Professional Bldg.
1831 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 3 - Pennsylvania

led comp

22-33-24

December 4, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
c/o N.A.A.C.P
20 West 40th Street
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

It was a great pleasure to shake your hand a few days ago.

I'd like to repeat in writing that we're anxiously waiting to hear you tell us that you can address us in our next series.

We're reserving Saturday evening March 19, at 8:30 pm for you. We'd like you to choose whatever topic you please. Last year Mr. Smyth told us that there would be a fee of seventy-five dollars. It that's still the fee, we're very happy to comply.

Hoping to hear "yes" in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

Sidy S. Bloom.

Dr. Sidney Bloom
609 Medical Arts Bldg.
16th & Walnut Streets
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

[The Forum]

December 15, 1948

Dr. Sidney S. Bloom
609 Medical Arts Building
16th and Walnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

My dear Dr. Bloom:

I will address your meeting Saturday evening, March 19, 1949, at 8:30 P.M., if you can afford to pay a fee of $100, out of which I will pay my own expenses.

Please let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:hhs

[The Forum]

December 20, 1948

28-2-41

Dr. Sidney S. Bloom
609 Medical Arts Bldg.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Bloom:

I shall be glad to speak for you Saturday March 12.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK
490 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

March 30, 1948

Dear Dr. Dubois:

At the western end of Harlem lies a small segment of America in which live some 50,000 persons -- mainly Negro. Like all communities it has problems. Because its inhabitants are Negroes its problems are more serious. But because of Jim Robinson something effective is being done about the difficulties under which these people live and work.

Jim is the Rev. James H. Robinson, pastor of the Church of the Master which serves this area, outlined roughly by 116th Street, Eighth Avenue, Morningside Avenue, 128th Street. He is also the guiding light of the Morningside Community Center.

The center is the agency through which the people of this section -- men, women and children -- are helped in virtually every phase of life. Mr. Robinson himself is as devoted and energetic a humanitarian as I have ever met.

The center's broad social welfare program includes such services as day nursery, child day care, boys and girls work, special summer playground, vocational guidance and related activities, summer camps for children and a host of other services for young and old.

Because I am eager to help Mr. Robinson in every way possible, I am writing to ask you to serve with me on a sponsoring committee for a dinner he is planning on behalf of the center for Thursday, April 29 at Smalls Restaurant, 2294 Seventh Avenue at 135th Street.

I hope you will find it possible to lend your encouragement to this center. Its development stems directly from the needs of the people it serves.

Your sponsorship will be of great help. Will you let me know of your acceptance on the enclosed card.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Emerson Fosdick

Harry Emerson Fosdick

[Enc.]

Dear Dr. Fosdick:

I accept your invitation to serve on the sponsoring committee for the dinner of the Morningside Community Thursday, April 29 at Smalls Restaurant, 2294 Seventh Avenue at 135th Street.

Name _____

Address _____

23-17

REPLY CARD

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

The Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick

490 Riverside Drive

New York 27, N. Y.

April 12, 1948

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick
490 Riviside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Dr. Fosdick:

Your letter of March 30, to Dr. Du Bois, was sent to his home address and it has just now come to our attention. Dr. Du Bois has been out of the city since February 24 and he is not due to return until April 15. However, I am forwarding your letter to him for action.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh M. Smythe

HMS:LM

FEBRUARY 22, 1948
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS
20 WEST 40TH ST
N.Y.C.

My dear Dr. Du Bois: Please accept my warmest congratulations on your 80th birthday.

We shall never forget your help to the people of Virgin Islands during the naval administration. More power to your voice and pen.

23.25.9

RUTH FRANCIS
NW. 1629 PACIFIC ST.,
BROOKLYN 13 N.Y.

March 1, 1948

Dr. John Hope Franklin
Howard University
Department of History
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear John Hope:

Am in a rush, but want to acknowledge receipt of your speech, "The Ascent of Clio." I have passed it along to the party who requested it.

Hello to Belia, and Mabel and Slug join me in best wishes. Will write more later.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

May 14, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West Fortieth Street
New York, N.Y.

22-37-34

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your kind letter of May 5. I shall be happy to accept your invitation to lecture in your course at the New School on the subject, "The Development of the Cotton Kingdom, 1815-1860." I am wondering if the class meets for two hours or one hour. I should like to know in order that I can prepare the lecture accordingly.

I have the impression that it might fit into your plan of organization of the course if I arranged to give my lecture late in the fall. I shall keep my schedule flexible until you assign me a date. Late November or early December would be satisfactory.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope Franklin

John Hope Franklin

August 17, 1948

Dr. John Hope Franklin
Department of History
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Franklin:

We are now preparing the lecture schedule for the course, The Negro in American History, which Dr. DuBois is directing for The New School during the Fall term, 1948-1949. In connection with your lecture you are scheduled to appear on Monday, November 22, at 8:30 P.M., and your topic is THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COTTON KINGDOM: 1815-1860.

Will you please confirm this and let us know if it is satisfactory. Since we are pushed for time in preparing the publicity on this course, we will appreciate an immediate reply.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

P. S. The class meets on Monday evenings, 8:30 - 10:10 P.M.

New School Course

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1. D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

August 24, 1948

22-37-35

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Thank you for your kind letter of August 17. I find that November 22 is a satisfactory date for me to lecture at the New School on "The Development of the Cotton Kingdom, 1815-1860."

yes

I should like to know if Dr. DuBois plans to reserve any time for discussion and if he desires any class materials such as a selected bibliography and a lecture outline. You may tell him that I am looking forward to the lecture with pleasure, and I hope that what I have to say will meet with his general approval.

Please accept my kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope Franklin

John Hope Franklin
Professor of History

22-32-3

October 7, 1948

Dr. John Hope Franklin
Department of History
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Franklin:

Could you speak November 1, instead of November 22? If so, this would help the logical development of our lectures.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

22-32-32

October 8, 1948

Dr. John Hope Franklin
Department of History
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Franklin:

Supplementing my letter of today, may I say that class lasts from 8:30 until 10:10, that gives time for a lecture of three quarters of an hour to an hour, discussion and a word from you concerning the best literature on the subject. There are about 17 or 20 people in the class and they seem intelligent and interested.

I hope that my change from November 22 to November 1, will not discommode you too much.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1. D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

October 9, 1948

22-37-36

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your kind letters of October 7 and 8. With a slight rearrangement of my schedule, I find it quite possible to lecture on November 1 instead of November 22. If there are any suggestions you should like to make, please do not hesitate to do so.

Please accept my very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope Franklin

John Hope Franklin

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

May 12, 1948

22-37-41

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is in reply to your letter of the 5th. I shall be happy to give the lecture on The Social Development of the Negro in the United States in connection with your course on "The Negro in American History" at the New School. As soon as possible I would like to know what day the lecture will be scheduled because I am giving a course at the New York School of Social Work and I will arrange my lecture in order that there will be no conflict. If I give the lecture it would have be during the Fall Quarter or before January 1, 1949, because I am planning to leave the country after the Christmas meeting of the American Sociological Society.

I would like to include in this letter something concerning the Land-Grant College Project Conference, the program of which I am enclosing. I am sure that you would have been very happy if you had attended the Conference because I feel that at last the idea has taken root among the men in the colleges and has begun to bear fruit. In our next publication which should be out in the Fall, there will be at least ten demographic studies of the Negroes in as many States in which the Land-Grant colleges are located.

Sincerely yours,

E. Franklin Frazier

E. Franklin Frazier

EFF:W

Enclosure

August 17, 1948

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Chairman
Department of Sociology
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Dr. Frazier:

We are now preparing the lecture schedule for the course, The Negro in American History, which Dr. DuBois is directing for The New School during the Fall term, 1948-1949. In connection with your lecture you are scheduled to appear on Monday, October 25, at 8:30 P.M., and your topic is THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES.

Will you please confirm this and let us know if it is satisfactory. Since we are pushed for time in preparing the publicity on this course, we will appreciate an immediate reply.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

P. S. All classes meeto on Monday evenings, 8:30 - 10:10 P.M.

New School Course

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

October 11, 1948

22-37-32

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Smythe:

This is to assure you that I will appear at the New School on Monday, October 25, at 8:30 p.m. and lecture on the topic, THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES.

Sincerely yours,

E. Franklin Frazier

EFF:W

E. Franklin Frazier

New School

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

October 26, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

22-37-12

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The fifty dollar check which you gave me as an honorarium, I assume, did not include my traveling expenses for the trip to New York. Therefore, I am itemizing my traveling expenses for the lecture.

Railway fare, Washington to to New York and return	$15.50
Hotel	5.25
Taxi and Subway fare	2.00
Meals	3.63
Total	$26.38

It was good to visit with you again and to work with your class.

Sincerely yours,

E. Franklin Frazier

EFF:W

E. Franklin Frazier

Dear Dr. F.
I'm terribly sorry that my letter did not make it clear that the $50 included both fee & expenses & is the reason I was so apologetic in my letter of May 5. Enclosed is this fifty dollar check in the hope that you will forgive the mistake on my part.

October 27, 1948

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier
Department of Sociology
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Frazier:

I am terribly sorry that my letter did not make it clear that the $50.00 included both the fee and expenses. That is the reason I was so apologetic in my letter of May 5.

This fifty dollar appropriation is the top for all lecturers in this course. I hope you will forgive the mistake on my part.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lr

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May 26, 1948

23-39-95

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Sir:

Both your letter to The Informer and the one to the Dallas Express have come to my desk. Both papers are a part of our chain of papers down here, and, of course, run to one control.

I was interested in your decision to syndicate your column. I hope it works out so that a number of papers throughout the country can carry it, as you contemplate.

To answer your invitation to give comments, you might find it advantageous to associate your prices with the circulation of the papers by some means. For instance, you might say up to 10,000 circulation, $5.00 per week; 10,000 to 20,000 circulation, $10.00 a week; 20,000 to 50,000, $15.00 per week, etc.

I think you tie yourself needlessly to say that no other papers would come in after the first group, unless the first group okehed such entry. When you get your first group, there may be still areas that are not touched at all. You should be free to go on hunting for papers in those areas that are not touched, on the same basis that you have taken the first of your customers. It seems to me that it would be enough to agree that once you sell a paper in an area, no other papers in that area would be permitted to come in without the consent of the paper that is already there.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

/d

[Freedom House]

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EXTRA!

December, 1948

MEMORANDUM:

Robert P. Patterson, former Secretary of War, has agreed to lead Freedom House as its President for the coming year. Judge Patterson formerly served on the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and is now President of the New York City Bar Association. The full text of his acceptance speech will be found on Page 3.

Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, President of Brooklyn College, was elected President of the Willkie Memorial Building. Other officers of Freedom House and the Willkie Memorial include Herbert Bayard Swope, Leo Cherne, Father George B. Ford, Mrs. Henry Gale, Attorney-General Nathaniel Goldstein, Elmo Roper and George Field.

Under this leadership we are headed for a year of challenging activities. To begin with, there is the forthcoming Freedom House Forum starting January 7th and continuing for a series of twelve Friday evenings. The topics for the first group of programs include: Civil Rights; Roads to Freedom; Next Steps in Our Relations with Russia; Palestine and the Middle East. Speakers will include Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Bartley Crum, George Fielding Eliot, George Backer, Dr. Gideonse and others. If your current dues are paid, you are entitled to a free ticket on request.

The next important event is "Freedom Parade" at Carnegie Hall, Sunday evening, January 23rd. When you read the names of those who will take part, you will agree that never before have we offered a more exciting program. Details will be found on the back page. Our metropolitan area membership will find enclosed a separate program announcement. Please pass the announcement on to a friend. You will do him and us a service. Thank you.

Local Community Action on Civil Rights

The National Citizens' Council on Civil Rights, an organization which Freedom House helped to found earlier in the year, launched the "community audit" phase of its work at a two-day Institute on October 22nd and 23rd. The work sessions were designed to acquaint community leaders with the techniques and methods of conducting local self-appraisals on the status of civil rights.

The Institute, which will serve as a pilot project for others throughout the country, brought together representatives from towns in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts and approximately twenty experts in community problems. Among those who spoke were Curtis Campaign, Jr., Dr. Samuel S. Flowerman, Lester Granger, Margot Haas, Dr. Marie Jahoda, Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, Herman Long, Dr. Ernest O. Melby, Leo Nejelski and Dr. Frederick T. Rope.

At the conclusion of the Institute, Leo Cherne presented a summary of the sessions. We quote from this summary:

"Somewhere in the neighborhood of eight months ago, the National Citizens' Council on Civil Rights was formed in the Willkie Memorial Building as a result of the belief on the part of a number of both prominent and able citizens that we were in the midst of a period of our own history in which it was possible to produce concrete lasting results in the battle for the civil rights of all Americans.

"The very emphasis within recent years on the word 'Democracy' has inevitably resulted in an examination of the essence of that word. One of the useful consequences of the war was that, for the purpose of securing maximum community participation in the war effort, its aims and intent had to be articulated and idealized. Promises were made for the future under many names—'Democracy,' 'Four Freedoms,' 'Atlantic Charter,' 'Equality,' 'Civil Rights.' The advertising was effective and many customers were sold. Now we are being held to our promises and asked to deliver. Our conscience has been affected precisely because we have been made to recognize that there is a gap between our protestation and our action; and the opportunity for delivery is in the period of time in which the gap is recognized and the needling hurts.

The Greater Danger

"In order to fulfill our promises and deliver the goods we must first examine our raw materials, the components of society itself. In the long view, the activity of the non-democratic right or left does not loom as the greatest threat. Instead, the danger lies in decay, in the nonuse of the facilities of the society itself. We should fear most in our life and in our community those who no longer understand the nature of the modern world, those who no longer care, those who are confused and those who do not participate because they believe their own strength is inadequate for them to play a fruitful role. I would also add to that group those who are insecure and afraid, because it is to the insecure and the frightened that the merchants of the easy answer find their best customer.

"Because we are in a day in which knowledge of psychology and psychiatry opens the world of the child to our observation, we are beginning to neglect the adult. An educational thought process must take place in the shaping of community life and it is the adult who produces the changes. Even an inadequate adult, in an imperfect community, may become involved in some democratic venture, such as an audit, and for the first time he and his community will have purpose. His mere participation, of itself, will produce valuable results. This, then, is one of the areas of activity and areas of leeway which is still available to us in the adult and it is one of the ways in which the facilities of democratic society may be used to enrich that society.

The Council's Purposes

"In establishing the National Citizens' Council on Civil Rights, its founders set forth three purposes: One, it is our belief that the survey audit approach, in which the community participates actively and which at its inception shows clearly where it intends to go, is one of the three most effective means of advancing human rights. Two, we believe that there is a role which must be played by official agencies and that those agencies, whether State or Federal—and we feel that a Federal agency must exist—cannot perform this role on other than a propaganda basis without participation at the community level. And three, neither the survey audit nor the existence of Federal or State agencies will be adequate without the most imaginative application of the educational and propaganda techniques and the full utilization of the psychological resources which within recent years have for the first time been available to us for both the understanding of individual and community motivation."

Mr. Cherne then described various types of audits and offered the following recommendations:

"Make sure before you start and at every stage of the development of this activity that there is a nuclear unit in which there is sound common loyalty, compatibility and the will to carry the thing through to its completion. Don't rely on the larger group. It will function in proportion to the capacity of the nuclear one to stimulate that performance. It is possible suddenly to wake up to find that the organization has been stolen from under you by some other group, and wonder how,—How did the Commies take over? Well, one of the main reasons they took over was because there was no nuclear unit in the first place and it was easy prey for any organization which had a nuclear group, a common understanding. Unless there is strength in this key central fraternity, the entire group will always be prey for the more vocal and the more emotionally disturbed.

We Don't Like Change

"Another means of avoiding the handicaps is to prepare the staff working on the survey or audit to expect a resistance to social change. These points have been made with magnificent clarity. Sometimes in our superiority we criticize; we even explain how other people don't like social change. Well, none of us does. The difference is that each of us has a particular area which we don't want changed. The very thing we might resist someone else might not resist at all. So prepare the entire staff, the interviewers particularly, to the expectation that social change will be resisted, and don't be disappointed by the resistance; don't be thrown by it; don't be angered by it; don't put your meager individual resources against it. Do the job you set out to do, and that is to gather the facts. Leave the change to someone else, to another time. It is another job."

Republican Party Birthplace

Inspired by a proposal of the National Citizens' Council on Civil Rights, the people of Jackson, Michigan, birthplace of the Republican Party, petitioned the leaders of both parties in Congress to fulfill the civil rights promises in their recent platforms. Released by Mayor James N. House on December 15, Bill of Rights Day, and signed by 400 Jackson citizens, the resolution read in part:

"We remind ourselves and the Congress of the profound promise made 94 years ago by the founders of the Republican Party under Jackson's spreading oaks: 'That, the law of nature, which is the law of liberty, gives to no man rights superior to those of another.' And we urge that the pledges reiterated in the Republican platform of 1948 be given sincere consideration by the 81st Congress."

THE TASK BEFORE US

By Robert P. Patterson

Full text of the address accepting the presidency of Freedom House:

I am deeply grateful to you for the confidence you have shown in me by selecting me for the presidency of Freedom House for the coming year.

On this December 6th of 1948 our minds go back seven years to December 6, 1941, the eve of Pearl Harbor. All of us, I dare say, have vivid memories of what we were thinking and doing on that day by way of contrast to what our thoughts and activities were the next day, the fateful December 7th of 1941.

For my part I recall making a speech in Boston seven years ago tonight, at a meeting of labor leaders of New England. I had no premonition of the calamity the next day that was to plunge the country into war. But I remember saying that the prospect was perilous and that in times of peril the Army could be counted on to defend the existence of the nation and its freedom as well, and the freedom of the one hundred forty million Americans that make the nation what it is. I said those words with earnest conviction, as spokesman in behalf of the Army. I said them because the principle is deeply rooted in Army tradition, planted there by none other than the Army's founder and first commander, George Washington, that the military in this country must always be the servant of the civil authority—always available to carry out the national will but never seeking to take a part in the making of that will.

It may be worth recalling tonight, too, that in the course of the war the charge was constantly made in certain quarters that the American people were on the point of having their individual liberties destroyed by a dangerous dictator in the White House—the same charge that was made so many times in the Civil War, when the so-called culprit was that other dangerous dictator, Abraham Lincoln. We saw the war through without noticeable injury to the Bill of Rights.

We are reminded tonight, too, that Freedom House was born in time of crisis. The menace to democracy came from the totalitarian Right, backed by an unbeaten military force. We had faith that that force could be beaten, but the ways and means of beating it had not been revealed.

Danger from the Left

Today, with fascism subdued if not destroyed, the threat to freedom comes from the totalitarian Left, with a program of aggressive imperialism, with force and terror as its active agents. The crisis is still with us. Freedom House has as urgent a responsibility as in the darkest days of the war.

You will bear with me, I trust, while I outline briefly the problem before us as I see it, the aim of Freedom House, and the task we must set for ourselves if we are to survive in a free world.

Those here and abroad who hate freedom rely on confusion. The strategy of confusion is the same as Hitler's was, but the tactics now are more subtle. They are the tactics of twisting words like "democracy," "peace-loving," "freedom-loving," to mean the exact opposite of what they have always stood for; the tactics of charging others with aggression and war-mongering and whatever else of the kind you yourself are doing; the tactics of pretending to be for the economic underdog when in reality you are only for the growth of your own power; the tactics of dividing those on the other side.

In that division they would guide us to a dead end where secondary issues are magnified while primary ones are misstated or neglected. There are appeals to special groups, with a never-ending effort to set one group against another. The problem will be with us as long as the fourteen men in the Kremlin can keep 200 million Russians in darkness and fear while the anointed fourteen or their anointed successors work, in ways visible and invisible, to force their will on the world.

The Democratic Center

In the face of this threat we sense the need of a democratic center, a center with strength to resist attack from dictatorship from either side. It seems plain enough that those who made common cause against Nazism and Fascism must continue to make common cause against Communism. That is the mission, I submit, of Freedom House today.

The fight against Communism must, however, be an affirmative one. The Marshall Plan is proof of the strengthening of freedom by the affirmative approach. The Marshall Plan has been called the most generous act in history. It is that, and more. It signified the will of a free people to guard their own freedom. And it is in line with the tradition of Freedom House to be in the front rank of the supporters of the Marshall Plan.

We have no illusions that the task will be short. The self-perpetuating dictators in the Kremlin will keep on with their practice of blackmailing the weak and the timid. In the war of nerves they insist on waging they will keep up their bellicose and provocative behavior. So we must be prepared for a succession of alarms, hoping and believing we can prevent the outbreak of a fighting war.

The task will not be easy. It is so much easier to fall into division than to remain united. The tragedy of France today is that the people are being pulled by strong forces from both sides, with the democratic center split into a dozen splinters. With that tragedy being enacted before our eyes, it is our resolve in America to keep the people of the democratic center united on principles we have in common.

Before closing may I touch on some of those principles.

Our Immediate Program

In foreign affairs we endorse wholeheartedly the present bipartisan policy. A month ago we paid our tribute to Senator Vandenberg for his great work in framing and carrying forward that bipartisan policy. We support our government's firm determination to help free people to save their freedom. We support the movement to build a union of Western democracies. We favor participation by our country with the free states of Europe in a federation devoted to establishment and preservation of genuine peace in the world.

Abroad, we are therefore united behind the European Recovery Program, Western union, strategic material aid to friendly and free people now under pressure from foreign dictatorship, joint action to guard our peace and freedom. We propose that these objectives be worked for within the framework of the United Nations wherever possible; but in cases where action within the United Nations is blocked and thwarted by final and unreasoning veto, this nation should not let it go at that.

On the home front, we take it to be fundamental and undebatable that people be judged by their individual worth, not to the slightest degree by their race, religion or origin. It is an asset of the United States, not a liability, that we have diversity in race, religion and origin. We therefore call for unity behind the program of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. To our minds that is a program that calls for prompt action, and must have top priority on the *urgency* calendar. It is the greatest contribution that can be made to a true democracy. Closely related is the need of broadening immediately the Displaced Persons Act and correcting its discriminatory phases.

There are some issues on which many of us cannot see eye to eye. It is the essence of democracy that our people should remain free to debate and decide those issues. We are ever mindful of the shortcomings in our democratic system, but we are resolved never to permit our enemies in the cold war to exploit those shortcomings for the purpose of destroying our democracy. We cannot do better than to dedicate ourselves to these tasks.

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March 8, 1943

Miss Lou Jefferson
THE FRIENDSHIP PRESS
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Miss Jefferson:

There has come to our attention that you have drawn a map of well known Americans of Negro descent. Would you please be good enough to send a copy with bill to Dr. DuBois at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

COLBY COLLEGE
WATERVILLE, MAINE

Robeson

25 February 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

3-29-36
2

I can't begin to express the chagrin and disappointment which were engendered by the misfortune which forced me to forego your lecture. When I left you on Wednesday night, I felt somewhat shaky, and in the course of the night I began to run a high fever. By Thursday afternoon I was in the throes of a vicious attack of what appeared to be grippe. Without naming the malady, my conservative doctor told me to-day that I had skirted a first-class case of pneumonia, thanks to an extraordinarily heavy dosage of sulfa drugs. This letter is my first attempt at any activity.

It had been my hope that we might have visited Dr. Bovie, for I'm sure that you would have enjoyed him immensely. I had so many personal questions which I wanted to ask you but they will have to be postponed to another day. If you come to the lake this summer, it might be that we could arrange a meeting at that time.

Please accept my heartfelt regrets for the circumstances of my absence, and our profound appreciation for your favor.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Fullam

March 2, 1948

Mr. Paul Fullam:
Colby College
Waterville, Maine

Dear Mr. Fullam:

Your letter of February 25 has come during Dr. DuBois' absence from the city. He is on an extended lecture tour to the West Coast and will not return to New York for about two months. However, I shall be sure to see that your letter is brought to his attention upon his return.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

make folder: GALER, JULIO - file

Córdoba(R.A.) October 18, 1948

My dear Dr.DuBois:

I thank you very much for the items concerning the NAACP,you were so kind to send me.I promise I shall make the best use of them.

I imagine Mr.Hughes has already told you that I am preparing a collection of his poems which I have already translated.I shall accompany the poems with a rather long preface.It will have five chapters,and the first one will be devoted to the history and the achievements of the Negro minority in the USA.

More than necessary it is indispensable in my case because here,in this country,we have practically no Negroes,and we know very little of the Negroes in America.

After publishing this book I intend to publish a sort of Anthology of Modern American Negro Literature,in Spanish.

I have become so interested in the Negro,through the poems of Langston Hughes,that I am becoming a sort of local authority on Negro questions.I have already prepared two lectures;"Langston Hughes poeta de su pueblo" and"Catorce millones de negros en los Estados Unidos".I am delivering these lectures in several places.Possibly next month,or in December I shall be invited to deliver both of them to the "SADE",Sociedad Argentina de Escritores.That is why I am very interested in receiving all the materials you can send me concerning your people,and specially your wonderful organization,the NAACP.

I shall send you a copy of my book on Hughes as soon as it is ready and I'll see if I can send you a copy of the first chapter before it goes to press.

People here generally simpathyse with American Negroes and their plight but we know very little about you.People know that you are abused and mistreated,but donot know your wonderful achievements and your wonderful writers and leaders.

Here we have only published two books by Langston Hughes,his biography and his novel,several books by Richard Wright,and practically nothing else.

Your magnificent work,your books,your studies and your struggle of so many years are almost unknown to my countrymen,I intend in that first chapter to throw some light on the unknown aspects of the American Negro life.

I am almost finishing my letter and I haven't told you yet that I admire you very much. I read your "Dusk of Dawn" and I'm using it in my work. I was very glad to learn that you were back working with the NAACP.

If my book on Langston Hughes creates the interest in Negro questions in general and in you in particular, which I hope it will, I shall be very happy to translate your "Dusk of Dawn" for publication here.

I thank you again for what you did and I am very happy to be able to deserve the attention of a man like you.

Remaining truly yours

Julio Galer

Julio Galer
Bedoya I.007
Córdoba.-ARGENTINA

23.32-6

[Gallagher]

Immediate release

FROM:
Buell G. Gallagher,
2616 College Avenue,
Berkeley 4, Calif.
AShberry 3-10411.

Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, professor of Christian Ethics in the Pacific School of Religion, today announced his candidacy for Congress from the Seventh District. The 44 year old former college president is a registered Democrat, but will follow the usual practice of cross-filing.

"With the overwhelming support of the whole labor movement which is developing," Gallagher said, "I do not see how I can longer refuse to run." The Central Labor Council (AFL), the Building Trades Council (AFL) and the CIO Council have united in endorsing the Berkeley professor's candidacy.

"I am in basic disagreement with Communism," he said. To make clear his stand in defense of civil liberties, including the right of Americans to be Communists, he added, "I support the right of every man to hold convictions openly and without penalty; and I likewise support the right of others to disagree with him and oppose his ideas openly, also without being penalized." Gallagher says he will welcome the support of all persons who agree with his program as he later outlined it.

(MORE)

Be fore coming to Berkeley in January 1944, Gallagher was for ten years president of Talladega College, leading liberal arts college for Negroes. Inaugurated at the age of 29 at the Alabama college, he was the nation's youngest College president. His pastorate was in the First Congregational Church of Passaic, New Jersey.

He and Mrs. Gallagher graduated together from Carleton College. Gallagher also holds the B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary and the Ph.D. from Columbia University. On a travelling fellowship he studied for a year at the London (England) School of Economics and Political Science.

Asked what he conside red to be the principal issues in the 1948 Congressional campaign, Gallagher replied that he favors repeal of the Taft-Hartley labor law; strongly favors strengthening the United Nations and building for peace through American aid to other nations as originally proposed by Secretary Marshall; supports the development of the Central Valley Project under the Reclamation Bureau and with the retention of the 160 acre limitation on water use; favors Federal action to provide adequate housing; and is unalterably opposed to Jim Crow and other forms of limiting civil rights for racial, national, and religious minorities.

"The big question before us," he added, "is whether we can put into control of our national affairs men who know how to plan and build for peace and plenty for all people, both at home and abroad--and who will act accordingly."

(MORE)

Gallagher is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and Delta Sigma Rho, a contributor to educational and religious journals, a founder of the Congregational Council for Social Action, formerly chairman of the Commission on Christian Education and Action of the Northern California Council of Churches, and a director of the California Conference on Civic Unity. In 1943 Oberlin College conferred honorary doctorates on Gallagher and the late Wendell Willkie.

From his record, Gallagher may be expected to support a sane and courageous program of civil rights such as was recently submitted to Congress by President Truman. He is a national board member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a frequent speaker for interfaith groups, and the author of widely read books on religion and race relations.

Mrs. Gallagher is a past president and member of the board of the Berkeley YWCA and is active in the PTAs of the Berkeley and Willard Junior High Schools, where their two daughters, Maryel 16 and Barbara 13 are enrolled. The family resides at 2616 College Avenue in Berkeley.

February 11, 1948

Mrs. Anna Bobitt Gardner
3 Claremont Park
Boston 18, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Gardner:

I will arrive Saturday, February 14. My address will be 30 Peacevale Road, c/o of Groves. The telephone number is Geneva 5675.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

Petitions - Send

Reg INFO
File

Bradley University
Peoria 5, Illinois

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

January 10, 1948

23-16-20

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois:
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I would be most happy to receive a letter or paper from you indicating TRENDS IN RACE RELATIONS.

I am desirous of using this information in my Sociology classes.

We are deriving immense benefits from your books "The Souls of Black Folks," and "Black Reconstruction" which I have recommended for use in our classes.

I count it a great honor and joy to have been a student of yours at Atlanta University in the summer of 1934.

I thank you for any information which you may see fit to give me on the above topic.

Respectfully yours,

Romeo B. Garrett

Romeo B. Garrett

January 23, 1948

Mr. Romeo Garrett
Bradley University
Peoria 5, Illinois

Dear Mr. Garrett:

Dr. DuBois thanks you for your letter of January 10. As you know he is kept quite busy lecturing and traveling, but he is always gratified to receive a word from time to time from his ex-students. Under separate cover he is sending you a copy of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, which is the printed documented edition of the NAACP petition to the United Nations made last October 23, 1947 to the world organization. You should find this quite helpful and up-to-date material for use in your work.

Thanking you for your courtesy

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

Chicago Defender

902 State St.
Peoria, Ill.
June 18, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

23-22-10

During the past few weeks I have not see your very fruitful writings in the Chicago Defender. I have been purchasing this paper mainly to read your articles.

I would like to know if these articles will reappear in the near future. If not, is there another paper or magazine in which I might find them?

I wrote the Chicago Defender Office in Chicago two weeks ago regarding the absence of your very fine writings but have not heard from them.

Again I want to express to you my great joy in reading your articles and I do wish to continue this very fruitful endeavor.

Sincerely yours,

R.B. Garrett

June 22, 1948

Mr. R. B. Garrett
902 State Street
Peoria, Illinois

Dear Mr. Garrett:

I am replying to your letter of June 18 to Dr. DuBois. The Doctor thanks you for writing and for your interest.

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER dropped the column, "Winds of Time," without any explanation to Dr. DuBois that adequately set forth the paper's reasons for its discontinuance.

At present the Doctor is not writing a column for any paper but in the event he resumes his column in another organ we shall be glad to inform you of it.

With thanks for your interest and courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

"GAYLAWN"

HUNTINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS

10/30/'48

My dear Dr. Dubois: -

I saw your letter of October 21st in the New York Star and wonder whether you would be willing to have it reprinted in our Daily Hampshire Gazette? Comes it begin, "To the Gazette"? -

M/ Star

23-916-22

We are planning an anti discrimination table for our public library. For it we will probably have a lot of posters on display, also several books including, I hope, "Last of the Conquerors" - by William Gardner Smith.

Have you any suggestions or contributions? (not money.)

Cordially
Kathleen Canterbury

23-46-28

November 4, 1948

Miss Kathleen Gartenby
Caylawn
Huntington, Massachusetts

My dear Miss Gartenby:

I shall be very glad to have you use my letter printed in the CT R in the manner in w ich you su gest.

It occurs to me that I might also call to your attention my book, COLOR AND DEMOCRACY, published by Harcourt, Brace & Company in 1945.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-25-23

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

154

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

N87 PD=CLEVELAND OHIO 23 340P

1948 FEB 23 PM 3 56

DR WILLIAM E B DUBOIS=

:TESTIMONIAL DINNER ROOSEVELT HOTEL=

:CONGRATULATIONS ON REACHING THE GRAND AGE OF 80=

CHARLES H GARVIN.

Cleveland c/o Harvey Davis
1050 E. 98th St.
Cleveland, Ohio

80.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[General Ed. Board]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

National Association for
the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Department of Special Research
W. E. B. DuBois
Director

February 22, 1948

Dr. Fred McQuistion, Associate Director
General Education Board
49 West 49th Street
New York, New York

12-40-35

My dear sir:

I have received recently several letters which have so disquieted me, that I am venturing to write the General Education Board. I am addressing the letter to you and asking that if this matter is not in your jurisdiction, you will pass it on to the proper official.

On May 10, 1932, the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEGRO, INC., was incorporated in the District of Columbia by Anson Phelps Stokes, Mordecai W. Johnson, W. E. B. DuBois, James H. Dillard, Waldo G. Leland and others, to edit and publish an Encyclopedia of the Negro. Later I was chosen Senior Editor and Dr. Guy Johnson, of the University of North Carolina, as my associate. We tried in various ways to get the project underwritten, but were not successful. However, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, under Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, furnished a small budget and preliminary work and planning went on from then until 1946, resulting in a preliminary volume of bibliography and history of the project.

Recently letters and notices have gone out stating that the General Education Board has furnished $250,000 for taking over this project and that Dr. F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee has been designated as general editor.

No direct word of this has come to me. There has been, so far as I know, no meeting of the Board of Directors nor of the Editorial Board.

I write, therefore, to you and through you to the General Education Board to ask just what their action has been in this matter. I should like it clearly understood that I have no objection to my replacement as editor. The project is of greater importance than the plans of any one person. But I do object to the manner of my displacement, involving as it does unmerited discourtesy. I did not seek the office but was given it to my great surprise at the insistence of Dr. Moton of Tuskegee and the whole Board. I was willing at any time, and still am, to step down if the project can be realized under other leadership.

My stronger objection is the fact that the Board of Directors have apparently been ignored and an editor appointed without their consultation or consent. President Patterson is a worthy person; I have been his friend, a guest in his house, and have defended many of his efforts. But Mr. Patterson was trained as a veterinary surgeon and holds a full-time job as administrator of a great school. He has no knowledge of the social sciences nor history, and is not a writer. I know of no encyclopedia in our day that has been entrusted to an untrained editor.

Moreover, an encyclopedia of the Negro race should be edited by a board on which Negroes were represented and had voice in the selection of the staff. It would be intolerable to have the editor of such a project selected by white men or by a white organization exclusively.

Of course I do not know what part, if any, the General Education Board has had in this matter. I, therefore, write for information, before taking any further steps. I am, however, while awaiting your reply, taking the liberty to send copies of this letter to Dr. Stokes, Dr. Patterson, Dr. Johnson and a few friends who have already written me and asked for information.

I am, Sir

Respectfully yours,

SIGNED,

W. E. B. DuBois

22-40-36

COPY

Encl. 1 to Negro letter sent to WEBD 3-1-48

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD

FOUNDED BY JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER 1902
(INCORPORATED 1903)

49 WEST 49th STREET, NEW YORK 20

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK, PRESIDENT
ROBERT D. CALKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR
W. W. BRIERLEY, SECRETARY

FRED McCUISTION, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
FLORA M. RHIND, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

Encl. Negro

February 27, 1948

22-40-44

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I am acknowledging your letter of February 22 in which you report information regarding a General Education Board grant toward the development of an encyclopaedia of the Negro.

I assure you the information is unfounded and that the Board has made no such contribution. We have, however, given preliminary consideration to a proposal from Tuskegee, but the project is inactive at present.

If you have further interest in the project we shall be glad to discuss it with you on your return. In the meantime I have talked with your associate, Mr. Smythe, who will probably give you a report of the situation.

Sincerely,

Fred McCuistion

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York, 18, N.Y.

FMc:cnb

March 1, 1948

22-40-45

Mr. Fred McCuistion, Director
General Education Board
49 West 49th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. McCuistion:

Thank you for your letter of February 27 to Dr. DuBois concerning the development of an encyclopaedia of the Negro. I am forwarding your communication to Dr. DuBois.

Very sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Diggs

22-38-08

February 4, 1948

Mr. T. K. Gibson
Supreme Liberty Life Building
3501 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Gibson:

Dr. Irene Diggs was for ten years my assistant and is now associate professor of sociology at Morgan College. She lives at Monmouth, Illinois.

Recently, a Shell ~~Oil~~ Truck, running on the wrong side of road, crashed into her mother's car and injured her mother. They have brought suit; but her lawyer here advises that she ought to have an Illinois lawyer associated. I thought perhaps that someone from your son's firm could undertake this. I think they have a strong case.

Will you have your son's firm write to Dr. Diggs at Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland. I shall be greatly obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

April 12, 1948

Dr. John Gillin
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Gillin:

I am writing to find out whether you were successful in getting someone to do the field work in the small town in Alabama. When I wrote to you I suggested the name of Mr. Hylan Lewis of Hampton Institute as one of the possibilities. He would be a most ideal person to do the work, and I hope you were able to get him.

Best wishes for continued success in your work,
I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

March 26, 1948

23-17-11

Mrs. Grace Goens
1326 Girard Street NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Goens:

I am so sorry to hear of the illness of your sister and of your double duties. I shall be in Washington the 12th in order to attend the dinner of the AVC and receive a citation. On the 13th I must go to Baltimore and New York. I shall try to get in touch with you while in Washington. Do you have a telephone? I shall be here until April 7. You might drop me another note if you have time.

I hope all will come out well.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

May 20, 1948

28-17-14

Mrs. Grace Goens
503 East 10th Street
Wilmington, Deleware

My dear Grace:

I became aware after I mailed your last letter that I had neglected to answer your chief request. I think, by all means, you should go and visit Europe, if you have the kind of opportunity you outlined; that is, a place to stay with people who know the language and the situation. Otherwise do not go. Personally I hate to visit Europe now, because I knew it when it was at its best. But since you have not been there, you ought to at least see it once.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

WALTER W. GOENS, M. D.
503 E. TENTH STREET
WILMINGTON 30, DELAWARE

23-17-12

Dear Mr. DuBois,

Your speech was taken by the Dupont Company's secretary in the way she saw it (highly red). My, but you made history! You also get credit for a large part in the "ly" secretary's minds. Marxian propaganda!

I will get in New York Sunday night. May I call Monday morning? No answer please. I'll try anyway.

Sincerely,
Grace Goens

23C-39

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

23C - 39

January 8, 1948

Professor Eric F. Goldman
Princeton University
Department of History
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Goldman:

In regard to the copies of Dr. Du Bois' speeches mentioned in your letter of December 18, and which were sent to you, you may keep them with the compliments of the author.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. Du Bois

HHS:lm

Dear Mr. Smythe:
Your letter arrives just as I was finishing with the speeches. I am delighted to have permanent copies of them.
My thanks to you and Dr. Du Bois.

Sincerely,

Eric Goldman

January 6, 1948

Dr. Helmuth Gottschalk
2521 Palisade Avenue
New York City, N. Y., Zone 63

Dear Dr. Gottschalk: It was indeed good to meet you and Mrs. Gottschalk today and I regret that time did not permit our talking more at length concerning the things that interest you. However, there will be other times, and if we can be of any help at all, do be sure and call upon us. Our library is at your disposal and should prove quite helpful in giving you a knowledge of our "democracy" in the U. S. A.

Following are some of the addresses I told you that I think that by following up you should be able to land a teaching post as a visiting professor from Denmark:

The Director, Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York City

Chairman, Department of Sociology, New York University, New York City

Dr. Robert Redfield, Chairman, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Chairman, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Department of Sociology, Howard University, Washington 1, D. C.

Chairman, Department of Sociology, Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama

Prof. Hylan Lewis, Department of Sociology, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia

Miss Florence Reid, President, Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia

The Director, Department of Sociology, New School for Social Research, 66 West 12th Street, New York City

When writing it might be well to state something of your background, make up a dossier of your past and experience and training, and get whatever references you can, plus the people from the Danish ministeries to push your application.

If we can think of other places we shall send them on. Meantime, if you feel that we can be of any further help in any way be sure and let us know. Also, do drop in and see Dr. DuBois sometimes, for I know your time would be well spent and valuable data would be secured from him.

With best regards to you and your wife, I remain

Cordially yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
Research Specialist

HHS:lm

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(31)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

The time in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

GB213 PD=ALTOONA PENN 19 1201P

1948 JAN 19 PM 12 35

DR W E B DUBOIS=
409 EDGECOMBE AVE ~~FONE WADSWORTH 6-9837~~ NYK=

23-30-22

=WE ARE RUNNING FOUR HOURS LATE ARRIVING ABOUT FIVE OCLOCK=
SHERLY.

Graham

TO D.S. 1:48P

OPR 181 TO Mail

W E B SHERLY

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CO[illegible]

August 17, 1948

Miss Shirley Graham
173-19 113th Avenue
St. Albans, L. I., New York

Dear Miss Graham:

We are now preparing the lecture schedule for the course, The Negro in American History, which Dr. DuBois is directing for The New School during the Fall term, 1948-1949. In connection with your lecture you are scheduled to appear on Monday, December 6, at 8:30 P.M., and your topic is FREDERICK DOUGLASS AND HIS TIMES.

Will you please confirm this and let us know if it is satisfactory. Since we are pushed for time in preparing the publicity on this course, we will appreciate an immediate reply.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

new school course

173-19 113th Avenue
St. Albans, Long Island, N.Y.
August 18, 1948

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, New York

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Replying to yours of August 17th, I have noted Monday, December 6, 8:30 P.M. for my lecture on FREDERICK DOUGLASS AND HIS TIMES.

As to change in date please consult with me should the necessity arise. I am excepting a few engagements for out-of-town lectures, but I am sure we could make a satisfactory adjustment.

Sincerely,

Shirley Graham

22-31

[Shirley Graham]

Sent to Miss Shirley Graham ------- September 27, 1948 (Special Delivery)

SECRETARIES---------N.A.A.C.P.

Francis Blascoer	1910-11
Mary Ovington	1912 lyear
May C. Nerny	1913-1916
Roy Nash	(A few Months) 1917
John Shilledy	1918-20
James W. Johnson-	1918-1931
Walter F. White	1931---

October 7, 1948

Miss Shirley Graham
173--19 113th Avenue
St. Albans, L. I., New York

My dear Shirley:

With your consent, I am changing the date of your lecture from December 6 to December 13. This will make the sequence a bit more logical. I hope it will not inconvenience you.

The lecture begins at 8:30 and we dismiss at 10:10 . This gives time for a talk of three quarters of an hour to an hour, discussion and then some references to literature.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

File

October 8, 1948

MEMORANDUM

To: Shirley Graham

From: George B. Murphy Jr.

Enclosed are two copies of the list containing all of the names received to date in response to the call of the Emergency Committee for Dr. DuBois and the NAACP.

GBM:rj
uopwa/lo
encs.

Members of Emergency Committee for Dr. DuBois:

California--- Los Angeles: Dr. Vada J. Somerville, Dr. J.A. Somerville

District of Columbia --- Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University; Dr. Alain Locke, Howard University; Adella G. Parks, Juanita D. Fletcher, Sallie F. Clark, Mrs. S.J. Davidson

Delaware -- Wilmington- Dr. and Mrs. W.W.Goens

Florida ---- Miami, L.E.Thomas.

Georgia -- Macon, Larkin Marshall, editor, Macon.Georgia World; Atlanta, Dr. E. G. Bowden.

Illinois-- Chicago, Mildred Bryant Jones,Mae Owings,James B.Parsons, Harry Dr. Metz Lochard.
Groves. The following faculty and student members of Roosevelt College: Dr. Lorenzo D. Turner, Dorothy Welber, Kendall B. Taft, Noma Genne, Harold Washington, Burton Mendelson, Jean R. Pollard.

Lois M.Turner, Roger R. Hurd, William Gons, Hollie C. Lee, Pettibone B. Colland, Edgar O.Shande, Joseph C. Davis, Welberforce Jones, Edward J.Halfacre, Bea Bennett, Bradie W. Robinson Jr., George A. Rolnett, Francis A. Covington, Oneida C. Ray, J.C.Alford, James E. Hunt, Edna Wakefield, Gloria S. Davis, LaNore Reynolds, Hazel D. Miles, Edward M.A. Chandler, Robert C. Crosby, Alfred E. Partridge.

Indiana --- Indianapolis, Willard B. Ransom.
Iowa -- Des Moines, Charles P. Howard
Massachusetts-- Boston, Emma G. Groves, William Harrison, Associate editor, Boston Chronicle.

Maryland ---- Baltimore Irene Diggs, Morgan State College; Carrington L.Davis, principal, Dunbar High School; Dr. John E. T. Camper .
Michigan---- Detroit, Rev. Charles A. Hill.
Minnesota--- Duluth, J.V.Ray.

Missouri---- Jefferson City, Lorenzo J. Greene; St. Louis, L. Simington Curtis,

Mabel Byrd Curtis.

New Jersey--- Milford, Louis Adamic; Orange, Dr. W.G. Alexander.

New York-----Brooklyn,, Dr. Walter N. Beekman; New York City, Rachel Davis DuBois, Dr. Charles A. Petioni,

North Carolina---- Sedalia, N, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, principal, Palmer Memorial Institute.

Ohio---- Wilberforce, Evangeline P. Oak, V.V. Oak; Dayton, Jessie Scott Hathcock; Cleveland, Dr. Charles H. Garvin, Andrew J. Cunningham

Pennsylvania --- Lincoln, Dr. Horace Mann Bond, president, Lincoln University; Cheyney, Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, president, Cheyney Teachers College; Magi N Philadelphia, Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey

Texas---- Prairie View, W.R.Banks, Prairie View A and M.College.

Mrs. Shirley Graham

23c-30-16

cordially invites you to an

ART AUCTION AND ENTERTAINMENT

for the
Council For The Advancement Of The Americas

at
77 FIFTH AVENUE · SUNDAY OCT. 24

4:30 P.M. 75 cents

[Graham, Shirley]

23-30-17

Mrs. Kathryn Messner, Publisher
Julian Messner, Inc.
8 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Messner:

Because of our long and very close relationship as author and publisher I feel that we can be of mutual assistance now when our rights are being challenged. Over the radio last Thursday and in the New York papers of March 12th a United Press announcement was made. I quote from page 21 of the New York Times:

Bans Book on Paul Robeson

> Wheeling, West Virginia, March 11, (UP) - The West Virginia Library Commission has removed a biography of Paul Robeson, Negro singer, from its list of books recommended for children, reported William C. Piper, member of the House of Delegates, today. He said that the book, "Paul Robeson, Citizen of the World", was removed from the list at his request. He objected to the book on the grounds of Mr. Robeson's political views.

I am not acquainted with Mr. William C. Piper, nor do I know his "political views." Since, however, we live under a Constitution which guarantees the right to every citizen to hold whatever political or religious views he may choose I would not think of intruding upon his very personal individual freedom of opinion. Apparently Mr. Piper entertains no such qualms. Or, perhaps he does not consider that either Mr. Roberson or I, being Negroes, share in the rights derived from the Constitution granted to citizens of these United States.

He objects to the book "on the grounds of Mr. Robeson's political views." Now the book ends with Mr. Robeson's birthday party in April, 1944. Until a few months ago I never heard Mr. Robeson make any pronouncements on political views.

So far as I know he had never addressed a political rally or had in any way identified himself with a political campaign. It is, however, a well advertised fact that Mr. Robeson is now with Rexford Tugwell, Jo Davidson and C.B. Baldwin heading a National Committee for Henry Wallace. The presence of this singer-actor on a National Political Committee is more surprising than that of the bewhiskered internationally known sculptor. More, because Paul Robeson is a Negro and Negroes are not usually ranked as first class citizens. It would seem that herein lies Mr. Piper's objections.

23-30-20

All this is probably as bewildering to you as it is to me. I wrote a book and you published it for young Americans. It's about a Negro boy, whose father, a kindly preacher, had to mother as well as instruct, who in spite of poverty, prejudice and loneliness became a football star, Phi Beta Kappa and world famous actor and singer! It is a simple "hero" story in the well known tradition of Horatio Alger - perhaps more potent than some because this boy's father had been a slave. But this actually happened, I stressed, in "our America." This is the theme of the book from its first page to the last.

Why did I, a Negro, bother to write this book? Why did I write about George Washington Carver? Why about Frederick Douglass? Because I am anxious and concerned that young Negroes know their country and know their own place in it. Because I want to dispell fears, because I want them to be proud of the land of their birth. Is this important? I believe it is. I have seen them - these young American Negroes - growing cynical and bitter, I have seen them turning away to every kind of "ism" from voodism to fascism - for escape, for recognition, for realization. These are facts. Let's face them. I am concerned for the welfare of my country. I, Mr. Piper, have "political views." In Paul Robeson, on page 242, I say,

> "We said it first. Haven't you heard? We hold these things to be self-evident that all men - and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, our President - - - - !
>
> That was the key.
>
> A man sat in the White House - a man who could not walk - but who was reading aloud from old documents and giving life to words rusty from lack of use. Beside him stood the builders of a nation - men who had had the vision to conceive and courage to project a government of the people, by the people and for the people.
>
> "All eyes are opened or are opening to the rights of men."

"Did he say that?" Robeson's heart was pounding.

"Thomas Jefferson said it first," was the reply, "but Roosevelt is saying it again and again and again."

2-M-21

I have quoted the one page in the book where political views are expressed. And here, I am inclined to think, lies the basis for Mr. Piper's objections.

THIS I PROTEST WITH ALL THE POWER OF MY BEING.

West Virginia is a segregated state. That means separate schools, separate libraries. It means that young people in that state do not have the opportunity of knowing each other and of building actual respect and understanding. Books attempt to do something about that gap. White boys and girls as well as Negro boys and girls lose by the banning of such a book.

AND THE HOPES OF DEMOCRACY WANE.

Let us do what we can to preserve the ideals we both cherish.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Shirley Graham

Apr. 19th 1948.
3706½ So. Ellis Ave.
Chicago Ill.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois:

Dear Sir: I am sending you a copy of the material I have sent Mr. Wallace, with the hope that your committee (the Nat'l. Wallace for President - Comm.) can & will use it.

Dr. Melz - T. P. Lochard, our mutual friend suggested that I send it to you in care of the NAACP. headquarters, and so I do.

My sister and I missed your celebration here Friday, but hope to be present at your next appearance in Chicago.

22-39-42

We hope that wherever this material is any part of it is used credit will go to the National Wallace for President Committee.

Thanks in advance for reading it and giving it your consideration.

Sincerely,

Ida Krandisor-
3706½ Ellis Ave-
Chgo. Ill.

[Enclosure]

22-31-43

Faith —

is the substance of things hoped for,
The evidence of things not seen.

The intrepretation of this passage depends upon the definition of two words, Substance. (Websters International Dictionary) "That which underlies all outward manifestations. The reality itself, whether material or spiritual. The permanent and identical in any process of change. The real essence or nature of anything. Material of which a thing is made. Substantiality. solidity, as the substance of a garment. A material object, as distinguished from something visionary or shadowy; and Evidence: "State of being evident or manifest, as an outward sign.". Law

22-39-414

That which is legally submitted to a competent Tribunal as a means of ascertaining the truth of any alleged matter. means of making proof.

The passage now reads:

Faith is That which underlies all outward manifestations. Faith is the reality itself. Faith is that which is permanent and identical in any process of change Faith is the real essence or nature of anything. Faith is the material of which a thing is made. Faith is substantiality, solidity, as the substance of a garment, a material object, as distinguished from something visionary or shadowy. Faith is the state of being evident or manifest Faith is that which is legally submitted to a competent Tribunal as a means of

ascertaining The Truth Means of making proof.

22-39-45

By Faith, Christ walked upon The troubled waters of a storm at Sea By Faith He said, "Greater Things Than These shall Ye do, because I go To my Father."

By Faith, The peoples of The earth shall walk upon The raging sea of a war torn world and The waters shall be still under Their feet.

Faith is the substance of Things hoped for.

What do we, The peoples of the earth hope for? Life, security in all our ways, prosperity, Progress - depend upon the

22-39-4/6

absence of war. We no longer choose betwee peace and war. We choose " life and death. Life for all, or death for all

Since we must choose life and all its attendant labors, we must also choose Peace, and that organization already by Faith established, The United Nations, cornerstone of Peace, and the Atlantic Charter its guiding light.

Recognizing the United Nations as that means created by the peoples thru which they give dynamic expression to their sovereign will to peace, liberty and security, We do hereby renew and reaffirm our faith in The United Nations as an instrument of

22-39-47

peoples of the earth: we do acknowlege our responsibility for the direction and control of its policies, its decisions, its actions, and do hereby assert our determination that the United Nations shall become in fact that which it now is, in Faith

In proof of our Faith in these things hoped for, as Evidence of our determination that they shall be, We the people here assembled do hereby establish as guides and controls of the United Nations, agencies which shall be called The Peoples Councils, of which These assembled shall be the first unit.

As the Word of God took on flesh and dwelt among men, so must the eternal will of God for peace take on the flesh of all peoples who shall become the

22-39-48

foundation around the corner stone (U.N)

This is as it should be. For These, the peoples of the earth are the roots from which it sprang. These are the foundation upon which it shall stand. These are They who have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb and cleansed them of prejudice, and bigotry and hate and ■ love of contention and are worthy to erect upon that foundation. The Building- not made with hands; One world, indivisable. One race, the human race. One Tongue, the language of Brotherhood. One God, father of all.

And They - the children of God shall walk together in peace toward that spiritual goal which no man can forsee, for it doth not yet appear what we shall be.

22-28-49

The fear of some people, the hope of a few reactionaries that the early death of the U.N. is near, is due largely to the fact that more and more the U.N. is being used as an arena for contests of power. (This was not the intention of its founders, who represented the peoples of the earth.)

These contests, begun by U.S. are redividing the world into armed camps - the world which began to think of itself as one world, indivisible.

Time and energy should have been spent in constructing a firm basis for peace, in seeking that basis and in naming it.

The cold war goes blithly on while the people suffer under old chains as new chains are being forged by new would-be masters, for their continued enslavement.

The people have almost forgotten that the U.N. now sick & emaciated, is their own.

22-39-50

It needs only a transfusion of their (the peoples) blood. its bare bones clothed upon with their own flesh, to become once again a thriving healthy creature serving the needs of man.

This work of restoration and regeneration The Peoples' Councils will accomplish.

22-89-51

The Peoples Councils for Guidance United Nations.

In recognition:

1. That the U.N. is an instrument of the United Peoples of the earth.
2. That This instrument must be used, guided controlled and supported by the peoples whose need (for the four freedoms) created it,
3. That These can be accomplished only Thro organization of Peoples for that purpose we, the people here assembled move to establish the organization to be known as The Peoples Councils for guidance, control and support of the United Nations, and present herewith a limited outline of its form and duties.

22-39-52

The earth's peoples Thru Their People's Councils must fill in the foundation around the (UN) cornerstone, by giving it unceasing support. They must build the superstructure, One World. They must so guide its policies and direct its course that the U.N. shall at all times and in every conceivable manner express and bring into reality the desires of the comman man everywhere for liberty and for peace, and insure his basic rights.

The right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; the right to the possession of one's own country and its resources, The right to sufficient land in one own country to maintain himself and ones dependants; the right to labor and to leisure, to education from kindergarden thru college, to shelter and security, to peace and to plenty, to universal justice, equality, fraternity, good will among and toward all peoples, tribes, nations and governments, regardless of race, creed, color, political

22-39-53

faith or affiliation. These are the basic rights and expectations of man, and the true foundation of peace.

In order to bring into reality this determination of the peoples, elected delegates of the Peoples Councils shall have voting representation in UN. councils, and shall represent the people's rights.

The peoples delegates to UN. shall vote on UN membership their decisions being on the basis of the peoples interest, and the peoples right to UN representation. No applicant whom the Sovereign PC. (International body) has ruled worthy shall be denied membership in UN because of race, creed color political or religious belief or affiliation, for activity in labor organizations, or activity against monarchial groups undesired by the peoples, or activity against the return of such groups or persons, no longer desired, or for any reason aimed at supressing or altering the freely expressed will of the people.

Duties. 3

22-39-54

All maters of importance to the people anywhere, shall be considered the business of the Peoples' Councils. Complaints of oppression may be reported to any Council. The truth ascertained shall reported to the governors or governments (the Sovereign P.C.) accused and to Proper UN authorities, if the matter is not adjusted by the S P C. When brought before UN, such matters shall recieve priority of attention, so that all petitions now presented or which shall in the future be presented regarding the oppression or exploitation of peoples or minority groups with nations or their so called possessions (i.e. petitions of National Negro Congress, USA, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, USA, reports of oppression and exploitation of colonials etc.) may receive prompt attention and just action, not sid-tracked opressors represen

The Peoples Councils must at all times and in all places compel free, secret, amply protected elections in which all registered of voting age shall freely participate. P.C representatives shall on all occasions and at any time desired, before, during or after an election investigate and report any infringement of the right

22-39-55

Themselves by ballot, or any other infringement of that right by anyone, or any power within or without the locality or nation involved. Duplicate reports shall be made simultaneously to all parties concerned and to the UN, and shall be given priority of attention and voted upon in accordance with the principles governing human rights as enunciated in the Atlantic Charter.

The Peoples Councils shall work unremittingly for the freeing of all peoples from bondage or subjection in any manner to other nations or powers, thru implementation of the doctrine of "self-determination of peoples", thru the recognition and acknowledgment of the Monroe Doctrine as self-evident law, applicable to all nations, peoples Tribes, subject people, colonials or other dependent peoples, thru the prompt acceptance by the UN as of sovereign status all such, who by declaration of their independance (directly, or thru their PCs,) make known their determination to freedom from such subjection or bondage. All such peoples shall be declared free and sovereign and shall be assisted by the Peoples Councils and by the UN. thru such agencies as do already exist, or shall

or shall be called into being

22-39-56

The people in any nation or locality, thru Their Peoples Councils, can and shall repudiate any agreement between a citizen or group of citizens and an outside nation or power which is not considered by the PC. as in the best interests of the people of that nation or locality.

The PC. shall insist that all UN. as well as PC decisions shall be made with reference to the basic interests and rights of the people involved rather than to special interests of individuals or groups, to corporations, monopolies, trusts cartels, governments - or to expediency.

PC. shall insist that action upon UN. decisions to taken without unnecessary delay, thus creating among the peoples of the world a feeling of confidence that their cases will in due time be brought to a just conclusion, and they can afford to wait for UN decisions, and UN action upon those decisions.

PC shall see to it that all rights of all minorities - religious, racial, political, and organized labor, a minority of labor as a whole - are respected and

protected, recognizing that it is in these matters the breakdown of democratic practices is first apparent All minorities must have special representation in PC. and UN

22-39-57

Since basic human rights of peoples everywhere shall supercede in consideration all other matters, and since all Peoples' Councils are but members of one body the Sovereign (international) Council, any unit of or any PC, any number of units and PCs, may, if it or they so desire assume protection of peoples or groups whose basic rights have been ignored or violated — not leaving the protection of these important rights to the PC. of the peoples or groups, exclusively. This will be particularly advantageous where the PC of the locality in question is hampered, and will permit outside PCs, to give aid where it may be most needed.

PCs shall study the Atlantic Charter, and all other Bills of Rights, so that all rights of the People may be acknowledged and enacted into law in all places where people dwell.

Where no such laws exist, or can, because of secret or flagrant opposition by governments or other powers, the laws of the UN, founded upon the Atlantic Charter shall operate.

22-89-58

Duties 7

The prejudiced laws which have prevailed, thus acknowledging the supreme law of the peoples as expressed in the Atlantic Charter and in subsequent UN pronouncements.

World protection by UN police force (army) which "shall be stronger than that of any individual nation" is a must. Any nation or people who oppose its immediate establishment shall be considered an enemy of the peoples interest. Action Committees of the Peoples Councils shall be formed to see to it that the informed will of the people for this protection is immediately executed. (The idea of police of any kind is only a little more than a century old. When first established in London, was considered a joke which no one would take seriously or respect. Who's laughing now?)

In countries where the profit system prevails there is an ever recurring impetus to war because of the enormous profits to be made by those comparative few who supply war goods. Any realistic approach to an enduring peace must see to the outlawing of war profits in any conceivable form, to any person or group whatsoever, and must seek the elimination of all nationally owned and privately or

22-87-59

controlled war industries. All war-making machinery must be in the hands of the UN, and under the direct authority of the Sovereign Peoples Council. This goes also for atomic and bacteriological war industries, and any other types of mass murder which the perverted mind of man may invent.

The power and authority to create conditions favorable to the establishment of Peace is inherent in the people and the Peoples Councils. So also is the power to prevent war. All people, everywhere, all organizations represented in PC, must join in the prevention of war (as they must join in the creative work of building Peace in the world).

War is a disease of the spirit, the cancer of the soul. Its victims, self-destroying, self-maiming, suffer a mental insanity, contagious, vicious, unscrupulous, utterly destructive, utterly useless as the means of obtaining satisfactory settlement of grievances real or imaginary. It is the basis of future enslavement.

The legitimate prevention of war by means creditable to a Christian world gives no consideration

22-39-60

To, holds no tolerance for that monstrous obscenity referred to by some mis-representatives of the American people as an atomic war of prevention against our weak, and worthily-lauded wartime ally, who alone stood off the enemy of mankind, until we could make up our minds to gather our scattered forces for a drive against fascism. These perverts are self-authorized executors of the human race.

The prevention of war must be planned down to the last man, woman and child workers and non-workers, preachers and laymen, soldiers and civilians, the press, the pulpit, the advertizers. All who want to live must join in the fight against war, and against all types, phases, degrees of war mongering.

Education and association must not be understimated as factors in the elimination of tensions. Therefore the P.C. must advocate the extension of free educational facilities to old and young, from kindergarden thru college, and encourage and facilitate the free exchange of students between schools within nations, and schools of other nations. How many of us would be able to get along peacefully or otherwise if we just began to associate with each other when we were grown?

Duties to

between persons and peoples who, in One World - the only possible future world - must learn to think and act in terms of brotherhood and sisterhood!

Complete coverage of UN and PC proceedings shall be made available to the public. Thru all modern means of communication (Press, radio, television, pamphlets, books, hand bills, bulletins, announcements) which the PC shall own and operate for the benefit of all peoples, laws must be sought in all lands where people dwell giving public access to UN and PC information and instruction. Where communication facilities belonging to private individuals or corporations are refused UN or PC for urgent business (such as the prevention of war or of acts leading to war, persecution, etc.) such facilities shall be commandeered for the necessary time. Repeated violations of the peoples' rights to be heard shall render said industries subject to socialization.

Whatever organizations with identical aims are already established anywhere in the world they shall be accepted - regardless of race, color, creed, political belief or affiliation - incorporated in the Peoples Councils, and shall act as one body.

22-39-61

World. Their duty to be informed shall not be left to chance. Free schools shall be set up in all PC units and Councils for the instruction of the people:

1- in those matters that make for desirable citizenship.

2- in all matters pertaining to the public interest, the public rights and responsibilities to the people, and to the U.N.

22-39-62

Form.

Peoples' Councils and Units (smaller divisions) shall be organized in each tribe in each hamlet village, town, city, state, nation; in colonial possessions, mandated Territory, Territory under martial law, under supervision, joint or otherwise - of military commanders, under UN control; everywhere people dwell.

Where numbers of people are small the Unit and the PC shall be one.

Action Committees of Units and PCs. shall be responsible① for executing the will of the people as expressed in Unit or PC decisions and given to the board of directors ②for

③

Form. 2

Officers and official Personell shall include
Except Sec Corresponding Secs. Treas. Co
ordinators. Bd of directors size of Bd
determined by size of PC. or unit there of,
in all cases, as few as possible

22-32-63.

The Action Committee of the Peoples Councils,
and their units shall be instructed to utelize
all existing organizations (as well as their own
of whatever nature, by whatever honest means
the interchange of speakers, materials, by
affiliation, Alliance, Etc. for The promulgation
of the doctrine of Peace Not just between
nations only, but between peoples every
where, ~~and~~ the peaceful settlement of
differences - " building together
of a New World.

The Truth about war must be told the whole
horrible, abominable truth, in song, story,
picture, payeant: from the first dead man To
The bickering Conference table, this useless
idiocy must be described in all its re-
volting detail. We, the people must be made
to know that we are the next battlefield

22-39-64

and that there is no escape, once we have entered into a conspiracy of hate and terror. War must be de-glamorized. We must poke fun at it - this lunatic joke on a civilized, Christian world. this archaic device of the vicious, the feeble-willed, who thus hope to fill their reeking coffers with dead men's bones and blood, and with the broken spirits of men who would be free.

We therefor notify the "Fear-makers" and the War-makers that We, The peoples of the earth revolt against war. We declare unending embargo against the warmakers. We strike - against war.

We, the peoples of the earth are "on the march" for brotherhood, for good will toward all men, Peace, knowing that only when the true foundation for peace is laid shall there be Peace. Only when peace is established shall we be able to begin the erection of that eternal monument to mans faith "in things hoped for" - One World - One Race, The human race - One God - father of all: and "government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall cover the earth.

Strategy -

Wherever people are gathered, in organizations, in mass meetings, or smaller meetings, secular, religious or political. Pledges shall be passed. Those signing shall meet immediately afterward, in a designated part of the hall and choose a temporary chairman for the first meeting to be held within three days, at which time officers will be elected and an Action Committee selected. This Action Comm. shall begin at once to present the PC. plan to existing organizations, to seek affiliation, to seek members, to plan house to house meetings, mass meetings etc. etc. as occasion dictates. (Considering certain opposition from those who are now running the UN in their own profit we'd better pile up membership fast before they start throwing the book at us, and calling us you-know-what.)

Each member and unit shall be held responsible for a new member and unit.

This procedure repeated ad infinitum would soon reach all the people, (including the Press and radio) without seriously disrupting the life of anyone.

22-37-65

Strategy 2

22-39-66

More help we will get from the very busy from those who think they are, and from those only mildly concerned.

The "Pledge" could follow that of our pledge to the flag, (with appropriate substitutions), preceeded by repeating a revised American Creed, viz; "I believe in the United Nations, as representing government of the peoples, by the peoples, and for the peoples, whose just powers are derived from the Peoples Councils; The Sovereign Power of many Peoples Councils, a perfect union, one and inseperable, established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which an innumerable host since the beginning of time, have sacrificed their lives and fortunes. I pledge allegience to the United Nations and to the peoples of the earth for which it stands. One World, indivisable, with life and liberty and justice for all.

Ed. & Criticism

April 21, 1948

Mrs. Ida Grandison
3706½ Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Grandison:

Dr. DuBois has asked me to write and thank you for being so kind as to send us the material which you did. Rest assured that whatever use we make of it, we shall be sure and credit it to the source you mentioned.

Again thanking you for your interest, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

WEBD:by HHS:s

22-39

CHelsea 3-1838-9-40

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

1133 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

LLOYD K. GARRISON, PRES.
WILLARD S. TOWNSEND, VICE-PRES.
MRS. A. H. SCHOELLKOPF, TREAS.
S. T. M. ALEXANDER, SECY.

EUGENE KINCKLE JONES
GENERAL SECRETARY

LESTER B. GRANGER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February
Fifth
1948

23-25-12

Dear Ernie:

Thanks for the invitation to attend the dinner in honor of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois on Monday, February 23rd. I regret, very much, that I will not be able to accept; since I have a speaking engagement in Philadelphia on that day. Will you extend my warm personal good wishes to Dr. DuBois on his eightieth birthday?

Sincerely,

Lester B. Granger
Executive Secretary

Dr. E.R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, New York

LBG/m

xxxxxxxxxx

June 2, 1948

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mrs. Marie H. Granger
217 E. 23rd Street
Huntington Station, New York

Dear Mrs. Granger:

Unfortunately, I have been out of the city for a while and just found your special delivery when I returned. Your letter to me, by Mrs. Edwards, was turned over to Mr. Wilkins, as soon as it arrived, for action.

This office does not handle such requests as Mrs. Edwards made and so we turned the matter over to the proper authorities. If you do not hear from Mr. Wilkins, or Miss Baxter, who is in charge of the regular research department here, please write either of them directly. Our office is a special research section of the NAACP, and all general inquiries are sent to Miss Baxter.

With hopes that you will be successful in your quest, and with regrets that I am unable to help you in this matter, I remain

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Sparks

217 E 23 Street
(Street renamed from 18th St)
Huntington Station L.I.
Oct 1, 1948.

Dr. Hugh Smythe
New York N.Y.

Dear Dr. Smythe:

I forgot to tell you that Dr. Lyle Morris is the Superintendent of Schools, Huntington District 3 and Mr. Earle Chapple is president of the Board. The only person I am acquainted with is Dr. Morris.

Get a ticket to Huntington, the two names result from two post offices not from two stations. A train leaves Penn Station at 5:08 and arrives here at 6:18. If you take this one I can meet you and should like for you to have dinner with us. The last train leaves here at 10:12

I am, Sincerely yo
Marie H. Bra

P.S. Under separate cover is Mr. McGhee's mint. Please read and return it when you come.

23C-45
Acceptance Thanks Sent
10-10-48, MHS

217 E. 23 St
Huntington Station N.Y.
Oct 10, 1948

TH

Dr. Hugh Smythe,
New York, N.Y.

230-45

Dear Dr. Smythe:

As recommendation to the board for materials I have only lists of books. Can you bring one or two small picture and story books and one copy of John Hope Franklin's "From Freedom to Slavery"? You may leave the Franklin book with me as I wish to buy a copy. The board might wish something more than lists — I don't really know.

Yours sincerely,
Marie H. Granger

217 E. 23rd St.
Huntington Sta., L.I., N.Y.

Dr. Smythe, Research Office
NAACP
20 West 40 St, New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Our member, Mrs. Edwards, states that she has not yet received reply to her request for a copy of Ray Wilkins' study of text books in New York. Will it be possible for us to have this before this Friday? Also, please send appropriate information on material for use in schools. Graded material is most helpful. Is there any material that has been used in schools or accepted by Boards of Education?

Yours,

Very truly yours,

Marie H. Stranger

Box 608. A+T College
Greensboro, N.C.

Req. for Info

Dr. W.E.B Du Bois
Head Of The Department Of Special Research
20 W. 40th St. New York, N.Y.

22-39-14

Dear Sir.

I wrote a letter to you about two weeks ago, requesting that you send me some information pertaining to the following: "The contributions Of Negroes To Race Relations During World War II."

I have'nt received an answer as of today. I would appreciate it very much if I could hear from you. within the next week.

yours truly.
Charles L. Gray

November 22, 1948

Mr. Charles L. Gray
Box 608
A. & T. College
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Gray:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois has been turned over to me for reply. This office sent a reply to your query sometime ago and we cannot understand how you failed to receive our communication. The following may be of help to you on your subject of the contributions of the Negro to World War II.

Consult Mr. Joseph C. Evans, Adviser on Negro Affairs, War Department, Washington, D. C. Write him for literature.

See the information pamphlets put out by the Office of War Information on the Negro soldier, one particularly edited by Earl Brown.

Consult NAACP booklets -- there are four of them. These should be on file in your library. They were issued during the war. We have only file copies now and none for sale or general distribution.

See FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM, by John Hope Franklin, Chapter 29, which is devoted to the Negro in world war II (Published in 1947)

See Murray, NEGRO HANDBOOK, and NEGRO YEAR BOOK, 1947. In the book by John Hope Franklin, consult pages 620-621 for an extensive bibliography on your subject. This will give you books, periodicals, magazine pieces, releases, and so on.

If we can be of further assistance, please feel free to write us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

In regard to race relations, write the following for exact data:

American Council on Race Relations, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Ask for whatever pamphlet material they have and for bibliography and other source materials.

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Race Relations Department, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

American Missionary Association, Race Relations Division, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Social Science Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Write to Mr. Warren Banner, Director of Research.

See an article, W.E.B. DuBois, "The Negro Since 1900: A Progress Report," NEW YORK TIMES SUNDAY MAGAZINE, November 21, 1948.

See PHYLON, 3rd Quarter, 1948. The volume is devoted to race relations surveys up to date.

Write the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Ga.

Contact Dr. Frank Loescher, Department of Sociology, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.

Write the American Friends Society, Division of Race Relations, Philadelphia, Pa. 20 South 12th Street.

Consult the Negro Newspapers, such as THE PITTSBURGH COURIER, THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, AFRO-AMERICAN, JOURNAL AND GUIDE, and others for the war period and you can cull information from them.

Write to Dr. L. D. Reddick, Librarian, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia. He is working on a volume of the Negro in World War II.

Write the Director, Schomburg Collection, 135th Street Public Library, Corner 135th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Council for Democracy, 11 West 42nd Street, New York, New York.

Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 808 Perdido Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

By H. H. Smythe
Dept. of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P., New York, N.Y.

Fisk Univ

269 Amherst Street
East Orange, New Jersey
February 25 1928

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

23-25-5

(GRAYSON)

March 15, 1948

Miss Betty Greyson
269 Amherst Street
Orange, New Jersey

Dear Miss Greyson:

Dr. DuBois asked that the enclosed be sent to you. As you can see we did not have your address, so his message was delayed. However, we were fortunate enough to get your address from the United Negro College Fund, so we are sending it to the address they gave.us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

WHS:LW

Enclosure: Letter

23-25-14

March 22, 1948

Miss Betty Grayson
269 Amhurst Street
East Orange, New Jersey

Dear Miss Grayson:

Your letter of February 25 to Dr. DuBois arrived after his departure for the West Coast, and since it was sent to his home address it is just now reaching us. Thus you will understand the delay in receiving a reply. However, I believe that under separate cover I sent you a letter from Dr. DuBois.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

[Grayson, Bette]

memo from w. e. burghardt du bois

Miss Betty Grayson Club
Pres. Fisk Alumni Club
26 Cleveland St
Orange, N.J.
Oh 4-5105

23-17

Meeting, meeting

TAX RATE
1948
$ 30.00 on $1000

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

TOWN OF GREAT BARRINGTON

OFFICE OF THE COLLECTOR OF TAXES

DUPLICATE
Real Estate Tax
January 1, 1948

You are hereby notified that the 1948 REAL ESTATE TAX upon the following described parcel of land is as follows:

Description:	Land Area	Value Land	Des. of Bldgs.	Value Bldgs.	Total Valuation
Paid May 24					$
					Total Tax
					$ 11.70

Due and payable on July 1, 1948 THIS TAX MUST BE PAID IN FULL

Taxes not paid when due are subject to penalties of 35c for demand, and charges and fees for sale, distress, or arrest. See G. L. Ch. 60, Secs. 15 and 16.

Taxes remaining unpaid after Nov. 1 are subject to 4% interest from Oct. 1. See G. L. Ch. 59, Sec. 57.

All payments must be to the Town of Great Barrington. MAIL TO COLLECTOR'S OFFICE.

For receipt, enclose addressed envelope with entire bill. For information regarding the tax assessed, inquire of the Board of Assessors. Any application for abatement or exemption must be filed in writing ON AN APPROVED FORM, with the Board of Assessors on or before Oct. 1, 1948, See G.L.Ch. 60, Sec.3A.

INTEREST
DEMAND
CHARGES and FEES
TOTAL $

P. L.

394

William E. B.DuBois
~~60 Fifth Avenue~~ 20 W 40th St.
New York ~~5~~ 18, New York

GREAT BARRINGTON, MASS.

111

TAXES PAYABLE at Collector's Office, Town Hall, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., except Sat. 9 a.m. to 12 noon.
Also at the Housatonic Dry Goods Store, Fri. 4 to 5 p.m.

Thomas H. Finn.
Collector of Taxes

Form 208 This form approved by Henry F. Long, Commissioner of Corporations and Taxation.

APT 409

May 24, 1948

Collector of Taxes,
Great Barrington
Massachusetts

Sir:

Enclosed please find my check for $11.70 in payment of my taxes. Will you please change my address. I have asked repeatedly to do this. I have not been at 69 Fifth Avenue for five years. My address is 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DU Bois

WEBD:lm

[GREAT BRITAIN, Prime Minister]

August 19, 1948

Clement Atlee, Prime Minister

As an employee of an organization here in the United States that is interested in the rights of all people (although of necessity concerned particularly with those that are denied colored people), I am writing you concerning the recent outbreaks in Liverpool, England. According to the reports we have received, the African district of that city was recently the scene of rioting lasting [illegible]d for nearly three days, August 1-3, in which the colored residents were subjected to unprovoked attacks on their persons and homes by gangs of lawless white people. Also, it is alleged that instead of the Liverpool law enforcement authorities rendering protection to these unjustly assaulted people, that the police joined in the attacks on them, injuring many, both men and women; and that now there are several score colored men in the Liverpool jail awaiting trial, with bail having been denied some of them.

Further, we have learned that an abnormally large police force is maintained in the district since the affair, and that all of these officers are white. This understandably is said to be creating unnecessary tension and hostility on the part of the colored people, since these abused individuals feel that the augmented police force is there not for their protection but to intimidate them into silence.

Since we colored people here in the United States know from first-hand experience the terrible results of police brutality directed against a colored minority, and have been and still are the unfortunate victims of justice meted out by courts presided over by white people who, [redacted] in many cases, no intention of rendering equal justice, particularly in that part of our nation known as the South, we are naturally concerned about the Liverpool matter.

As the august Prime Minister of Great Britain, head of a government that is supposed to be interested in the welfare of all the people of the British Empire, we write protesting this grossly unjust practice of the Liverpool police and their handling of the August 1-3 outbreak. We ask that you expend every effort to see that the entire situation there is investigated thoroughly, and that those who are rightfully to blame are brought to justice and punished, whether they be members of the police or private citizens. Knowing something of your professed sincerity for justice and equality for all, and your acknowledged respect for the rights of man, we are anticipating that you will do all in your power to rectify a condition which has not only local and national implications, but is going to have unpleasant international repercussions that will be detrimental to Great Britain, if this thing is not dealt with speedily and with consideration for the rights of all concerned.

Mil. 6-1900

Buffalo Navy, (U.P.) to Chicago

3:25 PM

7:35 PM (Aug 26)

accept definately upon the Buffalo
Express and carefully upon the proposed
lines and principles I desire to act upon
you, as well as me, so binding any claims

3868

Section V, 315

UP 3:15 PM Aug 26 John Sinnickle

TELEPHONE
ELDORADO 5-0508

CABLE ADDRESS
DELEGREECE

PERMANENT GREEK DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS
HOTEL SHERRY-NETHERLAND
FIFTH AVENUE AND 59TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

UN Assembly

28 January 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I have been instructed by Mr. Kyrou to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 22 January, 1948, and of the attacked booklet. He has asked me to thank you for the information forwarded and to assure you that it will be given careful study.

Sincerely yours,

P. Theodoropoulos

Byron Theodoropoulos
First Secretary

23-46-14

23-25-36

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WESTERN UNION

(22)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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N28 PD=CHARLESTON K CO WVIR 23 1101A D

1948 FEB 23 AM 11 22

DR W E B DUBOIS=

ROOSEVELT HOTEL=

WARMEST GREETINGS UPON REACHING YOUR 80TH BIRTHDAY YOUR MANY AND VARIED CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN LIFE HAVE BEEN OF HIGHEST LEVELS=

HARRY W GREENE ~~WVIR~~ STATE COLLEGE.

W Va

Graduate
W. Va

.80.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

May 12, 1948

22-37-14

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have your letter of May 5, informing me that you are to direct a course in Negro History at the New School for Social Research, and inviting me to participate in it by giving a lecture on the Free Negro and His Development.

May I say that the New School was extremely fortunate in securing you to assume the responsibility for the course. I shall consider it a great pleasure to be associated with you in this course, and will be happy to speak on the subject assigned me.

The honorarium will, of course, make it mandatory for me to select a time when I shall be either in or near New York City. With this understanding, it will probably be best to wait until the time for the lectures has been decided upon. Then I can endeavor to make my presence in New York accord with the lecture date, or vice versa.

With kindest wishes to you and Dr. Smythe, I am

Sincerely yours,

Lorenzo J. Greene

Lorenzo J. Greene
Professor of History

LJG/ecb

P.S. My father-in-law, Mr. Talley, wishes to be remembered to you.

August 17, 1948

Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene
Department of History
Lincoln University
Jefferson City, Missouri

Dear Dr. Greene:

We are now preparing the lecture schedule for the course, The Negro in American History, which Dr. DuBois is directing for The New School during the Fall term, 1948-1949. In connection with your lecture you are scheduled to appear on Monday, December 13, at 8:30 P.M., and your topic is THE FREE NEGRO AND HIS DEVELOPMENT.

Will you please confirm this and let us know if it is satisfactory. Since we are pushed for time in preparing the publicity on this course, we will appreciate an immediate reply.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

P. S.

New School/ Courses

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HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

22-37-15

August 18, 1948

Dr. Hugh Smythe
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Thank you for your letter of August 17 regarding the lecture which Dr. DuBois invited me to give at the New School for Social Research during the Fall term, 1948-1949.

I shall be glad to speak on the Free Negro and His Development. At present January 3 seems to be the most convenient date for me. I shall appreciate it, therefore, if you will schedule my talk for that time. Thanks for informing me of the hour on which the classes meet.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Lorenzo J. Greene

Lorenzo J. Greene

22-32-16

October 7, 1948

Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene
Department of Hisotry
Linc ln University
Jefferson City, Missouri

Dear Dr. Greene:

I am writing to ask if you would be willing to change the date of your lecture from January 3, to December 6? I find that it will make a more logical development. I trust this will not discommode you too much. The class has from 17 to 20 interested and intelligent students.

Kindly let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

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22-37-32

WUA164 PD=JEFFERSONCITY MO
OCT 18 219P=

file New School

TELEGRAM.
Received by M. Nelson
Time 1:30 P
Date OCT 18 1948
Referred to

:DR W E B DUBOIS,
, NATL ASSN FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

=IMPOSSIBLE TO ALTER PREVIOUS COMMITMENTS THEREFORE CANNOT CHANGE LECTURE DATE FROM JANUARY 3 TO DECEMBER 6 AS REQUESTED LETTER FOLLOWS=

:LORENZO J GREENE

THE COMPA=3 6=424P

• UGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Re New School

Air Mail

October 18, 1948

Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene
1204 East Atchison Street
Jefferson City, Missouri

Dear Dr. Greene:

I have your wire of October 18, and in reply wish to state that the original date of your lecture at the New School, January 6, is quite all right. Your inability to shift to another date is understandable.

Anticipating your appearance on January 6, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

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JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

October 22, 1948

New School

23-23-29

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois ,
National Association For The
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West Fortieth Street
New York City 18, New York.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of October 16, apprising me that the original date of January 3, will be satisfactory for my lecture at The New School For Social Research. I regret that previous committments made it impossible for me to appear on December 6, as you proposed.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Lorenzo J. Greene

mej

file
↓
New School

December 15, 1948

Mr. Lorenzo J. Greene
Department of History
Lincoln University
Jefferson City, Missouri

My dear Mr. Greene:

This is just to remind you of your engagement to speak for us on January 3, at The New School, 66 West 12th Street in room 46, on "The Free Negro and His Development." The lecture and discussion hour is from 8:30 p.m until 10:10 p.m. It will be well if you could meet me in the lounge on the 5th floor at 8 or 8:15 p.m. The remuneration, as I said before, will be $50.

I shall look forward to seeing you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

new school

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HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

December 22, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
N.A.A.C.P.,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

23-25
23-25

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is to acknowledge your letter of December 15 regarding my engagement to speak for you on January 3 at the New School of Social Research on the "Free Negro and His Development." Thank you kindly for the reminder and the information relative to the time and room number. I shall be happy to meet you in the lounge on the 5th floor between 8 and 8.15 p.m. of the above date.

With warmest regards and heartiest Yuletide greetings, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Lorenzo J. Greene
Professor of History

April 21, 1948

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

My dear Emma:

I am just back from a trip to Chicago where I lectured last Friday night. This probably ends my lecture wanderings for the current year. I hope that your foot is better and all is well at home. Greet the family and let me hear from you at your convenience.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

May 20, 1948

22-17-13

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

My dear Emma:

I have not heard from you and am wondering how you are? How's tootsies and what about the rest of the family? Since seeing you I have lectured in Baltimore, received a citation from the American Veterans Committee in Washington, and lectured in Cleveland.

I am going to Chicago the latter part of the month for the folding up of the Rosenwald Fund.

I hope to hear from you.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Req for Info

Redding, Conn.
November 25, 1948

23-24-44

My dear Dr. duBois:

I am preparing a book called "An Atlas of American Democracy" consisting of some 70 maps with six or seven pages of condensed text accompanying each map - the whole to form a brief but comprehensive picture of American history, giving an account not only of our magnificent achievements but making due note too of our areas of failure or of only partial success. Our treatment of the Negro is of course only one example in the latter category. I wish to be assessive, giving credit and blame where due, and hope to be able to treat my material with the admirable objectivity which you used so effectively in your article in last Sunday's New York Times Magazine section.

I am writing to seek your advice on where to obtain material on several phases of this subject. Can you suggest where I can find a brief but authoritative treatment of 1. the American Negro as a slave, 2. the abolition movement, and 3. data comparable to that given in your article but covering the more extended span from the end of the Civil War to date? Can you also suggest where I could obtain maps of 1. our Negro population by states at approximately 1860, and the same for to-day showing also the city population, and 2. where I can find a map showing the the stations on the "underground railway", or the data with which to make such a map? Would you permit me to use the factual data contained in your article referred to, for the purpose mentioned.

The aim of my book is to make the picture of our national development available to the average American who has forgotten

most of such American history as he learned in school or college as well as to the thoughtful foreigner who is even more ignorant if possible of the background and reasons for our present world preeminence but has a deep curiosity about the subject and must know what America has done and has yet to do, if we are to hope to achieve free government throughout the world. I believe that the little book can contribute in some measure to further recognition at home of the importance to American democracy of the most uninhibited opportunities for our racial minorities.

23-24-45

Very sincerely yours,

Stuart E. Grummon

Stuart E. Grummon

Dr W. E. B. duBois,
New York City.

December 2, 1948

Mr. Stuart B. Crummon
Redding
Connecticut

My dear Mr. Crummon:

23-24-46

Answering your letter of November 5, I beg to say that I think your "Atlas" is an excellent idea so far as the Negro is concerned. You would of course have to use some ingenuity in making this history graphic.

On the American Negro as a slave, the best recent reference would be, John Hope Franklin's, "From Slavery to Freedom," published by Knopf, in 1947. Chapter 6 and bibliography would help.

As to the Abolition Movement you should consult Mary S. Locke's, "Anti-Slavery in America", and the works of Herbert Aptheker, published for the most part in "The Journal of Negro History." Also, the lives of abolitionists like Garrison and Frederick Douglass.

Data concerning the developments during Reconstruction and since would be more difficult to find in small space. Woodson's, "The Negro in Our History", Franklin's book mentioned above, The Negro Year Book, published at Tuskegee and the reports of the Census can be used. Facts as to the Negro population by states, can be found in the Census reports in 1860 and 1940. There have been, of course, significent changes since that of which there is as yet no accurate reports. Data concerning the Underground Railroad can be found in Siebert's main work, "The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom," New York, 1898, and other magazine articles; also the book by William Still, and Henrietta Buckmaster's, "Let My People Go."

You are quite welcome to use any of the figures in my article in the New York Times. If I can help you in any other way, I will be very glad to do so.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

[The Guardian, Capetown S. Africa]

23-25-50

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CEDRIC DOVER

3T South Africa

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1042 17TH AVE NORTH

DLR LEAVE ON TABLE)=

GREETINGS AND ADMIRATION FROM GUARDIAN, SAFRICAS ANTICOLOUR BAR

THE

WEEKLY BETTY RADFORD EDITOR.

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